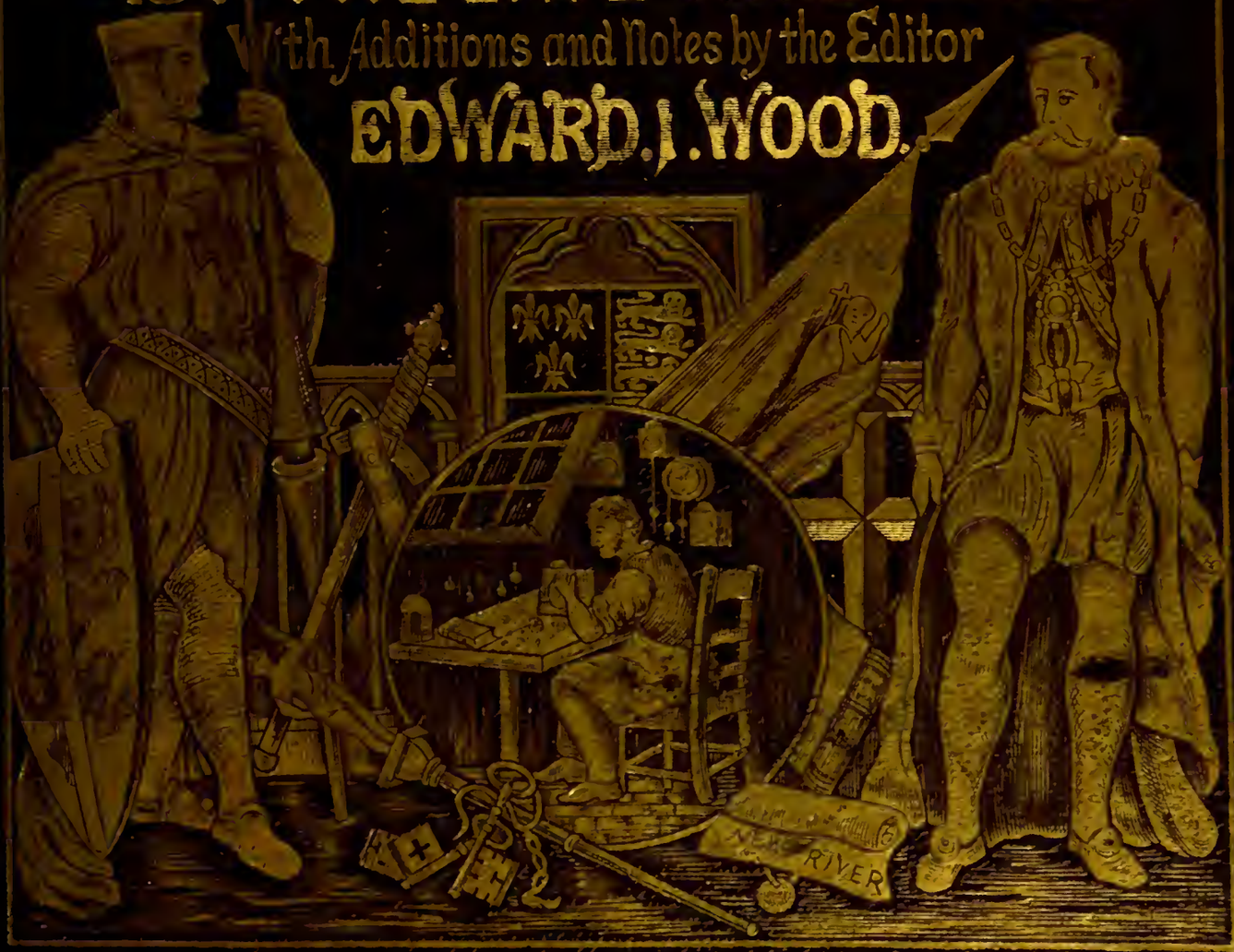
The History of Clerkenwell

BY THE LATE W. I. PINKS.

With Additions and Notes by the Editor

EDWARD J. WOOD.




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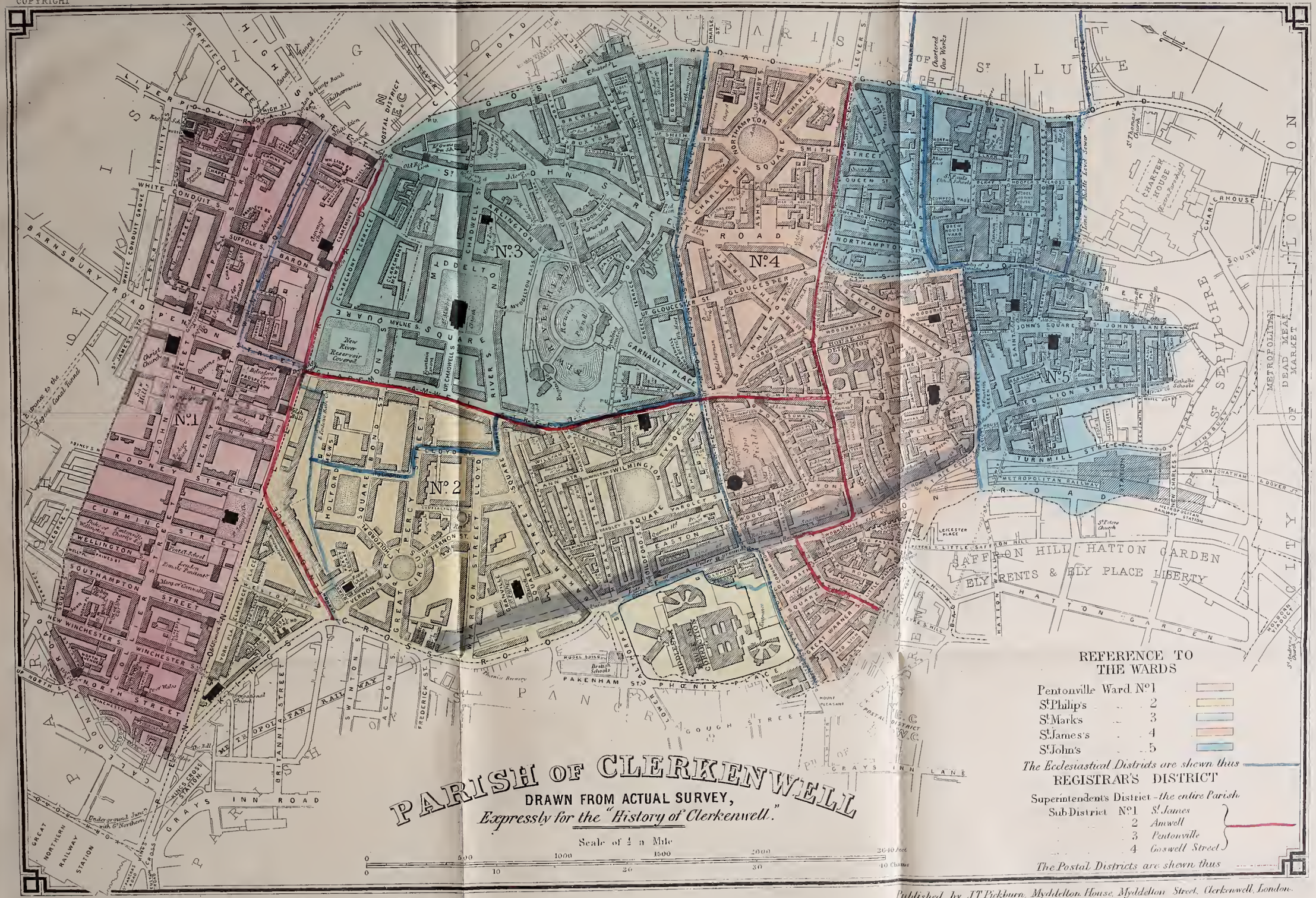
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THE

HISTORY OF CLERKENWELL

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WILLIAM JOHN PINKS, BORN SEPTEMBER 29TH, 1829; DIED NOVEMBER 12TH, 1860

THE

HISTORY OF CLERKENWELL.

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM J. PINKS,

AUTHOR OF "COUNTRY TRIPS," CURIOSITIES OF CLOCKS AND WATCHES," "THE STREETS OF CLERKENWELL," ETC.

WITH ADDITIONS BY THE EDITOR,

EDWARD J. WOOD.

SECOND EDITION.

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INTRODUCTION.

The labours of the Editor upon the following first edition of the History of Clerkenwell are now finished. The work tells its own story of the industry which has been bestowed upon it in order to bring it to its present state of completeness. The Author, Mr. William J. Pinks, spent six years in collecting the chief materials for it; and the Editor has devoted nearly three years' time in the increasing of the matter, the arrangement of the whole, and the superintendence of the same through the press. The History has been published in monthly parts, each consisting of twenty-four pages of letter-press, the first of which parts was issued in the month of January, 1863, a double one in May, 1865, and the conclusion, comprising about five monthly parts, in August. The alterations in the map, rendered necessary by railway extensions in the parish, have delayed the publication of the complete volume until the present time.

Mr. Pinks spent a great portion of the last two years of his industrious life in the compilation of this History, which he did expressly for his friend Mr. James T. Pickburn, the publisher of it. At the time of Mr. Pinks' lamented death, the MS. was in a very unfinished state; the text was crude; much loose matter remained to be arranged into chapters; and it was necessary that many additions should be made to the whole. The Editor was therefore engaged by Mr. Pickburn (to whom the MS. belonged, part of it having been written for a remuneration paid by him, and the remainder having been given to him by the Author on his death-bed, the whole then being in Mr. Pickburn's possession) to complete the work fit for publication, which had then been advertised, and which was pressingly demanded by those locally interested in it. While it has been passing through the press by instalments, the Editor has endeavoured to arrange and finish the materials which he had ready, adding to them his own notes and collections; and so the work has grown to its present bulk, of which at least one-third has been accumulated since the Author's death. The Editor has found that he could not preserve the text of the Author intact, for the reasons before stated. To have distinguished from the original the new and additional matter which has been incorporated with it would have been impracticable, inasmuch as nearly every page would have displayed a mixture of the work of two pens. It is, however, sufficient for the reader to know that this History is mainly the work of Mr. Pinks, and that his posthumous assistant, the Editor, has done merely that which the Author would have done if he had happily lived to complete and revise this last and greatest work of his literary life.

The plan adopted by the Author in the arrangement of this History was to divide the parish on which it treats into five districts, viz., those of St. James, St. John, St. Mark, St. James (Pentonville), and St. Philip respectively, under each of which divisions he described, in lexicographical order, the various streets, &c., which are comprised within it. The Editor has adhered to that course, and he believes that, with the assistance of the Index to this book, and the Plan of the Parish, ready reference may be made to any place in it about which information may be required.

The necessity for a speedy publication of the History after the Editor's commencement of his labours upon it, and the exigencies of the serial mode of issue, have rendered necessary the insertion, in an Appendix and Supplement, of much matter which might otherwise have appeared more fitly in the body of the work. Still, however, the reader *has* the matter, and, it is hoped, the best means of reference to it.

A distinguishing feature of this History is its Index, which is very ample, and contains references to every proper name that appears in the book. Some of the indexing may at a first glance appear to be unnecessary; for instance, an ordinary reader would not require to have the means of turning to every page of this work on which the words England and London are, which means he has herein; but without such elaborate detail in the references the Index would not be that which it purports to be—a complete one.

The Editor cannot close his labours upon this History without acknowledging, with the deepest gratitude, on behalf of himself and of Mr. Pickburn, the assistance therein which he has received from many gentlemen both in and out of the parish of Clerkenwell. In particular his warmest thanks are due to the following, who have readily, and in most instances voluntarily, rendered him great help:—Robert Bigsby, Esq., LL.D.; Thomas S. Bird, Esq.; John Bullock, Esq.; T. H. Colvill, Esq., the Governor of the House of Correction, Coldbath-fields; William P. Griffith, Esq., F.S.A., the restorer of St. John's Gate; William Hoare, Esq., the Head Master of Lady Owen's Grammar School; the gentlemen composing the Board of the New River Company; T. C. Noble, Esq.; Samuel Phelps, Esq.; John E. Price, Esq.; J. Tidmarsh, Esq.; and J. Yeowell, Esq. The Editor has also obtained much interesting and original matter from the unpublished MSS. and notes of the late Mr. Anthony Crosby. The Editor of the "Illustrated London News," the Editor of the "Builder," and the late Mr. Benjamin Foster, have been good enough to lend engraved blocks for the purposes of this History.

The Editor has now to add a brief biographical notice of the Author.

William John Pinks was born on September 29th, 1829, in Great Bath-street, Clerkenwell. He was the first-born of a large family, the parents of whom were respectable persons of the middle class. His early characteristics appear to have been a mildness of disposition, an aptness to learn, and a tenacious memory. His first schoolmaster was M. Mercier, a French gentleman, who at that time had a good repute in Clerkenwell as a teacher. Pinks was also a pupil at Calthorpe-street schools, and a scholar at Bedford-row Sunday school. Before he had attained the age of fourteen years he was compelled to drudge as an errand boy; and ultimately he was apprenticed to

Mr. C. Gyde, a bookbinder, of Red Lion-court, Fleet-street, with whom he served his term diligently and profitably. When he was about seventeen years old he became a teacher in the Lamb and Flag Ragged Schools, situated in Lamb-court, Clerkenwell, in which he was a zealous worker until the time of his death. As he advanced towards manhood he developed his early-acquired tastes for antiquarian and literary matters; and we find him occasionally contributing articles to "Notes and Queries," the "Illustrated London News," the "Builder," the "Ragged School Union Monthly Magazine," the "South London Observer and Borough Record," the "Clerkenwell News," and other periodicals He ultimately gave up his trade of a bookbinder, and was engaged as a permanent contributor to the latter newspaper, to which he supplied some interesting articles under the titles of "Country Trips," "Curiosities of Clocks and Watches," and the "Streets of Clerkenwell." His "Country Trips" were published in a small volume during his lifetime. About the year 1854 Mr. Pinks commenced the History which is now before the reader, and he worked upon it until the time of his death, which, without doubt, was hastened by the labour consequent thereon. He had naturally a weak constitution, and that was still further weakened by continued mental and physical toil. He finally succumbed to that fearful malady—consumption. He died at Mr. Green's, No. 30, Granville-square, Clerkenwell, on November 12th, 1860 (he had previously resided at No. 10, Guildford-place, Bagnigge-wells), and he was buried on the 19th in Highgate Cemetery, where a monumental stone records the following :—

In

Memory of

W. J. PINKS,

The Clerkenwell Antiquarian,

Who Died November 12th 1860.

Aged 31 Years.

The Terrestrial could not hold the Celestial

that burned within it,

and in early manhood they parted company:

The Soul ascended to its God,

The Body lies beneath.

This Stone was Erected by a few Admirers of the Departed.

This memorial was raised by public subscription in Clerkenwell, at a cost of about £9. It is numbered 10,659, and situated in the second row of tombs on the right-hand side of the first broad walk leading from the left-hand side of the road that commences at the cemetery gate in Swain's-lane. Mr. Pinks was personally distinguished by a finely-formed forehead, which rose with intellectual promise over his pale and sunken cheeks;

while his broad chin and compressed lips gave indications of firmness and perseverance of character. He was about the middle height, but he had a stooping gait. He was fairly proportioned, but of slim figure. His portrait which illustrates this History was engraved from a photograph, which was taken a few days before his death. He was a mild, quiet, unassuming man; a patient and industrious labourer; and an active Christian. He died beloved by many. A short memoir of Mr. Pinks was published in a pamphlet in the year 1861.

MYDDELTON HOUSE, CLERKENWELL,
August, 1865.

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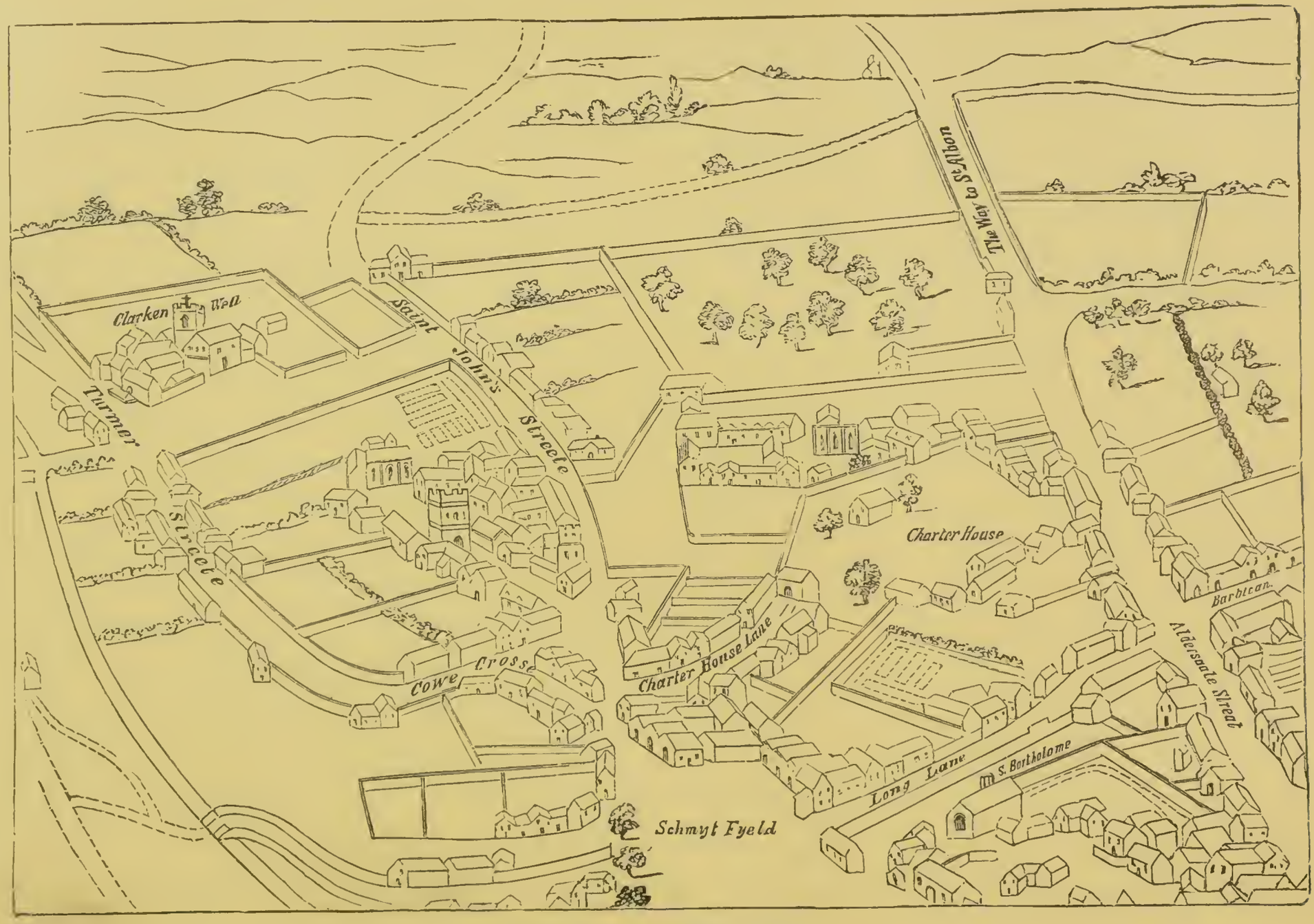
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PLAN OF CLERKENWELL IN 1560.

THE

HISTORY OF CLERKENWELL.

THE EARLY HISTORY, RISE, AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PARISH.

CHAPTER I.

Ancient state of the locality described—Clerks' Well—St. Mary's Nunnery—Priory of St. John—Etymology of Clerkenwell—Performances of the Parish Clerks—Sacred Plays—Skinners' Well—The Guild of the Parish Clerks—Wrestling at Clerkenwell—Increase of Buildings in Clerkenwell from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the present—Houses assessed to the Poor—Suburban Buildings interdicted—Apportionment of the Parish—Pentonville—Registration Districts—Boundaries of the Parish—Beating the Bounds—The Manor of St. John, Clerkenwell—The Manor of St. Mary, Clerkenwell—The detached portion of Clerkenwell Parish at Muswell-hill—Geology of the Parish—Levels—Water Supply—The Borough of Finsbury—Parliamentary Election Returns.

Clerkenwell by name is not mentioned in the Doomsday Book, it being, as is supposed with some show of feasibility, included with Isendone, the modern Islington,[1] and was possessed in part by one Geoffrey de Mandeville, a Norman knight, who held several manors of the Conqueror as a reward for having assisted him in the acquisition of this kingdom. Its particular *locale* was on the skirts of the forest of Middlesex[2]—

> In lowly dale, fast by a river's side,
> With woody hill o'er hill encompassed round.

It does not appear, in very early times, to have been a place of so much importance as to have been deserving of a special description. The amenities of its situation, being on the north side of the Metropolis, are, however, incidentally referred to by the monkish chronicler Fitz-Stephen, in his "Description of the most noble City of London,"[3] written in the time of Henry II., at the close of the twelfth century, who tells us, in language so florid that we should be inclined to suspect his narration to be a poetic fiction, were there not corroborative testimony to establish it, of there being

[1] The name of this parish was, in ancient records, written Isendune, Isendon, Iseldon, Ysledon, and Eyseldon. Skinner derives the name from Anglo-Saxon gisel, a hostage, tun, or town; to which Bailey adds, "by reason of the many inns there." "It does not, however, appear that this place was ever called Giselton or Gistleton. The name Isendune occurs in the most ancient records belonging to the church of St. Paul's, as well as in Domesday, and means in the Saxon, 'The hill of iron'; in favour of which etymology it may be adduced that several springs of water, impregnated with that mineral, have been found near the village."—Lysons. "It most probably derives its name from its situation with respect to Tolentone, whose site was the elevated ground adjoining the woods of Highbury, the appellation Iseldone, expressing the Lower Town or Fort, from the old British word ishel, signifying lower."—Lewis. The present name, Islington, appears to have been generally adopted towards the close of the sixteenth century.

> Old Iseldon, though scarce in modern song
> Nam'd but in scorn, may boast of honour'd days;
> For many a darling child of science there
> Had trimm'd his lamp, and wove his laurel crown.—Fox.

[2] The name Middlesex is derived from the Anglo-Saxon, Middle Seaxe, the Middle Saxons.

[3] Appended to Stow's *Survey of London*.

on the north side of London "fields for pasture, and a delightful plain of meadow land, interspersed with flowing streams, on which stand mills, whose clack is very pleasing to the ear."[1] The flowing streams which fertilized the delightful plain of meadow land through which they passed were the Walbrook and the River of Wells. The latter, at an early period, was designated Trylmyll or Turnmill Brook, by reason of the number of mills to which its current gave motion, producing that clack so pleasing to the poetic ear of the monk Fitz-Stephen, when, imbued with genuine love of nature, he roamed abroad into the suburbs of the City whose fame he has celebrated in the Latin tongue. "There are also," says Fitz-Stephen, "round London, on the northern side, in the suburbs, excellent springs, the water of which is sweet, clear, and salubrious—

'Mid glistening pebbles gliding playfully.

Amongst which Holywell, Clerkenwell *(fons Clericorum)*, and St. Clement's Well are of most note, and most frequently visited, as well by the scholars from the schools, as by the youth of the City, when they go out to take air in the summer evenings." The foregoing is, we believe, the earliest historical notice extant of the *fons Clericorum*, or Clerkenwell, and is interesting, as it serves to show that the well must have been in repute anterior to Fitz-Stephen's mention of it, to have acquired its particular name, the origin of which Stow very plausibly refers to the parish clerks of London, who were accustomed to assemble at it to perform their holy plays. The parish or district on which this particular fountain conferred the name of Clerkenwell was well supplied with water from natural sources. Stow mentions that there were many smaller wells near to the Clerks' Well, as Skinners' Well, Fagge's Well, Tod Well (correctly God Well), Loder's Well, and Rad Well, which, he adds, even in his time, were "all decayed and so filled up, that their places are now hardly discerned." From these springs, the River of Wells, already noticed, obtained its name, for "having the fall of their overflowings into the aforesaid river, they much increased its stream, and in that place gave it the name of *Wells*."

No mention is made by the monk Fitz-Stephen of the two conventual establishments, which, in early times, conferred a distinction on the parish, and which, imposing in all the massive grandeur of early Gothic art, confronted the eye of the traveller for miles around. The Nunnery of St. Mary and the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, both founded about the year 1100, had risen to considerable importance in the space of ninety years after, at the time we presume Fitz-Stephen to have written his history, and certainly were entitled to special notice; but it is pretty evident from the tenor of his work that the monk's intention was rather to describe the manners and customs of the Londoners, than to expatiate on the architectural beauties of the various religious edifices in and around the Metropolis.

The Vill[2] of Clerkenwell is the most ancient denomination of Clerkenwell. The soil formerly belonged to the Bishop of London, and was in language of the law of his fee or fief.[3]

The etymology of Clerkenwell is obvious. The *fons Clericorum* of the old historian Fitz-Stephen, Stow, in his "Survey," renders literally and correctly, Clerks' Well or Clerkenwell. In the latter rendering we have the old Saxon plural "en," in which form and thus compounded, Clerkenwell, as the specific name of a district, has been in common use from a very remote period. In ancient records of the time of Henry III., Edward I., and Edward II., it is variously written Clerkenewell, Clerkewell, Clerkenwelle, Clerkinewell. In the middle of the fifteenth century we have found it written Clerk-en-welle. In the last century it was spelt as it is still sometimes pronounced, Clarkenwell.

[1] Two of these water mills, belonging to the Knights of St. John, were by them let to one Francis Bach, at a rent of 100s. per annum.—*Knights Hospitaliers in England*, p. 94.

[2] Vill or Village, a manor; a parish.—Fleta. l. 6, c. 51. Entire vills consisted of ten freemen.—Sir Henry Spelman, *Gloss.* 274. Villa est ex pluribus mansionibus vicinata et collata ex pluribus vicinis, et sub appellatione villarum continentur burgi et civitates.—*Coke upon Littleton*, 115. Villa is a neighbourhood of many mansions, a collection of many neighbours, and under the term of villas, boroughs and cities are contained.

[3] Cott. MSS., *Faustina*, p. 10. The word fee or fief is derived from the Latin feudum, and Saxon feoh. Feudum is said to be compounded of od, possession or estate, and feo, wages, pay. A feud is a term which signifies a stipendiary estate in contradistinction to allodium, the phrase applied to an independent species of property. A fee or fief is that which is held of some superior on condition of rendering him some service. All lands in England are nominally held in this way, the sovereign being in law the only allodial or independent owner.

In "Calendarium Inquisitionum, Ad quod Damnum, temp. Edward II.," we find Clerkenwell used as a surname. Walt' de Clerkenwell, or Walter Clerkenwell, then possessed the Abbey of Chertsey, and lands and tenements in Egham and Cobham.

PERFORMANCES OF THE PARISH CLERKS.

This parish in very early times acquired some degree of celebrity on account of its having been selected by the parish clerks of London for the exhibition of sacred dramas. Their choice was a felicitous one. Clerkenwell, then a rural district, being in close proximity to the City, abounding in smooth fields and verdant slopes, intersected by a meandering river, was the favourite resort of the citizens for recreation and amusement. Once a year, if not oftener, did these clerks assemble "to play some large history of Holy Scripture." Of the parish clerks, observes Warton :—

"Their profession, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this spiritual brotherhood the representation of plays, especially those of the scriptural kind, and their constant practice in shows, processions, and vocal music, easily accounts for their address in detaining the best company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than a week."[1]

The site chosen by these sons of the church was peculiarly favourable for their purpose, as the rising ground about it permitted a very large number of persons to enjoy a fair view of the pageant which was presented for their edification and amusement. These shows were of two kinds; mysteries or miracles—"representations of the miracles wrought by confessors and of the sufferings of martyrs"—destitute of any invention or plan, and tamely representing stories according to the letter of Scripture or the respective legends; and moralities, in which the dialogues were carried on by allegorical characters, such as Charity, Faith, Prudence, Discretion, &c., whose discourses being of a serious character, the Devil, as the impersonation of vice, made the people merry with his antics. The stage upon which these anniversary performances took place was a temporary scaffold erected on purpose, and to this fact the old poet, Chaucer, who must have been familiar with the actors in these sacred dramas, refers, when speaking of one "Absolon, a parish clerk," who impersonated King Herod.

"Herod was a favourite part in religious plays, and was perhaps an object of competition among the performers, and a part in which the actor endeavoured to show himself off with advantage. Every reader knows Shakespeare's phrase of 'out-heroding Herod.'"[2]

Chaucer tells us in the "Millere's Tale" that—

> Some tyme to shewe his lightnesse and maistrye,
> He playeth Herod on *a scaffold hye.*

"There were three platforms to the stage, one above another; on the topmost sat the *pater cœlestis* surrounded with his angels; on the second appeared the holy saints and glorified spirits; and the lowest stage was occupied by ordinary men. On one side of this lowest platform was the resemblance of a dark, pitchy cavern, from which flames of fire appeared to issue, and when necessary the audience were excited by yellings and noises as if of wretched souls in the agony of torture. From this yawning cave the devils themselves constantly ascended and descended."[3]

Many of these dramatic representations, from a rigid adherence to the text of Scripture, were highly indecorous and greatly at variance with modern notions of propriety, by reason of their gross indelicacy, the characters of Adam and Eve being sustained by persons in a complete state of nudity; and, moreover, there were obscenities that may not be "mentioned in ears polite."

"In these mysteries," says Warton, "I have sometimes seen gross and open obscenities. In a play of the Old and New Testament, MS. Harl. 2013, exhibited at Chester in the year 1327, at the expense of the different trading companies of that city, Adam and Eve were both exhibited on the stage naked, and conversing about their nakedness. This very pertinently introduces the next scene, in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority

[1] Warton's *English Poetry*, vol. ii., p. 397. [2] Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, edited by T. Wright.
[3] Strutt's *Manners and Customs of the English*, vol. iii., p. 130.

of Scripture for such representations, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity; and if this had not been the case, the dramatists were ignorant of what to reject and what to retain." [1]

Notwithstanding the seriousness of the subjects of these mysteries, they were not exhibited without a little fun to suit them to the popular taste. This was necessary to enliven the dull prosy speeches of some of the interlocutors. Beelzebub (like the modern clown) was the principal comic actor, assisted by his merry troop of imps, who, with a variety of strange gestures and contortions of the body, excited the laughter of the spectators, and who, further to delight and instruct the company, treated the miserable mortals delivered over to them with the utmost cruelty, so as to warn men sedulously to avoid falling into the clutches of such vengeful spirits in the world to come. Money was collected from the spectators of these sacred plays to defray the cost of their getting up, and for the behoof of the *dramatis personæ*.

The author of a curious sermon against miracle plays in general, preserved in the parish library of St. Martin's-in-the-fields, expressly complains of money spent by the common people at these performances :—

" So this myraclis pleyinge is verie witnesse of mennus averice and coveytise byfore, that is maumetrie as seith the apostle, for that they shulden spendyn upon the nedis of ther neyeboris, thei spenden upon pleyis, and to peyen ther rente and ther dette thei wolen grueche, and to spende two so myche upon ther pley thei wolen nothing grucche."

And loke ye rynge well in your purs. [2]

The Skinners' Well was near to the Clerks' Well, and "was so called," says Stow, "for that the skinners of London held there certain plays yearly played of Holy Scripture, &c." Strype, writing in 1755, informs us that "Skinners' is almost quite lost, and so it was in Stow's time. But I am certainly informed by a knowing parishioner, that it lies on the west of the Church, enclosed within certain houses there. The parish would fain recover the well again, but cannot tell where the pipes lie. Dr. Rogers, who formerly lived in a house there, showed Mr. E. H., late churchwarden, two marks in a wall in the Close where these pipes (as he affirmed) laid, that it might be known after his death." In the year 1390, the parish clerks of London played at Skinners' Well in the presence of King Richard II. and his queen, and many of the nobles. The performances continued for three days, and the representations were the "Passion of our Lord and the Creation of the World," which appeared to have so well pleased the King that he commanded £10 (a considerable sum in those days) to be paid "to the clerks of the parish churches and to divers other clerks of the city of London" as his gift.

Issue Roll, Easter, 14 Ric. II.

" 11 July. To the clerks of the parish churches and to divers other clerks in the city of London. In money paid to them in discharge of £10 which the Lord the King commanded to be paid them of his gift on account of the play of the 'Passion of our Lord and the Creation of the World' by them performed at *Skynnerwell* after the feast of Saint Bartholomew, last past. By writ of Privy seal amongst the mandates of this term—£10." [3]

In the tenth year of Henry IV., the services of this fraternity were again employed for a similar pageant. "In the yeere 1409 was a great play at Skynners' Welle, neere unto Clarkenwell, besides London, which lasted eight daies and was of matter from the creation of the world: there were to see the same the most part of the nobles and gentles in England," &c. [4]

Strutt thinks it probable that this latter performance bore a close analogy to the well-known mystery entitled Corpus Christi, or *Ludus Coventriæ*, the Coventry play, as transcripts of this play are in existence, nearly, if not altogether, coeval with this representation. The prologue to this curious drama is spoken by three persons, who speak alternately, called *vexillators*. It contains the arguments of several pageants or acts that constitute the piece, forty in number, each a distinct subject,

[1] Warton's *English Poetry*, vol. ii., p. 30.
[2] *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii., p. 54.
[3] Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, ed. 1837, p. 245.
[4] Stow's *Chronicle*, ed. 1615, p. 549.

beginning with the Creation of the Universe and ending with the Last Judgment. The first act profanely represents the Deity seated upon his throne, and speaking as follows :—

Ego sum Alpha et Omega, principium et finis.
My name is knowyn, God and Kynge ;
My work to make now wyl I wende ;
In myselfe resteth my reynenge (reigning),
It hath no gynnyng, ne non ende,
And all that evyr shalle have beynge
Is closed in my mende (mind) ;
When it is made at my lykynge,
I may it save, I may it shende (destroy)
After my plesawns (pleasure).

At the close of this oration, which consists of forty lines, the angels enter upon the upper stage and surround the throne of Deity, singing from the *Te Deum*, "To thee all angels cry aloud," &c. At the close of this part of the performance Lucifer makes his appearance, whose jealousy having been aroused to the ascription of praise he has heard, demands of the good angels—

To whos worchipe synge ye this songe ;
To worchip God or reverence me ?

To his address the good angels reply,

We worchip God of myth most stronge,
Whiche hath formyd both us and thee.

Lucifer daringly usurps the divine sovereignty, and presumes to seat himself on the throne of Deity and receive the homage of his partizans. The Almighty interposes, and speaking, consigns Lucifer and the rebel angels to perdition.

Thu Lucyfer, for thy mykyl (great) pryde,
I bydde the falle from Hefene (Heaven) to Helle,
And all tho that holdyn on your side,
In my blysse nevyr mor to dwelle, &c.

Lucifer.—At thy byddyng y wyl I werke,
And pass fro joy to peyne and smerte.
Now I am a devyl full derke,
That was an angel bryght.
Now to Helle the way I take,
In endless peyn y to be put ;
For fere of fyr (fire) afart (afraid) I quake,
In Helle donjoon (dungeon) my dene is dyth.
(*The Devil and his angels sink into the cavern.*)

After this follows the pageant of the Creation of the World, &c.[1]

The anonymous author of a dialogue on old plays and players, in the year 1699, speaks of a manuscript in the Cottonian library, entitled, "A collection of Plays, in old English metre," and conjectures that this perhaps may be the very play which Stow says was acted by the parish clerks, in the reign of Henry IV.; and it must be confessed that the conjecture of the author above-mentioned seems to be well warranted. By the character and language of the book, it seems to be upwards of three hundred years old. It begins with a general prologue, giving the arguments of forty pageants or gestulations, which are so many several acts or scenes representing all the histories of both Testaments, from the creation to the choosing of St. Matthias to be an apostle. The style of these compositions is as simple and artless as can be supposed ; nothing can be more so than the following dialogue :—

Maria.—But, husband, of a thyng pray you most mekely,
I haue knowing that your cosyn Elisabeth with childe is ;
That it please yow to go to her hastyly,
If ought we myht comfort her it were to me blys.
Joseph.—A Goddy's sake, is she with child—she ?
Than will hir husband Zachary be mery ;
In Montane they dwelle, far hence so mot yt be ;
In the City of Judah, I know it uerily.
It is hence, I trowe, myles two a fifty ;
We are like to be wery or we come of the same ;
I wole with a good wyll, blessed wyff Mary.
Now go we forth then in Goddy's name, &c.

[1] Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, vol. iii., p. 138.

A little before the Resurrection.

Nunc dormiunt milites et veniet anima Christi de inferno, cum Adam et Eva, Abraham, John Baptist, et aliis.

Anima Christi.—Come forth, Adam and Eve, with the,
And all my fryendes that herein be;
In Paradyse come forth with me,
In blysse for to dwell.
The fende of hell that is your foo,
He shall be wrappyd and woundyn in woo;
Fro wo to welth, now shall ye go,
With myrth ever mo to melle.

Adam.—I thank the Lord of thy grete grace,
That now is forgiven my great trespace;
No shall we dwell in blyssful place.

The last scene, which represents the Day of Judgment, begins thus:—

Michael.—Surgite; all men aryse.
Venite ad judicium.
For now is set the high justice,
And hath assygned the day of dome;
Kepe you redyly to this grett assyse,
Both grett and small, all and sum,
And of your answer you now advise,
What you shall say when that you come.[1]

The parish clerks were anciently poor, real clerks; their reading of the lessons (as now in some places) is an ancient custom, and was shared with the sub-deacons. Upon condition of their assistance at church, parsons were to let them have the holy water for hawking about; and they sprinkled not only the people, but the houses. They went about on Sundays with the censer. They attended funerals, going before the corpse, and singing, with their surplices hanging on their arms. In some churches they still wear a surplice without sleeves. There was at Rome a *Schola Cantorum*, or college of singing men, in churches, and in the same manner the parish clerks formed a guild or fraternity in the time of Henry III., and so excelled in church music, that ladies and men of quality on this account became members; and on certain days they had public feasts, with singing and music. Upon working days they attended the schools. Their ancient duty at church was to assist the priest at the altar, sing with him, and read the Epistle. In some places they had a contribution every Sunday from each housekeeper; for carrying the holy water at Christmas, a loaf from each house; some eggs at Easter, and corn in autumn; in other places a quarterage collected round the parish. Before the invention of newspapers, when country families thought it necessary in case they came to town to know the state of health there, the London clerks used to communicate accounts of it to them.[2]

In the year 1611 they were re-incorporated by James I, whose grant was afterwards confirmed by his son, Charles I. The company now consists of all the parish clerks of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and the fifteen out parishes included in the Bills of Mortality. They had the privilege of compiling and printing these bills, which were yearly and weekly returns of baptisms and burials presented at stated intervals to the King and the Lord Mayor. The "weekly bills" of the parish clerks have been superseded by the "Table of Mortality in the Metropolis," issued weekly from the Registrar General's Office, Somerset House, since the 1st July, 1837.

"The Parish Clerks' Company was incorporated in the year 1232, the 17 of Henry III., and known then by the name of the 'Brotherhood, or Fraternity of St. Nicholas.' Their charter was confirmed by several monarchs,

[1] Hawkins' *History of Music*, vol. iii., p. 530. Plays upon scriptural subjects were in use so late as the last century, when one Powel was the master of a popular puppet-show, in which was represented, at Bath, the "Creation of the World."—No. 16 of the *Tatler* (May, 1709). The same exhibition was thus advertised in a handbill:—"At Crawley's show, at the Golden Lion, near St. George's Church, during the time of Southwark fair, will be presented the whole story of the old 'Creation of the World,' or 'Paradise Lost,' yet newly revived, with the addition of 'Noah's Flood.'"—Bagford's Collections, Harl. MSS. 5931. See also the *Tatler* for May 14, 1709, and the *Spectator* of March 16th, 1711. The *al fresco* plays mentioned in the text were revivals of the earliest dramatic representations, which were at first rural diversions. They were exhibited in a cart, and the actor was rewarded with a goat, which was sacrificed to Bacchus. Thespis, who lived in the time of Solon, gave the first form to this rustic diversion; and Æschylus, instead of one, introduced two actors.—Babillard.

[2] Fosbrooke's *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, 8vo. ed., p. 803.

among whom, James I., in 1611, re-incorporated them ; and Charles I., by letters patent, dated 27th of February, 1636, styles them 'The Master, Wardens, and Fellowship of the Parish Clerks of the Cities of London and Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and fifteen out parishes.' The company is governed by a master, two wardens, and seventeen assistants, and it stands the 54th on the list of the companies of the City of London. Machyn, in 1555, records that on the 27th of May in that year, the parish clerks made a procession from Guildhall College, each clerk having a 'cope and a garlande with C stremers borne, and the whettes playinge round Chepe,' and to Leadenhall, Bishopsgate, to St. Ethelburga's Church, where they had sacrament, and from thence they returned to Barbers' Hall to dinner. And in 1732, exactly 500 years after they were first incorporated, the parish clerks published their very useful little work called 'New Remarks of London,' which, extending to over 400 pages, gives much interesting and not easily accessible information of the City and other parishes 130 years ago."[1]

Parish clerks, it is now well known, are universally laymen ; and for their maintenance, besides wages, have certain fees with the parson on christenings, marriages, burials, &c. They may be chosen agreeably to the canon, by the parson, vicar, or minister of the several parishes only, unless the custom has been for the churchwardens or parishioners to choose them, in which case, as has been proved by repeated decisions, the canon cannot abrogate the custom. When duly chosen and appointed, they are usually licensed by the ordinary, at which time they are sworn to obey the minister. The law looks upon them as officers for life, and to be deprived only by such as placed them in their office ;[2] neither can any ecclesiastical court correct them for misdemeanors, except by ecclesiastical censures. If unjustly deprived, a *mandamus*[3] will lie to the churchwardens to restore them.[4]

WRESTLING AT CLERKENWELL.

The vicinity of the Clerks' and Skinners' Well was famous for other amusements, particularly that of wrestling, which either succeeded to or supplemented the dramatic shows of the parish clerks. In this athletic sport, the wrestlers, it is supposed, were mounted, as if on horses, upon the shoulders of a second person, and in this manner tussled with one another. He who succeeded in dismounting his adversary, by dragging him off the shoulders of his carrier, was declared the victor, and awarded the prize for which he had competed. Sometimes a girdle was worn by these wrestlers, and no hold was to be taken below it. This athletic exercise appears to have been under the patronage of the Lord Mayor, who, customarily at Bartholomew fair time, came in state to Clerkenwell to see the wrestling. The ceremony to be observed by the Lord Mayor and corporation on these occasions is given from an official source by Allen, in his "History of London," vol. 4, pp. 253, 254, and is as follows:—



ANCIENT MODE OF WRESTLING

"On St. Bathlomew's Day for Wrestling.—So many aldermen as do dine with my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, be apparelled in their scarlet gowns lined ; and after dinner, their horses be brought to them where they dine, and those aldermen which dine with the sheriffs, ride with them to my lord's house, to accompany him to the wrestling ; then, when the wrestling is done, they take their horses and ride back again through the fair, and so home again to the Lord Mayor's house."

"When the Mayor goes out of the precincts of the City," says a contemporary, "a sceptre, a sword, and a cap, are borne before him, and he is followed by the principal aldermen in scarlet gowns, with gold chains, himself and they on horseback. Upon their arrival at the place appointed (Clerkenwell)

[1] Noble's *History of the City Companies.*

[2] By the 7 & 8 Vict. c. 59, s. 5, parish clerks may be suspended or removed by the archdeacon or other ordinary for misconduct or neglect.

[3] The Latin word mandamus is in English "We command ;" this is a writ issuing from the Court of Queen's Bench addressed to any person, corporation, or inferior court, requiring them to do some particular thing which appertains to their office or duty.

[4] 2 Rolle's *Abridgment*, 234, Gibs. 214.

for the purpose, where a tent is pitched for their reception, the mob begin to wrestle, two at a time; the conquerors receive rewards from the magistrates. After this is over, a parcel of live rabbits are turned loose among the crowd, which are pursued by a number of boys, who endeavour to catch them, with all the noise they can make." [1] These observations of an old traveller, Paul Hentzner, who visited England in the reign of Elizabeth, are confirmed in part by the testimony of Stow, who says that "In the month of August, about the feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, before the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, placed in a large tent near unto Clerkenwell, of old time, were divers days spent in the pastime of wrestling, where the officers of the City—namely, the sheriffs, sergeants, and yeomen, the porters of the King's beam or weigh-house, and other of the City, were challengers of all men in the suburbs to wrestle for games appointed."

At one of these public wrestlings, on St. Bartholomew's-day, 1456, at which the Lord Mayor and the sheriffs of London were present, as was also the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, to witness the sport, one of the servants of the Prior was a competitor, but on being foiled in the presence of his master was so ashamed that he desired to wrestle again. This the Lord Mayor refused to allow, which enraged the Prior of St. John's, who, in revenge, fetched a party of bowmen from the priory against the Mayor, and some slaughter ensued. The Mayor's cap was shot through with an arrow, yet he ordered that the sports of the day should continue, but no wrestlers came, whereupon he said he would stay awhile to make trial of the citizens' respect to him, and presently a great party of them came, with banners displayed, and fetched him home in triumph. [2]

Machyn, one of Stow's contemporaries, records in his "Diary" that the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs were at the wrestling at Clerkenwell, on the 23rd of August, 1559, which he tells us "was the fair day of things kept in Smithfield, being St. Bartholomew's-day;" and to that day, which in olden time was the citizens' holiday, this healthful exercise was limited. "Of late years," says Stow, in 1598, "the wrestling is only practised on Bartholomew's-day in the afternoon."

INCREASE OF BUILDINGS IN CLERKENWELL FROM THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE PRESENT.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne of her ancestors, and after a season of religious discord and persecution established peace and tranquillity, Clerkenwell was a very inconsiderable village, the rural character of which, and the circumscribed extent of its buildings, are apparent from a very curious plan and view of London, entitled "Civitas Londinum," of which an original is preserved in the Guildhall library, drawn by Ralph Aggas, soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, *circa* A.D. 1560. Clerkenwell, as shown by this pictorial plan, scarcely extended beyond the precincts of the nunnery and priory then but lately dissolved. Their respective boundary walls, particularly those of St. John's Priory, the direction of which is plainly shown, enclose many small tenements and gardens. St. John-street is not more than a third part built, the erections being chiefly at that end next the City. The backs of a very few houses in Cow Cross overlook the open field. In Turnmill-street, at its northern extremity, are a few houses pleasantly situated. Around St. John's Gate are a few gable-ended structures. At the south-west angle of the boundary wall of the nunnery there is a cluster of dwellings, and the old Clerks' Well may be easily recognised about the same spot. There are only two houses in Goswell-street beyond the Charterhouse, and the street itself is simply indicated by a road described as "from St. Albans." [3]

[1] *A Journey into England*, by PAUL HENTZNER, translated by Sir H. Walpole, 8vo., 1757, p. 36. [Walpole employed Richard Bentley, the son of the Doctor, to translate it.]

[2] BURTON'S *Historical Remarques of London*, 1681, p. 98.

[3] If the reader would strikingly mark the vast growth of England's metropolis during the last three hundred years, let him peruse Aggas's map, and then climb to the golden gallery round the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral. From that spot he will see the immense proportions of London and its environs now. As far as the eye can compass on every side spread miles of houses, while a multitude of towers and steeples stand as landmarks amongst them. Scarcely an open or green spot can be seen as an oasis in the wilderness of bricks and mortar. Let the observer think, as he stands above every spire of the city and its suburbs, what a vast change has taken place since Aggas drew his chart. Then Clerkenwell was a straggling outskirt as described in the text; Islington was a mere

Such were the very narrow limits of this now populous parish three centuries ago. The increase of buildings during an interval of nearly forty years, between the publication of Aggas's plan, in 1560, and Stow's "Survey," in 1598, may be inferred from the descriptions of the latter, who speaks of Goswell-street as replenished with small tenements, cottages, alleys, and gardens, banqueting-houses and bowling places, and of St. John-street as being "on both sides replenished with buildings up to Clerkenwell." Further, he observes that "many fair houses for gentlemen and others are now built about this priory (the nunnery), especially by the highway towards Islington."[1]



RAY STREET, SHOWING THE SITE OF THE OLD CLERKS' WELL AND ST. MARY'S CONVENT, AND THE TOWER OF THE PRESENT CHURCH OF ST. JAMES.

In 1661, the number of houses in the parish assessed to the poor was as follows:—In St. John-street, 43; in St. John's-lane, 41; in Garden-alley, now Red Lion-street, 23; in St. John's (Priory-court), 17; on Clerkenwell-greene, 47; in Turnmill-street, 112; in Bowling-alley, leading out of the forementioned thoroughfare, 15; on "Streete side," 4; in "Clerkenwelle-cloase," 45; in "The Fields," 8; "out landlords," 18; in the "Islington" portion of the parish, 47. Making a total of 418 houses.[2] When the great fire of 1666 ravaged the City of London, and reduced it to a heap of

embryo; Finsbury was dotted with windmills; Shoreditch Church marked the end of the north-east artery of London; Spitalfields were really meadows where cows pastured; London Bridge was a busy mart with shops upon it, and was the only land way of communication between the Middlesex and Surrey shores; Charing-cross had a cross in its open space; the Haymarket had fields on either side of it; and Holborn, and the places now called Piccadilly and Oxford-street were country roads, out amongst sweet meadows and trees.

[1] Stow's *Survey*, edition by Thoms.

[2] *Rate Book*, 1661. The assessments were by lunar months. In this rate book there are the following names amongst the inhabitants; the sums to each are their monthly assessments:—The Earle of Carlisle, 8s.; the Earle of Essex, 8s.; the Earle of Ailesbury, what he pleaseth, according to his desire (10s.); the Lord Barkely, 7s.; the Lord Townsend, at his honour's pleasure; Lady Crofts, 3s. 6d.; the Lord Dellawar, 2s. 6d.; Lady Wordham, 2s.;

ruins, its houseless inhabitants fled for shelter into the suburbs, particularly to those on the north, and the extension of buildings became an unavoidable necessity. In the words of an old writer, "the marring of the City was the making of the suburbs." Rolle, in "The Burning of London Commemorated and Improved," &c., published in 1667, indulges in the following reflections upon the suburbs coming into more request than ever since the fire :—

"How much more considerable are the suburbs now than they lately were? Some places of despicable termination, and as mean account, but a few moneths since, such as Hounds-ditch and Shor-ditch, do now contain not a few citizens of very good fashion. Philosophers say, 'Corruptio unius est generatio alterius :' so was the marring of the City the making of the suburbs. What rich commodities cannot the suburbs now supply us with, which heretofore could be had only within the walls? Time was that rich citizens would almost have held their noses, if they had passed by those places where now it may be they are constrained to dwell. What are the suburbs now become, but as it were the inside of the late famous city carried and placed without the walls. It would seem the poor despised suburbs were destined to hold up their heads more than ever, when the noble city should lie in dust and ashes as now it doth."

Clerkenwell, from its proximity to the City, there can be little doubt, was at this period augmented.

Of the limited extent of the parish in 1675, some idea may be formed by reference to Ogilby and Morgan's monster map of London, published at or near this time, projected on so large a scale as one inch to 100 feet. At this time there were no buildings north of the line of thoroughfares at present known as Bowling Green-lane and Corporation-lane, both of which at the period to which we refer were country lanes : beyond this limit there were three large bowling greens, numerous pastures, and ponds. In St. John-street, a range of houses extended as far north on the eastern side as the corner of Compton-street. This is further confirmed by the letterpress description accompanying a map of the road from London to Holyhead, in Ogilby's "Britannia :"—

"Entering St. John-street at 8.21, at 9.12 is Hick's Hall, and by it on the left is the way to St. John's *vulgo* St. Jones ; at 10.13 is Swan-alley *alias* Sutton-street on the right hand, the Earl of Aylesbury's garden, enclosed by a brick wall on the left ; at the east whereof and opposite the pound is the way to Clerkenwell-green. *Suddenly the buildings cease.*"

On the western side they reached somewhat higher. In St. John's-lane were continuous erections on either side. There were several blocks of houses in "St. John's-court," or square, having gardens before them, and still more extensive ones in the rear. Clerkenwell-green was built on either side, and the row of houses on the south side had then pleasant gardens before and behind. Both sides of Turnmill-street were also built, and the many courts and alleys for which it has long been famous, or rather infamous, were then existing, and bearing the same names they retain at present. Ray-street, or Hockley-hole, as it is called, was then entirely built. In "Town's-end, or Codpiece-row," *alias* Coppice-row, the buildings commenced just below the workhouse, on the western side ; and on the east, a short distance from Bowling Green-lane, at the south-west corner of which was a lay-stall, or dust and cinder heap, a place where any rubbish might be shot ; while near to the Clerks' Well was the parish pound. The numerous large gardens which are represented interspersed among the houses at this time must have rendered Clerkenwell a delightful place of residence, and we are not therefore surprised to find so many of the nobility and gentry located here in a situation which had the advantages of being *rus in urbe*.[1]

From "An account taken of the names of all the parishioners, inhabitants, and occupiers of lands within the parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell, in the Co. of Midd., together with the name of every housekeeper, landlord, and whatever they pay. By virtue of a warrant, dated in

Sir John Keeleing, referred to his honour's pleasure ; Sir John Cropley, 6s. ; Sir Edward Bannister, 3s. 6d. ; Sir Nicholas Stroude, 2s. ; Sir Gower Barrington, 2s. ; Dr. King, 2s. 6d. ; Dr. Sloane, 8d. It should be remembered that about this time the value of money was at least five times as much as it is now.

[1] The reason which is given in the following extract from Nelson's *History of Islington* (1811), in relation to the rise of that village, may be well applied to Clerkenwell :—"For several centuries previous to the reign of Charles I., many of the nobility, as well as the more opulent citizens, seem to have had houses at Islington, and a few other villages north of London ; of which many instances might be adduced (for the air of the Court and west end of the town was not then found so inviting as at the present day). Their dwellings were usually not far distant from town, which was probably owing to the badness of the roads ; it indeed seems clear that they were only passable occasionally."

Anno Dom., 1677,"[1] preserved among the Birch MSS., in the British Museum, it appears that house rents at this time varied considerably, even in the same locality, from which fact we may easily infer that the houses were neither uniform in size, nor fitted with the like conveniences. It is also evident that one part of Clerkenwell, as a residence for the nobility and gentry, was hardly more select than another. Thus, on "the Greene" there were residing:—Sir William Bowles, Knight and Baronet, who paid £20 per annum; Lady Povey, £18 per annum; Thomas Hodgkinson, an apothecary, £14 per annum; Lady Wright, £40 per annum; Sir Richard Cheverton, £45 per annum. In St. Johneses, in the square, we find a cooper who paid £6; a victualler, £8; a fringemaker, £10; a founder, £14 for a year's rent for their dwellings. In St. John's-lane, Thomas Brittaine, small coalman, and Walter Langley, plaisterer, paid respectively £4 per annum for their habitations. In the same thoroughfare, Mr. Matthew Poole paid £40, Sir William Palmer £20, and a Mrs. Elizabeth Fletcher £50 a-year for house rent.

In the northern parts of the parish were numerous small tenements, described as being in "Islington," the rents of which varied from £2 to £10 per annum. The principal landlords at this time were—The Earl of Northampton, who had lands let out to an innkeeper at £100 per annum; the Earl of Clarendon also to the amount of £130; Lady Cropley, £80; Lady Weeks, £20; Lady Pollard, £40; Earl of Aylesbury, £30; Alderman Richardson, £28; Sir Thomas Davis, £66. Christopher Busbee, innkeeper, held land of Esquire Wood, for which he paid yearly £120.[2]

The increase of buildings in Clerkenwell, which the foregoing statistics serve conclusively to show, must have been very rapid, when we consider how few erections there were on the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Houses were built in the suburbs, in direct contravention of the law, as promulgated by Elizabeth, who, in the 22nd year of her reign, by proclamation, did "charge and straightly command all manner of persons, of what quality soever they be, to desist and forbear from any new buildings of any houses and tenements within three miles of any of the gates of the said city of London, to serve for habitation or lodgings for any person, where no former house hath been known to have been in the memory of such as are now living." Houses at this time in the suburbs were built of wood; those of the richer sort with brick, usually two stories in height. In the City itself, they were three and even four stories high, the roofs were low, and where the owner had money were covered with lead.[3] So general was the infraction of this law respecting new buildings, that, in 1583, notice was again taken of the Queen's proclamation in a public manner, and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in a speech upon it, referred to the increase of new buildings as causing a lack of air, and of room to walk, to shoot, &c.; and what was worse still, an increase of people to rob the Queen's customs. The law, however, did not permit of these erections being pulled down, though it was competent to punish the builders. In the first year of the reign of James I., a year of pestilence, the progress of building in the suburbs received a temporary check, for it was by royal proclamation commanded that certain houses in the suburbs, which, owing to the "small and straight rooms," and the "pestering of many idle, indigent, dissolute, and dangerous persons in them, was one of the chiefest occasions of the plague," should be pulled down, and the justices of the peace were charged to suffer not any of the same to be newly erected.[4]

In 1615 was published a royal "Proclamation for Buildings," which, from its peculiar style of composition, was doubtless from the pen of James I. himself. Herein the King says, "Our citie of London has become the greatest or next greatest citie of the Christian world, it is more than time that there be an utter cessation of new buildings." This, it says, "shall be the furthest and utmost period and end of them." But this royal ordinance was of little avail; the growth of London

[1] Birch MSS., 3928, bequeathed to the nation by Dr. Thos. Birch, a former resident in Clerkenwell.

[2] At this time the following names also appeared in the rate books; the amounts set to each are their monthly assessments:—The Duke of Newcastle (not assessed); Lord Baltimore, 4s. 6d.; Lady Wright, 4s.; Lady Mary Dormer, 4s.,; Lady Wyndham, 2s.; Sir Erasmus Smith, 4s.; Sir Richard Cheverton, 4s.; Sir John Burdish, 3s. 8d.; Sir Goddard Nelthrope, 3s.; Sir John King, 3s.; Sir William Bowles, 2s. 6d.; Sir William Boulton, 2s. 6d.; the Mannour House in "the Fields" was assessed at 6d. The monthly assessment of "Mr. Briscoe, at the Ram, in Smithfield, for a feiled and bowling-alley in this parish," was 1s. 6d.

[3] Hentzner's *Journey in England in* 1598, p. 89.

[4] Seymour's *Survey of London*, vol. ii., p. 695.

was not to be restrained even by the high and mighty King James I. The mandate of this sapient king was much disregarded even within the limits of the parish of Clerkenwell.

"St. John-streete in the county of Midd." } "Richard Chickley, a brewer's clarke and servant to —— Sedgwicke, dwellinge at the George, at Fleetebridge, hath latelie converted an Inne, in the upper end of St. John-streete, called the Antelope, into a Brewhouse. And hath there within this fortnight ereeted a new building of tymber for the placing of his coppers, contrarie to his Matys'. proclamacons. And the said Chickley, being prohibited by John Bentley, gent., high constable, there by virtue of his Matys'. proclamacons that he should not proceede, would take noe notice thereof, but hath since finished both that and another buildinge of tymber thereunto adjoyning, all contrarie to his Matys'. proclamacons.

"St. John-streete. "Ralph Burton dwelling there, and Thomas Cotterell being nowe one of the petty constables there, hath latelie within these sixe moneths erected a smyth's forge there on new foundacons contrarie to his Matys'. proclamacons.

"The smoake that ascends from both their buildings doth verie much annoye the dwelling house of the Earl of Exeter, even in his dyning roome which is direetlie over against it.

"30 Marcii, 1629."[1]

His successor, Charles I., in 1630, the sixth year of his reign, thought it expedient for the repression of what was considered an alarming evil, to forbid by proclamation that any new buildings be ereeted in the City of London or the suburbs, within a distance of three miles from any one of the City gates.

We can hardly suppose that during the civil wars the number of new buildings in Clerkenwell or elsewhere about London was greatly augmented, but upon the establishment of the Commonwealth the erection of dwelling houses in the suburbs progressed rapidly, as may be gathered from the preamble of an Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1657, running thus:—"Whereas the *great* and *excessive* number of houses, edifices, outhouses, and cottages ereeted and new built in and about the suburbs of the city of London and the parts thereunto adjoining is found to be very *mischievous and inconvenient and a great annoyance and nuisance* to the Commonwealth; and whereas notwithstanding divers prohibitions heretofore had and made to the contrary, yet the said *growing evil* is of late so much multiplied and increased," &c. The act then proceeds to inflict a fine of "one year rent" upon the builders, occupiers, &c., of all such houses and other buildings as had been ereeted "within ten miles of the walls of the City since the 25th of March, 1620;" and further directs a penalty of £100 to be levied on all persons who should ereet "any dwelling house, out house, or cottage" within the limits mentioned without assigning "four acres of ground" to every such dwelling house, &c., respectively.

In 1683, Sir William Petty, in his "Political Arithmetic," expressed considerable alarm about the suburban increase of the metropolis. London, in 1682, contained about 670,000 persons. The growth of London would, he predicted, be at its greatest height in the year 1800, when its population would be eight times more than in 1682, or 5,369,000 souls; and stop before 1842, when it would be double the former number, and the population be equal to that of the rest of England. Time has exposed the fallacy of such reasoning, and London—

. . . opulent, enlarged,
And still increasing London,

with its suburbs included, has not attained a population of much more than half the number predicted.

Less than a century ago a strong desire to stunt the growth of London seems to have possessed the minds of our forefathers. It was the same bugbear that had disturbed the peace of generations before them: they were alarmed lest the off-shoots should impoverish the parent stock, and predicted that such must be an inevitable result. Ere a brick of Pentonville was laid, and whilst as yet there were in the northern parts of the parish pleasant pasture lands, hedgerows, flower gardens, and, it

[1] *Calendar of State Papers*, temp. James I.

may be, cornfields, it was proposed to make the New-road the great boundary for restraining the ruinous practice of building on the north side of the town. In a book entitled "London Improved," published in 1766, the author avows that it is his intention to "advise that proper bounds may be set to that fury which possesses the fraternity of builders" by imposing "severe penalties," since if "they are permitted to proceed at their accustomed rate, we may expect to find the hills of Highgate and Hampstead a considerable part of the suburbs of London; and when the limbs extend themselves so fast and grow out of proportion to the body which it is to nourish and sustain, it may be very rationally supposed that a consumption will be the consequence."[1] Time has realized the expectations of this alarmist, and it has also shown how fallacious were his reasonings. In 1708[2] Clerkenwell contained 1146 houses, and from official returns of the year 1710, it is to be gathered that there were 1500 families, comprising 9000 persons, resident in the parish in that year.

In 1723, when an apportionment of the parish of St. James was effected by Queen Anne's Commissioners for Building New Churches, and a new parish of St. John was constituted by them, some disputation arose between the parish officers of St. James and the Queen's commissioners respecting the matter. An official "Statement of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, as it stood at and before the time of dividing it and erecting part thereof into the new parish of St. John," &c., was published in December, 1723, which statement exhibited in a tabulated form the number of houses, rating, &c. From this document, which was a counter statement, "Printed to shew the mistakes of the account given by the old parishioner," it appears that the whole parish of St. James contained 1619 houses and 14,383 rents. Of houses of £20 per annum and upwards, there were 130; of £8 and upwards, 503; under £8 annual value, 986. Of this aggregate number there were only 956 paying poor's rate. By the division, as settled by the commissioners, 856 houses were left to the old parish of St. James, and 763 assigned to the new parish of St. John.

By the year 1732[3] the number of houses in Clerkenwell had increased to 1900, and in 1753 they had so augmented that in St. James's alone there were 1400 dwellings. With all this rapid augmentation it is surprising to observe, from maps of the district published a century and more ago, how limited was the extent of ground occupied by regularly formed streets in the parish of St. James. In a map now before us, published in 1755, for an edition of Stow's "Survey of London," the line of thoroughfare extending from Coppice-row into St. John-street, known at present as Bowling Green-lane and Corporation-lane, is almost the extreme limit of any connected buildings northward. Beyond are the fields, intersected by paths, which coincide with the direction of many existing streets built thereon, and dotted over with places of public amusement and small tenements.

About the year 1773, on the lands of Henry Penton, Esq., were commenced the earliest erections of the extensive chapelry of Pentonville, which, for many years, was selected as a place of residence for gentlemen and affluent tradesmen. It was separated from the rest of the parish by several intervening fields, there being at that time no connected buildings north of the London Spa, at the end of Rosoman's-row. Pentonville was, in fact, a small *vill* or township in the parish of Clerkenwell. The accession it thus received augmented the number of houses in the entire parish to 3320 by the year 1801. In the course of another decade of years, 846 more dwellings were added to the number.

During the first twenty years of the present century arose Exmouth-street, Myddelton-street, Spencer-street, Ashby-street, and others. In 1821, there were 4995 inhabited houses in Clerkenwell, 202 uninhabited, and 185 in course of erection. The next ten years were characterized by extensive building operations. During this time Myddelton-square, Wilmington-square, Tysoe-street, Yardley-street, Margaret-street, Upper Rosoman-street, and many small streets were also built. Upwards of a thousand houses were erected from 1821 to 1831. In the latter year there were enumerated in the census 6015 houses inhabited, 370 unoccupied, and 152 in course of building in the whole of Clerkenwell. In 1841, there were 6953 inhabited houses, 290 not inhabited, and 79 in course of building. From the census returns of 1851, it appears that there were in that year 7224 inhabited houses, 306 uninhabited, and 19 in course of erection. By comparing these statistics with the returns

[1] Gwynne's *London Improved*, 4to, 1766, p. 10. [2] Hatton's *New View of London*, 1708.
[3] *New Remarks of London*, by the Company of Parish Clerks, 1732.

of 1801, it is apparent that during an interval of fifty years, upwards of four thousand houses had been erected in the parish of Clerkenwell—a prodigious increase when compared with its slow growth at former periods. The population during the same period proportionably increased; thus, in 1801, there were 23,396 persons of all ages and of both sexes resident in Clerkenwell. By the year 1831, the population of the entire parish was double that number, or 47,634; and when the census was taken in 1851, it amounted to 64,778, of which number more than two-thirds were Londoners by birth. According to the preliminary report of the Registrar-General on the census returns for the 8th of April, 1861, the Superintendent-Registrar's district of Clerkenwell (*i.e.* the parish) contained on that day, 7086 inhabited houses, and a population of 65,632. The report above referred to was published subject to revision when the census returns had been finally arranged and completed, which they have not yet been.

The annual value of property in the parish of St. James and St. John, Clerkenwell, was assessed by the Metropolitan Board of Works, for the purposes of ratal, in 1862-63, at £221,372; the assessment being made according to the estimate or basis on which the county rate was assessed.

For the purposes of registration, the entire parish is divided into four sub-districts—St. James, Amwell, Pentonville, and Goswell-street. The sub-district of St. James comprises all that part of Clerkenwell southward of a line commencing at the bottom of Eyre-street-hill, thence along the boundary line of the Amwell sub-district, along the middle of Little and Great Bath-streets, thence in a southerly direction along the middle of Coppice-row to Bowling Green-lane, thence along the middle of Bowling Green-lane, Corporation-row, and Percival-street, until the said line terminates in Goswell-street. Its area is 74 acres. The number of houses in 1851 was 2234, inhabited by 21,529 persons; this, however, includes 419 persons in the workhouse, and 246 in the House of Detention, both of which are in this sub-district.

The Amwell sub-district is contained within a line commencing at the end of Penton-place, and running along the middle of which to the New-road, as far as Claremont-square, thence southward along the middle of the road forming the western side of Claremont-square, thence along the middle of the several streets called Amwell-street, Upper Rosoman-street, and Rosoman-street, as far as Corporation-row, thence westward down the middle of Bowling Green-lane into Coppice-row, thence northward along the middle of Coppice-row as far as Great Bath-street, thence along the middle of Great Bath-street and Little Bath-street, to the end of the last named street, opposite Eyre-street-hill, thence in a line through the back of Great Warner-street as far as Dorrington-street, thence northward along the boundary line which separates Clerkenwell parish from the parish of St. Pancras, up to Penton-place, where the line commences. The area of this sub-district is 82 acres, and it contained in 1851, 1616 houses, and a population of 15,720 persons, including 1219 in the House of Correction.

The Pentonville sub-district comprises all that part of the parish northward of a line commencing at the end of Penton-place, at the junction of Hamilton-row and Bagnigge-place, and running along the middle of Penton-place to the New-road, thence in an easterly direction along the middle of the New-road until the line terminates at High-street, Islington. The area included in this sub-district is 134 acres, containing, in 1851, 1503 houses, and a population of 9522 persons. This sub-district includes a detached part of the parish, comprising 65 acres, situate north of Islington, in Colney Hatch-lane, and containing eight houses, and 58 persons, in 1851.

Goswell-street sub-district comprises such parts of the parish as are not included in the above. Its area is 90 acres, its population, in 1851, was 15,625, and the number of inhabited houses was 1871.

BOUNDARIES OF THE PARISH.

Clerkenwell lies within the Finsbury division of the hundred of Ossulton, in the county of Middlesex. The boundaries of the parish are as follows:—Along the whole northern line lies the parish of Islington; to the east, parts of Islington and St. Luke's; south, St. Sepulchre's and part

of St. Andrew's; west, parts of St. Andrew's and St. Pancras. Its circumference, including the various sinuosities of its exterior line, is nearly three miles and a half; its greatest length in a right line between any two given points is about one mile and three-fourths of a furlong; and its greatest breadth, similarly reckoned, somewhat more than half-a-mile and a furlong. It includes an area of 380 statute acres.

The boundaries we have described are perambulated every year by the ministers, churchwardens, and other officers of the parish. This is one of those old usages still retained by the Established Church. We have no authentic record of the precise origin of this custom, which appears to have been derived from the French: for we find Mamertus, the Bishop of Vienne, first ordered it to be observed about the middle of the fifth century, upon the prospect of some particular calamity that threatened his diocese. By an injunction of Queen Elizabeth, it was ordered "That the people shall once a year, at the time accustomed, with the curate and substantial men of the parish, walk about the parishes as they were accustomed, and at their return to church make their common prayers, as heretofore in the days of Rogation.[1] The minister at certain convenient places shall admonish the people to give God thanks in beholding of God's benefits for the increase and abundance of his fruits upon the face of the earth, with the saying of the 104th Psalm, *Benedic anima mea*, &c.; at which time also the said minister shall inculcate this and such like sentences—'Cursed be he which translateth the bounds and doles of his neighbour,' or such other order of prayer as shall be hereafter appointed."[2] Wheatley says, "No such prayers, indeed, have since been published; but there is a homily appointed, which is divided into four parts; the three first to be used upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and the fourth upon the day when the parish make their procession."

"On Ascension Day," says Sir John Hawkins, "it is the custom of the inhabitants of parishes, with their officers, to perambulate, in order to perpetuate the memories of their boundaries, and to impress the remembrance thereof in the minds of young persons, especially boys."[3] To invite boys, therefore, to attend to this business, some little gratuities were found necessary. Accordingly, it was the custom, at the commencement of the procession, to distribute to each a willow wand, and at the end thereof a handful of *points*, which were looked on by them as honorary rewards long after they ceased to be useful, and were called tags. Another expedient for impressing on the recollection of the young particular boundaries was to administer a castigation on the spot to one or more of the boys present, for whose smarts an anodyne was given in the shape of a gift of money. Thus, in the "Churchwarden's Book," of Chelsea, for 1670, occurs an item of 4s., "given to the boys that were whipt," and of 2s. "paid for poynts for the boys."[4] The famous Hooker, author of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," was very particular in the observance of these perambulations, and invited both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of their parish rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulations, in which he would usually express more pleasant discourse than at other times, and would then always drop some loving or facetious observations to be remembered against next year by the boys and young people.

There does not appear to be any law by which the observance of this custom can be enforced, nor can the ecclesiastical judges oblige the churchwardens to go their bounds. The right to perambulate parochial boundaries, to enter private property for that purpose, and to remove obstructions that might prevent this from being done cannot, however, be disputed. It prevails, as a notorious custom, in all parts of England,—is recorded by all our text writers,—and has been confirmed by high judicial sanction. But an entry into a particular house cannot be justified, unless it stand upon the boundary line, and unless it be necessary to enter it for the purpose of effecting the perambulation. It was even thought at one time that a custom for refreshment, during a perambulation, might be supported, as due of right from the house or land; but such custom, on being questioned, was held to be invalid.

[1] "The service appointed was the 103rd and 104th Psalms, with the Litany and the Homily of Thanksgiving."—Sparrow's *Rationale*, p. 161.

[2] Gibson's *Code of Ecclesiastical Law*.

[3] *History of Music*, vol. ii., p. 112.

[4] Lyson's *Environs*, vol. ii., p. 146.

In consequence of the Popish abuses arising from feasting, processions, and superstition during these boundary journeys, Queen Elizabeth forbade processions, but retained the useful and innocent part of the perambulations.[1]

THE MANOR OF ST. JOHN, CLERKENWELL.

The manorial history of Clerkenwell may be thus detailed. The Manor of St. John of Jerusalem takes its name from the original possessors, the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, in England; and, being chiefly situate within the parishes of Clerkenwell and Islington, may be said to represent the knights' landed possessions in these parishes.

All that Jordan Briset, the founder of their house and hospital in Clerkenwell (who was styled "Dominus de Clerkenwell," and who, from such description, may be assumed to have been the lord of that fee in the reign of Henry I.) actually possessed, cannot be accurately distinguished at the present time; but it seems evident that some time after the foundation of the house at Clerkenwell, the hospitallers obtained, by gift from Thomas (who was also known as Gilbert) Foliot, a descendant of Henry Foliot, the first husband of Leeia, the eldest daughter of Jordan Briset, the Commandry Mantells, and, from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, their possession in Islington and Holloway. "I consider," says Mr. Tomlins, "that these acquisitions were made subsequent to the first year of King John's reign, who at that time gave the hospitallers a charter reciting and confirming the grants they had previously obtained, for I find nothing in that charter that relates to the possessions last alluded to." At the dissolution of monastries this manor became the property of the Crown. In pursuance of the will of Henry VIII., some of the Clerkenwell possessions of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, together with the services of the copyholders in Iseldon and Holloway, were assigned for the maintenance of the Lady Mary, afterwards Queen Mary; who, upon her accession to the crown, revived the order that her father had suppressed, and restored to its members their ancient possessions, which she confirmed to them by her charter. In the following reign—namely, that of Elizabeth—this and other manors were again annexed to the Crown, and the priory was suppressed; the revenues continued to be paid into the Exchequer until the last year of the reign of King James, who had contracted to grant the same, together with other possessions of the priory, in fee farm; but he dying before the completion of the contract, his successor, Charles I., by letters patent, dated at Westminster the 24th of May, 1626, granted to Robert Dixon and William Walley, gentlemen, and to their heirs in fee farm at an annual rent of £17 18s. 10d., this manor by the description of "All that our Manor of St. John of Jerusalem in England, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances, called the Manor of Clerkenwell *alias* St. John's, Clerkenwell, in the County of Middlesex, and also all those our rents of assise of the free tenants of the same manor." (Here are described some free rents issuing out of tenements in Clerkenwell, St. Giles Cripplegate, and St. Clement Danes.) "And also those our rents of assise, as well of the free as of the customary tenants, in Iseldon and Holloway, parcel of the manor aforesaid, and the soil and ground of the lands and tenements of the same customary tenants, by particular thereof amounting to £4 4s. 9½d. *per annum*, as also the services therefore due to us and belonging, And all those works of the customary tenants in Iseldon and Holloway aforesaid, by particular thereof amounting to £4 11s. 2d. *per annum*, as also those rents for the said customary tenants payable yearly."[2]

The manor seems to have been conveyed soon afterwards to Justinian Povey, who held it for several years. In 1643, Christopher Wase, Esq., of Upper Holloway, died seized of this manor, and leaving issue two daughters, Hester,—married to Sir William Mainwaring, and afterwards to Sir Henry Blount,—and Judith, the wife of George Master, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn. These two ladies took the manor between them as co-heiresses. From this period it has been divided into moieties; one moiety came into the family of the Shorts, and was afterwards devised to Colonel Henry Hasard,

[1] Prideaux *on Churchwardens*, p. 253, et seq.

[2] *Patent* 1 Car., p. 2, No. 4, cited in Tomlin's *Yseldon*, p. 127.

who took the name of Short, pursuant to the will of John Short, Esq., of Edlington, in Lincolnshire; it was afterwards possessed by his brother, John Garbrand Hasard, who also took the name of Short. The other moiety continued in the Master family until the year 1741 or 1742, when it was sold by Thomas Master, Esq., to William Snell, Esq., from whom it has descended to the present owner. There are a Court Leet, a Court Baron, and a Customary Court holden for this manor on Holy Thursday, at which the lords were privileged, by ancient custom, to appoint constables and head-boroughs[1] over the various liberties of each parish over which the manor extends. These courts are now held at the Belvidere Tavern, Pentonville. The jurisdiction of the Leet does not extend beyond the limits of the parish of Clerkenwell. To the Court Baron the free tenants have long since ceased paying their pence, and there are but few copyholders to do suit to the Customary Court. Such lands as can be shown to be subject to the custom of the manor descend in borough English, whereby the youngest son of a copyholder inherits, or, in default of issue, the youngest brother. The fines are arbitrary, and at the will of the lord, whose custom is to take two years' improved rent on a descent, and one year and a half on alienation. No heriots[2] are taken, and widows are entitled to dower of the copyhold.

THE MANOR OF ST. MARY, CLERKENWELL.

The Manor or Lordship of Clerkenwell is not unfrequently styled "The Manor of St. Mary, Clerkenwell," to distinguish it from St. John's, Clerkenwell. It appears from the earliest time to have been a portion of the possessions of the Nunnery of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, which convent exercised manorial jurisdiction over it. The present site of the manor comprehends about 110 acres, mostly lying in front of the high road on the ascent to Highgate-hill, and taking in St. John's Church, Upper Holloway, and beyond Whittington-stone to Gordon-place, where it extends across to Maiden-lane; being bounded on the south by Barnsbury Manor, on the north by the last field in Maiden-lane, on the west by the Manors of St. John of Jerusalem and Barnsbury, on the east by the high, or old Great North-road leading from Highgate to London.

By indenture, dated the 3rd of April, in the 36th year of the reign of Henry VIII., George Blagg, son and heir of Robert Blagg, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, mortgaged to Thomas Malbye, citizen and fishmonger of London, "All and singular his customary or copyhold lands, tenements, and hereditaments, &c., sett, lying, and being in the town, parish, and feylds of Holoway, within the lordship or manor of Clerkenwell, in the County of Middle."[3]

No doubt that Iseldon, at the time of the compilation of the Doomsday Book, included a greater part of the tract north-westward of London, now constituting the parish of Clerkenwell; for, in that chronicle, the land of Geoffrey de Mandeville, afterwards called the Commandry Mantells, is stated to be in "Isendone." Indeed, all that part of the Manor of St. John of Jerusalem which lies in Clerkenwell, and forms the greater part of what is now the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, may be said to belong to Islington; for the site of that manor, which also extends itself over a great part of Islington parish, originally formed part of those prebendal possessions which seem to have been granted by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to Ralph de Berners, and subsequently by him to the Priory of St. John, and other religious communities.

It is also evident that that which now forms the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, was first claimed or created in respect of the possessions in Clerkenwell, formerly belonging to the dissolved nunnery, for Muswell-hill, on the north-west side of Hornsey, is claimed as a detached portion of that which has

[1] Head-borough, the head of a borough. King Alfred instituted tithings, so called from the Saxon, because ten freeholders and their families composed one. These all dwelt together, and were sureties or free pledges to the king for the good behaviour of each other. One of the tithing is annually appointed to preside over the rest, being called the tithing-man or head-borough (from Saxon *borh*, signifying a surety).

[2] Heriot (*heregeat*, Saxon), a tribute to the lord of whom an hereditament is held. There are two kinds:—(1) heriot service, payable on the death of a tenant in fee simple, due upon a special reservation; (2) heriot custom, depending entirely on general usage, due upon the death or alienation of a tenant for life. It is sometimes the best live beast or *averium* which a tenant dies possessed of; sometimes the best inanimate good, as a jewel or piece of plate; but it must be a personal chattel.

[3] Tomlin's *Yseldon*, p. 50.

been called, before as well as since the Reformation, the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell; also that portion of land which lies in Holloway, and is called Clerkenwell Manor, as well as that which now forms the nucleus of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, can be traced very distinctly as having been part of the possessions of the nunnery. Besides this, a distinction is made in the Patent Rolls in describing the land which belonged to the two dissolved establishments—viz., the Priory of St. John and the Nunnery of St. Mary—for the land which belonged to the former is described as being situate within the parishes of Iseldon and Clerkenwell, and the land which belonged to the latter is always stated to be in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell.

The only feasible mode of accounting for the encroachment on the parochial boundary of Islington, which must have originally extended to the further end of St. John-street, is that the inhabitants of Clerkenwell, having obtained the Nunnery Church, with the rectory and vicarage, which had existed from the most ancient times, and wherein divine offices had been constantly performed by the vicar appointed by the nuns in trust for themselves, rated the persons frequenting the church as parishioners; and as the land in that quarter which had been part of the possessions of St. John's, and chiefly consisted of fields, comprising the greater part if not all of that which is now Pentonville, were exempt from tithe by the Pope's privilege as well as by statute, neither the vicar nor the parish of Islington had any motive to claim the lands which imparted no benefit to the one, and imposed a burden on the other. The intermixture of the lands belonging to the priory and nunnery has also tended to confound the boundary. In conclusion it may be said that all that part of the Manor of St. John of Jerusalem which lies in Clerkenwell anciently belonged to Islington, as never having formed part of the ancient Manor of Clerkenwell, which belonged to Jordan Briset, the founder, and from him came to the nunnery, together with the rectory. Stow notices that the church of the nunnery served as a church not only for Clerkenwell, but all up to Highgate, Muswell, &c., which seems to show that the site of the Manor of Clerkenwell in Islington was then considered to be part of Clerkenwell, as in strictness it was, upon the same principle that Muswell is claimed as a detached portion of the same parish; indeed, upon this principle, all other land in Islington which had belonged to the nunnery ought to belong to Clerkenwell.

The manor now under consideration consists chiefly of pure copyhold land, and has from time immemorial been in the possession of the Compton family, and the Marquises of Northampton have been *par excellence* Lords of the Manor. "What chiefly deserves remark is the fact that the manorial rights were suffered to lie dormant for nearly fifty years—namely, from 1751, when the holding of a Court Leet and Baron is recorded, until about forty years back; and it was only from an accidental discovery of old documents at the latter mentioned period, that the existence of the Manor of Clerkenwell became re-apparent."[1] Special courts are still held occasionally in the parish. The fines upon the tenure of land in this manor are two years' improved rent upon descent, and one year and a-half of like rent upon alienation; the course of descent being according to the common law.

THE DETACHED PORTION OF CLERKENWELL PARISH AT MUSWELL.

At Muswell, or Muswell-hill, which "place taketh the name of the well and of the hill, Mouswell-hill, for there is on the hill a spring of faire water," says Norden, on the north-western confines of Hornsey, at a distance of about five miles and a half from London, there is a parcel of land belonging to the parish of Clerkenwell, comprising about 65 acres, chiefly pasture land. Those who inhabit the few dwellings built there are included by the Registrar-General in his returns for the Pentonville district. This small tract was granted to the Nunnery of Clerkenwell by Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London, about the year 1112, to whom the Manor of Hornsey, in which it is situated, belonged. From time immemorial the Bishops of London have been Lords of the Manor of Hornsey, and formerly had a castellated residence at Lodge-hill, now part of the King's Arms Farm,

[1] Cromwell's *Walks in Islington*, 1835, p. 34.

which became ruinated at a very early period, and the old materials of it were used, says Norden, writing about 1593, in the erection of Hornsey Church, 1500. In the charter of confirmation granted by King Henry II. to the "*Ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Fonte Clericorum juxta Londoniam*," the grant of land at Muswell by Richard, Bishop of London, is mentioned. "Ex doni Ricardi episcopi Lundoniæ terram de Mosewelle."[1] Richard de Belmeis is supposed to have erected on the land which he gave to the nunnery a chapel, and dedicated it to "Our Lady of Muswell." In it there was an "image of the Ladie of Muswell, whereunto was a continual resort in the way of pilgrimage," says Norden,[2] "in regard of a great cure which was performed by this water on a king of Scots, who, being strangely diseased, was advised by some divine intelligence to take the water of a well in England, called Muswell; which after long scrutation and inquisition this well was found, and performed the cure." "The water of this spring is drank for some distempers still," adds Aubrey,[3] writing, in 1696, of this legendary cure. Pilgrimages to Muswell were common in Queen Mary's days, and there is good reason to believe that they were characterized by gross licentiousness, for, in the year 1531, John Hewes, a draper of London, who, although he no doubt had spoken the honest truth, was made to abjure for saying "that hee heard thee vicar of Croydon thus preach openly, 'there is as much bawdrye (immorality) kept by going in pilgrimage to Wilesdon or *Mousswell* as in the Stews syde,'" (which was on the Bankside, near London Bridge, then abounding with licensed brothels). That much vice and immorality did prevail among those on a pilgrimage to some holy well or saintly shrine, there is enough contemporary evidence to show. Friar Donald says, "Camden preached at St. Paul's Crosse that our Ladie was a virgin, and yet at her pilgrimages was made many a foule meeting." There were other lesser evils arising out of these pilgrimages, undertaken with seeming devotion. "If these men and women," says one, "be a month on their pilgrimage, many of them shall be half a year after great janglers, tale tellers, and lyers." The Scotch pilgrims, of which we doubt not there were many to Muswell, seeing that a cure had been effected at the holy well on one of their kings, were so famous for lying and marvellous adventures, that "to lie like a Scotchman" became a proverb. Now the lusty pilgrims are no more, and a clearer faith enlightens men's hearts. Few visit this spot even on a pilgrimage of pleasure. Once in seven years a troop of noisy boys come here, along with the minister and parish magnates, to beat the boundary marks, in lieu of being whipped into a remembrance of them.[4]

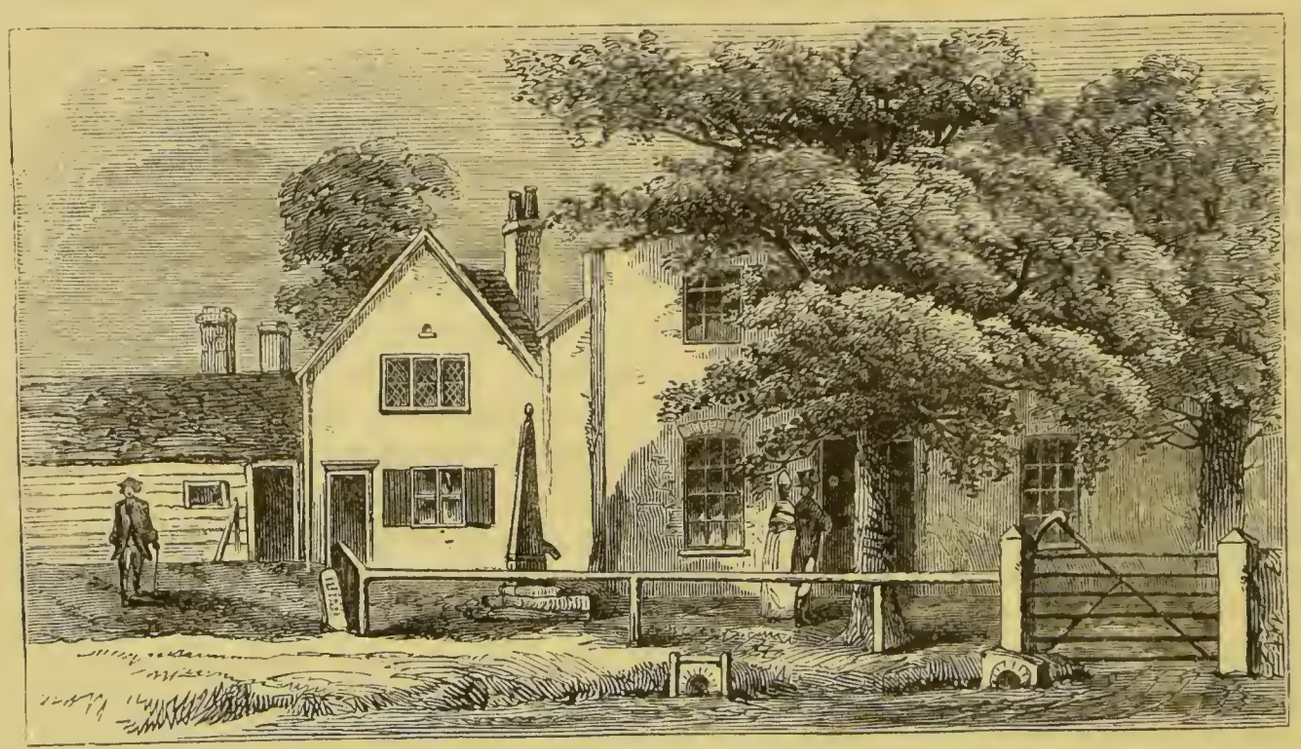
At the dissolution of the Nunnery of Clerkenwell its possessions at Muswell were valued at £5 8s. 2d. per annum. In 1544 the messuage called Muswell Farm, with the chapel of Muswell, in "*Parochia de Clerkenwell*," were in the possession of William Cowper and his wife Cecily,[5] but were aliened in 1546. In 1577 they were aliened by Anne Godwin and John Wighall to William Rowe and his heirs. This was "Alderman Roe," Lord Mayor of London in 1592, whom Norden, in 1593, speaks of as having erected a "proper house" on the site of the ancient chapel of Our Lady of Muswell. They continued in the possession of the Rowe family until the end of the last century. Newcourt, writing in 1700, says, "Muswell-hill was sold, as I am informed, by Sir Thomas Rowe. It came at the time, or soon after, into the hands of the Pulteney family, and is now the property of Lady Bath." The family of Rowe of Muswell-hill became extinct in the person of Anthony Rowe, Esq., who was buried at Hackney in 1704, and left some daughters, co-heiresses, one of whom married an ancestor of the Marquis of Downshire.[6]

The wells from which this tract and the hill comprising it take their name, are two in number, and continue in good preservation, being bricked round to the depth from which they seemingly spring (about five feet and a half), and enclosed besides from the field where they are situated by wooden railings. Though only a few yards asunder, their waters differ in quality; that of one being hard, sweet, and beautifully pellucid, while the other more nearly resembles rain water, and is used only for the purposes to which the latter is applied. Neither is supposed to possess any medicinal properties.

[1] *Cartæ ad Clerkenwellensis Prioratum*—Cott. MSS. *Faustina*, b. ii. num. xxiii. fol. 9.
[2] Norden's *Speculum Brittainæ*, pp. 36, 37.
[3] Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, ed. 1784, p. 89.
[4] Fox's *Ecclesiastical History*, fol., 1576, p. 1016.
[5] Org. 35 Hen. VIII., ro. 16.
[6] Lyson's *Environs*, vol. iii, p. 52,

By the united and ceaseless overflowings of these wells, a rivulet is formed, named after them the Mose or Moselle, which descending the hill takes a devious course through the parishes of Hornsey and Tottenham. In the latter village it makes a remarkable bend, in shape like that of the Greek letter *omega;* but eventually it finds its way into the River Lea at Broadmead Marsh.

This detached portion of the parish at Muswell, on the eastern side of Colney Hatch-lane, is chiefly pasture land; only eight dwellings are at present erected on it; the two by the roadside are traditionally said to occupy the site of the dairy farm, which in monastic times sent its produce to the



BOUNDARY HOUSE, MUSWELL HILL, AS IT APPEARED EARLY IN THE PRESENT CENTURY.

nuns of Clerkenwell. Part of a house adjoining the before-mentioned two being included within the parochial boundary, the perambulators, when beating the bounds, are obliged to pass through this latter dwelling, in order to maintain the ancient limits of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, in this direction.

At "Mattyson's," a noble mansion now destroyed, the lands of which are in the parish of Clerkenwell, at Muswell-hill, was born, in the year 1557, Sir Julius Cæsar, a relative by marriage and the intimate friend of the celebrated Francis, Lord Bacon, to whom he afforded an asylum in his misfortunes. Fuller says:

"Sir Julius Cæsar was born in this county (Middlesex), his father having a house nigh unto Tottenham. His father was a doctor of physicke to Queen Elizabeth, and descended of the ancient family of Dalmarri in Italy. This his son was bred at Oxford, and after other intermediate preferments was advanced Chancelour of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and sworn privie counsellor, on Sunday, the 6 of July, 1607, and afterwards was preferred master of the Rouls. A person of prodigious bounty so that he might seem to be almoner general of the nation. The story is well known of a gentleman who once borrowing his coach, (which was as well known to poor people as any hospital in England), was so rendevouzed about with beggars in London, that it cost him all the money in his purse to satisfie their importunity, so that he might have hired twenty coaches on the same termes. Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, was judicious in his election when perceiving his dissolution to approach he made his last bed in effect in the house of Sir Julius. He continued more than twenty years master of the Rolls, and, though heaved at by some expectants, sate still in his place well poyzed therin, with his gravity and integrity, *Vir tantarum Elemosynarum non movebitur;* a man of so great alms and prayer made by him and for him shall not be removed. Nor was it without a prosperous omen that his chief house in Hartfordshire was called Benington, that is, *Villa Benigna*, the bountiful village, as one author will have it. What shall I speak of his arms?—viz., gules 3 roses argent on a chief of the first, so many roses of the second, emblemeing the fragrancy of the memory he hath left behind him."[1]

[1] Fuller's *Worthies*, Middlesex, p. 179.

Sir Julius Cæsar enjoyed royal patronage from his infancy, Queen Mary, by her proxy, Lady Monacute, being his sponsor, together with Paulett, Marquis of Winchester, and Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. At twelve years of age he was sent to Oxford, where he became a student at Magdalene College, and took the degree of B.A., in 1575, and that of M.A., in 1578. He was admitted a member of the Inner Temple in 1580, and proceeding to Paris, took there a degree of doctor of both laws, and the same at Oxford in 1583. He was an eminent judge. He made the mansion at Muswell-hill his country seat, it having been for several generations the home of his ancestors. He was living here in 1619, and also in 1626, when he was summoned hence to attend the sick bed of his particular friend, Lord Bacon, who lay at the point of death in the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate, from the effects of a sudden chill, occasioned by the trial of an experiment whether flesh could not be preserved in snow as well as in salt; for which purpose, while taking an airing, he went to a poor woman's cottage at the bottom of Highgate-hill, and bought a hen, the body of which he stuffed with snow. In doing this the chill seized him, and he was obliged to be conveyed to the mansion of the Earl of Arundel, where, the bed which he used being damp, he caught so severe a cold that he died of suffocation in the arms of his benevolent relative, Sir Julius Cæsar, on Easter Sunday, April 9th, 1626. The family mansion of the Cæsars, which is rudely depicted in "Hornsey Grounds," on the south-west side of Tottenham wood, in a plan of the parishes of Tottenham and Edmonton, in 1619, was long since pulled down, and on the site a farm-house was erected, with a farm of 367 acres in extent attached to it, of which 19 acres, 3 roods, 35 poles, are in the parish of Clerkenwell.[1] In 1680, we find Sir Paul Painter residing at Muswell-hill, and paying 4s. 6d. per month, the assessment upon his property for the relief of the poor of Clerkenwell.[2] "The Grove" at Muswell-hill, the residence of William Block, Esq., is remarkable as having been visited by Dr. Johnson. The grounds were laid out by his favourite companion, Topham Beauclerk, and to this day one of the walks retains the name of "Dr. Johnson's Walk."[3]

GEOLOGY OF THE PARISH.

With regard to the soil, little need be said, the entire surface being nearly covered with houses. It is seldom that the substratum is exposed: the geological features, however, which have been observed, are not peculiarly local, but are those of the whole northern district of London. The stratum next the surface consists, in most parts of the district, of several feet thickness of made earth; and immediately beneath it occurs either gravel, rich loam, or sand, graduating into the brickmaker's red clay, which extends under a great part of the Metropolis and its environs, accompanied by a bed of sand thirty feet and upwards in thickness. Below this is the extensive stratum of blue clay, which, from its situation, geologists have aptly named, the "London Clay," the average thickness of which, in this parish, may be about one hundred feet. The blue clay beneath Clerkenwell forms a very inconsiderable portion of what is termed by geologists the "London Clay Basin," which extends northward as far as Ridge-hill, on the road to St. Alban's, and southward to the Surrey hills. Eastward it stretches on the Kentish side of the Thames to Deptford, and includes an isolated patch at Shooter's-hill, while on the Essex side it may be considered as prolonged to Southend. It terminates on the north-west at Harrow-on-the-Hill, where it attains its greatest thickness, being about 600 or 700 feet. The hills in general are not found to exceed the height of from 400 to 500 feet, which is about the altitude of Highgate, Hampstead, and Shooter's hills.

Where gravel prevails, it extends to a depth of about twenty feet, overlying the red or brick-maker's clay, which, it should be observed, is only the upper surface of the substratum of blue clay, which, abounding in pyrites or sulphurate of iron, from exposure to the agency of moisture, has undergone a partial decomposition, by which it has been converted into a red oxide, the colouring

[1] Robinson's *History of Tottenham*, vol. i., p. 55. [2] *Rate Book*, 1680.
[3] Churton's *Railroad Book of England*, 1851, p. 64.

matter of the clay as well as of the gravel overlying it. Underlying the blue clay is a substratum called the "Plastic Clay," with an admixture of green and yellow sands, interspersed with rounded flint pebbles, not unfrequently cemented by carbonate of lime in tabular masses or layers containing fossils. This stratum, which directly overlies the chalk, is the grand reservoir from which the deep wells of London and its environs are supplied.

The chalk forms the extended base upon which rest the tertiary deposits we have indicated.

In the northern portion of the parish the clay comes nearest the surface, and the gravel in the southern.

LEVELS.

The elevation of the district is considerably higher than many other localities in the Metropolis. The level of the northern boundary varies from 64 feet above the sea on the west, to 126 feet on the east; the eastern boundary from 126 feet at the north, to 66 feet at the south; and the western boundary from 64 feet at the north, to 31 feet at the south. The lowest parts of the district are near the site of Peter-street, being only 31 feet above the sea level; Dorrington-street is 47 feet, and the Bagnigge Wells-road, at the foot of Wharton-street, is 47 feet. The following is a statement of the levels of various parts of the parish as obtained by survey, made in 1848-51, by the Ordnance Surveyors; the altitudes are given in feet above the approximate mean water at Liverpool:—Clerkenwell-green, 58 feet; Cold Bath-square, 55 to 57 feet; Coppice-row, 54 to 72 feet; Garnault-place, 74 to 86 feet; House of Correction, 52 to 64 feet; Myddelton-square, 104 to 117 feet; Myddelton-street, 73 to 78 feet; Ray-street, 39 to 43 feet; St. John-street, at the corner of Aylesbury-street, 63 feet, and at the corner of Sekforde-street, 67 feet; St. John-street-road, at the corner of Rawstorne-street, 80 feet, at the corner of Owen's-row, 95 feet, and at the corner of Chadwell-street, 99 feet; Wilmington-square, 72 to 80 feet.

WATER SUPPLY.

In the parish are several shallow wells, and a few deep ones entering the chalk. The former, sunk in the upper diluvial strata of gravel and loam, are supplied from land springs lying above the blue clay, the retain surface of the water percolating the gravel. The water thence derived is chalybeate, and highly impregnated with lime, sulphur, and iron, containing mostly more than 100 grains of saline matter in a gallon; it is brisk and sparkling from the large amount of carbonic acid it contains; and is, on account of its coldness and clearness, preferred for drinking to soft water, which is obtained in large quantities from the chalk by deep wells, where the whole stratum of the blue clay has been perforated, and the infiltration of the chalybeate water stopped. To the existence of these deep wells is to be attributed the intermittent supply of water at present obtained from the shallow wells in the district; and even this is alleged to have lost its ancient purity by being contaminated by the admixture with the drainage water of Highgate Cemetery, of numerous burial grounds, and of the innumerable cesspools in the district. The clay rises high at Highgate-hill, so that the rain water which percolates the soil on the London side of the cemetery flows towards the Metropolis. This source of contamination might have been prevented by forming the cemetery on the northern side of Highgate-hill instead of on the southern slope, where it at present exists.[1] The pump water also becomes contaminated with the residual liquors of manufacturing processes. These are sometimes strongly acid, and soon eat their way through the sewers.

The New River water forms the principal supply of the district. This, although void to some extent of the attractive qualities of pump water, being less cold and less brisk, and containing a smaller amount of carbonic acid and carbonate of lime, is in every essential respect superior to it. The

[1] *Report upon the Sanitary State of Clerkenwell for* 1856, by J. W. Griffiths, M.D.

higher level of the stream prevents contamination from sewers, &c., and it is much softer. It contains 21·78 grains per gallon of solid residue, of which 20·82 are inorganic and 0·96 organic. This amount of organic matter is as small as possible: it is scarcely beyond the limits of error of experiment. The organisms found in the New River water are almost entirely *unicellular algæ*, which it is well known are inhabitants of the purest waters.

THE BOROUGH OF FINSBURY.

Finsbury,[1] one of the metropolitan boroughs created by the Reform Act, comprises the whole of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, except the detached portion of it at Muswell-hill; the parishes of Islington, Stoke Newington, St. Luke, St. George the Martyr, St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and St. George, Bloomsbury; the liberties of Saffron-hill, Hatton-garden, Ely-rents, Ely-place, the Rolls, Glasshouse-yard, and the Charterhouse; Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, and those parts of the parishes of St. Sepulchre and St. Andrew, Holborn, and of Furnival's Inn and Staples Inn respectively, which are situated without the liberty of the City of London. The borough contains by estimation, made according to the census of 1851, 323,770 inhabitants, and returns two members to Parliament. The number of voters at that time was 21,951. By the last census the number of inhabitants was 386,844, and the registered electors, according to the best authority, 22,230, being one in 17 of the inhabitants. The right of election is vested in all qualified by the Reform Bill, the householders of £10 and upwards being electors.

The number of electors registered at the first general election after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 was 10,309, of whom 7344 polled; and the expenses of the returning officer, who is appointed by the sheriff of the county, amounted to £463 15s. 11d.

The first election took place in December, 1832. There were five candidates—Mr. Robert Grant, Mr. Serjeant Spankie; Mr. Babbage, of the calculating-machine celebrity; Mr. Coroner Wakley; and Mr. Temple, an equity barrister. The result of the poll was as follows:—Grant, 4278; Spankie, 2848; Babbage, 2311; Wakley, 2151; Temple, 787.

In June, 1834, a vacancy was occasioned by Sir Robert Grant's appointment to the Governorship of Bombay, and his consequent resignment of his seat for Finsbury. Two of the old candidates presented themselves—Mr. Wakley and Mr. Babbage; and two fresh ones started—Mr. Duncombe, who had sustained his final defeat at Hertford at the previous general election, and Mr. Pownall, an influential Middlesex magistrate, now the chairman of the magistracy. At the close of the poll the numbers were:—Duncombe, 2514; Pownall, 1915; Wakley, 695; Babbage, 379. Mr. Duncombe then first obtained the position he so long honourably held of representative for the borough.

In January, 1835, a general election took place, when the two old representatives presented themselves for re-election. Mr. Wakley again essayed his fortune; and a new candidate appeared in the person of Mr. Henry Hobhouse, brother of Sir John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton. The following was the result of the poll:—Duncombe, 4497; Wakley, 3359; Spankie, 2332; Hobhouse, 1817. Mr. Wakley thus became Mr. Duncombe's colleague in the representation of the borough.

In 1837, the third general election took place under the Reform Bill, when a Conservative candidate entered the field against the former members—Mr. Dudley Percival, son of the celebrated statesman, the Right Hon. Spencer Percival, who was shot by Bellingham. At the conclusion of the poll the numbers were:—Wakley, 4957; Duncombe, 4895; Percival, 2470.

At the elections for 1841 and 1847, Mr. Wakley and Mr. Duncombe were returned without opposition.

In 1852, Mr. Wakley, finding the duties of legislator and coroner too onerous, declined to present himself again for election. Mr. Alderman Challis, the prospective Lord Mayor, was, however, already

[1] Finsbury was anciently called Fensbury. This place was in the days of the historian Fitz-Stephen, an "arrant fen."—Pennant.

in the field as a candidate for the vacant seat, which was also aspired after by Mr. Wyld, of the Great Globe, and who, in 1847, had succeeded in getting into Parliament for Bodmin. The result of that poll was:—Challis, 7504; Duncombe, 6678; Wyld, 2010.

In March, 1857, the worthy Alderman found that the wear and tear of the House of Commons were too much for his health, and accordingly, at the eleventh hour, he announced his determination not to stand again. Several candidates presented themselves, as Mr. Serjeant Parry, Major Reid, and Mr. Cox (who was well known as an Islington vestryman), together with the old representative, Mr. Thomas Duncombe. The result of the poll was:—Duncombe, 6922; Cox, 4110; Parry, 3954; Reid, 2378.

At the general election in May, 1859, after the dissolution of Parliament, Sir Samuel Morton Peto contested the seat of Mr. Cox, and succeeded in wresting it from him, Mr. Duncombe being returned, as before, at the head of the poll. At the close of the poll the numbers were as follows:—Duncombe, 8538; Peto, 8174; Cox, 4556.

Mr. Thomas Duncombe died in November, 1861, and in the succeeding month an election of a representative to fill his vacant seat took place. On this occasion Mr. Cox regained his lost position in the House of Commons. Several candidates for the honour of representing the borough presented themselves previous to the day of election, but only Mr. Cox and Mr. J. Remington Mills went to the poll. The contest was a close one, the figures being—Cox, 4884; Mills, 4842. Sir S. Morton Peto and Mr. Cox are, therefore (1863), the present Members of Parliament for the borough.



THE NEW CHURCH OF SAINT JAMES, CLERKENWELL.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISTRICT OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, CLERKENWELL.

St. Mary's Nunnery, its Founder and Benefactors—Remarkable Gift of the Prior of St. John's to the Church—Dissolution of the Nunnery—List of Prioresses—Some account of Lady Isabel Sackville, the last Prioress—Notice of Anne Borough, one of the Sisterhood—The Official Seals of the Nunnery—The Site granted to the Duke of Norfolk, re-granted to Walter Henley and John Williams, alienated to Thomas Culpeper and Sir Thomas Pope and Elizabeth his wife—The Old Church of St. James, Clerkenwell—Bargain and Sale thereof—Vestry Minutes thereon—Fall of the Steeple, its Rebuilding, and Second Fall—Height of the Old Church Tower—The Interior of the Church—An Old Elbow-Seat in the Church—Objectionable Altar-piece—Fire Engine—Monuments of Sir William Weston; Disinterment of his Corpse; his Cadaver—Brass of Dr. Bell, Bishop of Worcester—Monument to Lady Elizabeth Berkeley; short Notice of her—Brass of Anne, Wife of William Byrche—Monument of Thomas Bedingfield—Tablet to the Memory of John Weever, the Antiquary; his Epitaph—The Monuments of Thomas Whyte, of Ann Booth, of Elizabeth, Countess of Exeter, of William Booth, of Dudley Palmer, of Sir Thomas Holt, of Richard Gwyn, of George Strode; short Notice of him—Extracts from the Old Parish Registers.

The district of the parish church of St. James includes the oldest portion of Clerkenwell, and is replete with historical and other interesting associations. In the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen it was perhaps one of the most agreeable and salubrious spots that could have been found in the vicinity of the Metropolis, and was therefore chosen as the site for

ST. MARY'S NUNNERY,

A religious house for nuns of the Benedictine order, founded early in the twelfth century by a Norman baron, who then possessed the soil. It was built on the slope of a verdant hill descending to the Fleet, or River of Wells, then a pleasant limpid stream, flowing along in the valley beneath; and from the eminence on which the nunnery stood the adjacent country could then be overlooked for miles.

The history of this once famous nunnery is involved in so much obscurity that only an imperfect account of its origin and development can be rendered, chiefly from such materials as can be gathered from the register of the priory, which was beautifully written on vellum, in the time of King John, and is now preserved among the Cottonian MSS. at the British Museum, and contains copies of twenty-three charters or deeds of gift to the priory, from the reign of Stephen, commencing with those of the founder.

In this and in other records the nunnery is styled "Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ de Fonte Clericorum," or the Church of St. Mary by the Clerks' Well. It was founded on the site now occupied by the modern church of St. James, Clerkenwell, and the adjacent buildings, about the year 1100, in the time of William II., by one Jordan Briset, a wealthy Norman baron, who gave in alms for the good of his own soul, and that of Muriel his wife, and the souls of his parents, brethren, and friends, living and dead, to one Robert, a priest, his chaplain, fourteen acres of land in the field *(juxta fontem Clericorum)* adjoining the Clerks' Well, free of all incumbrance, thereupon to build a house of religious persons, which he founded to the honour of God and the Assumption of our Lady, for nuns of the Benedictine order—black nuns as they were called. "The ancientest nuns in England,"

says Fuller, "we account the she Benedictines, commonly called black nuns, but I assure you, peny white, being most richly endowed."[1] "The true habit of the Benedictine nuns is a black robe, with a scapula of the same, and under the black robe a tunic of wool that has not been dyed, if it can be had. When they go to the choir, or upon other solemn occasions, they wear over all a black cowl like that of the monks. Among these Benedictine nuns are some who exactly observe the rule of St. Benedict; who never eat flesh unless they are sick; who rise at midnight to mattins; and who fast strictly from the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross till Easter. Others, who call themselves mitigated, eat flesh three times a week—on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, except during Advent and Septuagesima, and from Ascension to Whitsuntide. They rise not at midnight to mattins, but some say them at nine at night, and others at four or five in the morning."[2]

Briset enhanced the value of his original gift by granting to Robert, his chaplain, an additional endowment for the nunnery, of a "scite for a mill." Robert, during his lifetime, was to be considered the patron of the convent; and, after his death, it was ordained the nuns were to hold their possessions of Briset and his heirs.

"Carta prima de quatuor decem Acris in Clerkenwell in quibus Domus fundata fuit.

"*Ex Registro de Clerkenwell in bibl. Cott. Faustina,* b. ii., fol. 16:—A notum sit omnibus sanctæ eeclesiæ fidelibus, tam præsentibus quam futuris, quod ego Jordanus filius Radulphi, filii Brieni dedi Deo sanctæ Mariæ, et omnibus sanctis, et Robert capellano in elemosinam pro me et uxor mea et pro anima patris mei et matris meæ, et fratris mei omnique parentum meorum et amicorum vivorum et defunctorum xiij. acras, de terra in campo qui juxta fontem Clericorum situs est, liberas, et de omnibus rebus quietas, ita videlicet, ut hii qui de hospitali sunt nihil in eis clamare possint, nea calengium imponere sed omnino seperatas ab acra quam eisdem hospitalibus in eodem campo dedi pro xiij. denariis quos hospitalarii de Jerusalem, per singulos annos in elemosina me daturi promiserant. Dedi etiam Roberto locuna et sedem ad molendinum faciendum, salva et retenta propria multura mea, et primo loco molendini Hæc Roberto dedi quatenus super easdem acras Domum Orationis edificare, et religionem quam placuerit, ad serviendum Deo atque supplieandum imponat. Hii sunt testes, Alanus, Bernadus, Hugo canonici."

The revenues of the nunnery were in aftertimes considerably augmented by the munificent gifts of several noble personages.

Matilda de Ros, daughter of Richard de Camville, gave the rent of a mark from the mill of Hildrikesham, at the time her daughter Beatrice became a nun in the priory. Her charter was confirmed by others from Gerard de Camville, her brother, and Earl Albery.

Henry de Essex, and Hugh, his brother, in separate charters confirmed the grant which Cecily, their mother, had made to the convent of the advowson of the church of Walde. This grant was also confirmed by Richard, Bishop of London, in a charter dated in 1194.

Hugh de Nevill gave the church of Totham.

William de St. George gave a hide[3] of land at Haselingfield.

Alured de Lincoln gave to the nunnery, when his sister Albreda became a nun there, a rent of xx*s.*, issuing from the mill of Hacford, till the chapel of Waie should become vacant; the pension then to be paid from the chapel.

Robert, the son of Sewin, of Northampton, gave a hundred and forty acres of land at Tottenham, "in Hangre de Tottenham," with half a holm,[4] an allowance of firewood, and pannage[5] for ten hogs, as he had received the same by grant from Malcolm, King of Scots.

[1] Fuller's *Church Hist.*, 1st ed., 1655, bk. vi., p. 276. [2] Steven's *Hist. of Monasteries*, ed. 1722, vol. i. p. 169.

[3] Hide of land, such a space as might be ploughed with one plough, or as much as would maintain the family of a hide or mansion-house. According to some, it was sixty acres; others make it eighty; and others, again, a hundred. The quantity very probably was always determined by local usage.—Wharton.

[4] Holm (*hulmus*, Sax., *insula amnica*, Lat.), an isle or fenny ground; a river island; also a hill or cliff.—Wharton. Holm in local names in England is the Anglo-Saxon *holm*, water, island, low ground by water.—Charnock.

[5] Pannage (*pannagium*, Low Latin; *panage*, French), food that swine fed on in the woods, as mast of beech, acorns, &c. Also the profit arising to the owner of the land from a grant of liberty to pasture hogs. Pannagium est pastus porcorum, in nemoribus et in silvis, utputa, de glandibus.

William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, gave a rent of a hundred shillings, arising from land in Edmonton.

Margaret de Redevers, or Rivers, gave forty shillings a year quit rent[1] from the manor of Newenham, towards clothing of the nuns "ad vestiendum conventum."

Henry Foliot, and Lecia his wife, daughter of the founder, confirmed in a charter of considerable length, ten acres of land, on which the monastery and its offices stood, with various other lands in Newington, Steple, and Wansted, held by the service of the sixth part of a knight's fee;[2] Henry Foliot being the superior lord of the property.

Reginald de Ginge, and Emma his wife, another daughter of the founder, gave a garden and messuage in the neighbourhood of the monastery.

"Gardinum et masgia quæ sunt inter barram de Smethefeld et gardinum Hospitalareorum Jerusalem quod est super Holeburn, et inter rivulum de Fageswelle, et viam quæ vadit de Smethefeld.—Garden and messuage which are between Smithfield-bars and the garden of the Hospitallers, which is above Holeburne, *i.e.*, the Fleet River, and between the rivulet of Fagges Well and the way which goeth to Smithfield—St. John-street."[3]

Lecia de Muntenei, who has been already mentioned as Lecia, the wife of Henry Foliot, in her widowhood granted the nuns a separate charter, in which, as heir general, she confirmed all the donations which had been bestowed on the monastery by Jordan, her father, Henry Foliot, her husband, and Emma and Matilda, her sisters, adding a fresh gift of a virgate[4] of land in Stepney, with the liberty to the nuns to repair a watercourse belonging to them which passed through her lands. For this charter the nuns are said to have paid her ten marks sterling.

William Martell confirmed to the nuns the vill and church of Blendford Parva, which had been given to them by his father Geffrey.

Geffrey, the son of William Martell, gave them the rent of a mark in Winchester.

Maurice de Gant gave a rent which he had purchased out of the manor of Durslea.

The charter of confirmation by King Henry II., in addition to several of the donations above recorded, notices a rent of xxxs. in Soberia, given by Reginald de Warren; a mansion house, with eighty-nine acres of land and common of pasture at Kingstun, given by Eustace de Bancis; eighty acres at Neweton by Betram, son of Theodoric.

"To all the sons of holy mother church, clerk and lay, as well as present and to come, Betram, the son of Terric, the son of Derman, sendeth greeting. Know ye that I have given and granted and by this my charter confirmed to God and the church of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, and the nuns serving God there, in free and pure and perpetual almoigne,[5] for the health of my soul and that of my wife, and for the souls' health of my heirs, and for the souls of my ancestors, four score acres of land, to wit, forty acres of Newetone, in that land which is called the Hyde, and twenty acres of Newetone in Danebotine, and twenty acres of Tolesdone. Wherefore I will and strictly grant that the afore written holy nuns have and hold the afore named lands, well and in peace, freely and quietly, worshipfully and wholly as pure and perpetual almoigne. Witness these, Reiner fitz Berenger, Michael fitz Ralph, William fitz Briedmar of Haverhill, Vitat Clerk, Joseph, Hugh, Chaplains of Clerkenwell."[6]

The charter also notices a rent of thirty shillings at Langeford, by Walter, son of Humphrey Delamere, and Geffrey de Amblie, and their wives.

[1] Quit rent, a rent, the payment of which freed or acquitted the tenant from all services.

[2] A knight's fee, or *feodum militare*, was twelve plough-lands or *carucata terræ*, each of which were as much as one plough could plough in a year. The value of a knight's fee is stated in 1 Edw. II., to be £20 per annum.—Blackstone.

[3] *Registro de Clerkenwell*, fol. 32.

[4] Virgate, or *virgata terræ*, a yard of land, which was a quantity of land differing in extent in different parts of the country.—Cowell.

[5] Almoigne, a tenure of lands by divine service. Tenure in *frankalmoign*, in *libera eleemosyna* or free alms, is that whereby a religious corporation, or aggregate sole, holdeth lands of the donor to them and their successors for ever. The service which they were bound to render for these lands was not certainly defined; but only in general to pray for the soul of the donor and his heirs, dead or alive.—Littleton. This is the tenure by which almost all the ancient monasteries and religious houses held their lands; and by which the parochial clergy, and very many ecclesiastical and eleemosynary foundations, hold them at this day.—Bracton. The nature of the service was upon the Reformation altered, and made conformable to the purer doctrines of the Church of England. It was an old Saxon tenure; and continued under the Norman revolution, through the great respect that was shown to religion and religious men in ancient times.—Blackstone.

[6] *Registrum de Clerkenwell*, fol. 43.

In another charter of King Henry II., the grant of the land at Muswell by Richard, Bishop of London; the grant of the church of Fuchelburn, by Jordan, the son of Ralph, and his wife Muriel; fifteen acres of land in Totham, by Maurice, the son of Robert de Totham; a mill at Wansted, with a few donations less important, are added. In a separate charter, King Henry II. confirmed to the nuns the church of Sittingbourne, in Kent; Henry de Pynkeney gave the church of Haudeneby; and Richard Nigel, Bishop of London, confirmed to them the gift of the church of Totham by Maurice.

In the year 1269, a very remarkable gift was bestowed on this nunnery by the Lord Prior of St. John's, which is specially recorded in the register of that priory, in the following terms:—"Frater Rogerus de Veer, Prior dedit ecclie de Clerkenwell unam de sex ydriis in quibs Jhesus convtit aquam in vinum, A.D., MCCLXIX.," which may be rendered in English as follows:—Brother Roger de Veer, Prior, gave to the church of Clerkenwell—(*i.e.*, the Nunnery Church), *one of the six water pots in which Jesus changed the water into wine!* in the year of our Lord 1269.[1]

In a grant made in the 14th year of Edward IV., A.D. 1475, to the Hanze merchants, of the "Stylch of otherwise the Stileyard, with dyvers houses thereto adjoynyng, and their successors in perpetuitie beryng like charges for dedes of almes and pite to be susteyned by force of oolde fundations or by the last willes of Cristen people," which are then recited, we find it mentioned that the "Priores of the Hous of oure Lady of Clerkenwell beside London, in the shire of Midd', is seased in hir demeane as in fee,[2] as in the right of the same hous, of an annuell rent of xxxvs. yerely goyng oute of the said place called the Stileyerd of olde fundations and in pure and perpetuall almes."[3]

It is not apparent at what time the church of Clerkenwell was first dedicated to St. James, for it is spoken of in ancient documents both as St. Mary's and as St. James's. It is certain that it was distinguished by the latter appellation some time prior to the Reformation, and not, as Mr. Cromwell in his "History of Clerkenwell" supposes, subsequent to the dissolution of the nunnery in 1539, for Richard Cloudesley, by his will, dated the 13th of January, 1517, gave to the high altar of the church of St. James, Clerkenwell, 3s. 4d.

"*Item.*—I give and bequeath to the high altar of the church of St. James, Clerkenwell, 3s. 4d. I give and bequeath to the ladies of the same place 20s., to do for me placebo and dirge with a mass of requiem. *Item.*—To the church of St. James aforesaid, the churches of St. Pancras, Hornsey, Finchley, and Hampsted, each two torches, price 14s., and to two men of the same parishes two gowns, price the piece 6s. 8d. I give and bequeath to every parish priest of the churches aforesaid twenty pence a piece, to the intent that they shall pray for me by name openly in their churches every Sunday, and to pray their parishioners to pray for me, as I forgive them and all the world."

In the month of September, 1539, the Nunnery of Clerkenwell was suppressed by King Henry VIII. One Richard Layton, who was charged with this business, in a letter bearing date the 6th of September, 1539, informs the Lord Privy Seal, to whom it is addressed, that he had put the Duke of Norfolk in custody of the Nunnery of Clerkenwell, "and have fully dissolved the same to the contentation of the prioress and all her sisters." Resistance even of a passive kind would have been in vain. The king was inexorable, and the commissioners who executed his decrees had their hearts in the work.

The lovely nun, submissive, but more weak
Through saintly habit than from effort due,
Goes forth—unveiling timidly a cheek
Suffused with blushes of celestial hue.
While through the convent gate, to open view,
Softly she glides another home to seek.[4]

[1] DUGDALE'S *Monasticum.*

[2] "Seased in hir demeane as in fee." This modernised is, seised in her demesne as of fee. *Seised*, possessed; *demesne*, dominicum, or property, since it belonged to the possessor and her heirs for ever; yet this dominicum, property, or demesne, was strictly not absolute or allodial, but qualified or feodal; *as of fee;* that is, it was not purely her own, since it was held of a superior in whom the ultimate property resided. See note, p. 2.

[3] *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. vi., p. 123.—"Pro Mercatobus de Styleyerd." [4] WORDSWORTH'S *Sonnets*, xxii.

"No convent of nuns in England," says an old writer, "more carefully kept their records than the Priory of Clerkenwell, to whose credit it is registered that we have a perfect catalogue of their prioresses," as subjoined:—

Ye Names of ye Prioress of Clerkenwell.

"Cristine ano ix. of S. reg.; Ermigardis, Ric. I.; Hawys; Elyanor; Alesia; Cæsely; Margery Whatvyll, xxxvj. zer of IIId. H.; Isabell; Alis Oxeney, lvii. zer iij. H.; Almeys Marey; Denise Bras; Margery Bray; Johna Lewkenor, xxxv. to; Jone Fullam, E. teii. xvij. ano; Edeyne Let; Katin' Braybrok; Luce Attwod, Ric. v. to; Johne Vyeyne, H. iiij. ti iiij. to; Margaret Bakewell; Isabell Wyntworth, H. vi. teio; Margereta Bull, H. vj. ti xxxij. do; Agnes Clifford, E. iiij. to tredecimo ano die Omniu S'cor, A.D. MCCCC.; Katrine Grene, E. iiij. to; Isabell Howssey."

A list has been preserved in the register already mentioned, in which they appear in the following order:—Christiana (9 Steph. A.D. 1144); Ernegard, or Erimigard (Richard I.); Hawys, or Hawisa; Elyanor; Alesia; Cicily; Margery Whatvyll (36 Henry III.);[1] Isabel; Alice Oxeney (57 Hen. III.); Annes Marey, or Agnes de Marty; Denise Bras; Margery Bray; Johanna Lewknore; Joan Fullham (17 Edward III.); Edeyne Let; Katherine Braybrok; Lucy Atte Wod (5 Richard II.); Joan Vyeyne (4 Henry IV.); Margaret Bakwell; Isabella Wyntworth (3 Henry VI.); Margaret Ball (32 Henry VI.); Agnes Clifford (13 Edward IV.); Katherine Grene (Edward IV.); Isabel Howssey; Isabel Sackville.

Isabel Sackville was the last lady prioress, and to whom, with several of the sisterhood, pensions were granted by the king, in compensation for the loss of their estates. This lady prioress was of the family of the Sackvilles, ancestors of the Dukes of Dorset. "She lived many years in the days of divers princes," says Weever, "for I find in the pedigree of the Earl of Dorset that one William Sackevyle, by his will and testament dated 10th August, in the 21 year of King Henry the Seventh, gave to his niece, Isabell Sackvyl, a certain legacy, she being then a nun in the Priory of Clerkenwell."[2] Fuller, in his "History of Abbeys," refers to the case of Isabel Sackville as an eminent instance of longevity, and computes her at the time of her death, which took place on the 12th of October, 1570, to have been eighty years of age. As one of the royal pensioners, she received an annuity of £50 a year. Of the long lives of some of these dependants on the royal bounty, Fuller jocosely remarks, "None will say they lived out of despite to anger the king to pay their pensions; surely none so highly affected him as to die in duty to exonerate his exchequer of their annuity."[3] In a list of pensions still payable in 1553, she is called Elizabeth Sackville.

"Clarkenwell nuper Monasterium.—Feod Ricardi Sackevile seneschali edidem per sigillium conventus per annum, xls.; *annuit* Roberti Johnson per annum, iiij*li.*; Pene Marion Smyth per annum, iiij*li.*; Thamisenæ Tufnal per annum, lxvjs. viij*d.*; Janæ Hussey per annum, lxvjs. viij*d.*; Anne Borough per annum, iiij*li.*; Jane Sackvile per annum, iiij*li.*; Mariæ Overton per annum, lxvjs. viij*d.*; Johannae Mercer per annum, lxvj. viij.; Alieiæ Waleey per annum, iiij.; Elizabeth Sackvile per annum, *lli.*"

By her will, dated the 19th of February, 1569, she bequeathed her body to be buried in Clerkenwell Church, and ordained Lord Buckhurst, her cousin, to be the overseer of her will, if it should please his lordship to take the pains. This was complied with in respect to her burial, as in the Churchwarden's Book for the year 1570 there is the subjoined record of her interment and its expenses.

"The Lady Izabel Sackfield was buryd in the quyr off Clarkynwell, some time pryrys off the same chyrche. Ped to the curat, Thomas Cortys, for the breckyng off the grownd 10*s.*

Item, for the great bell, 3*s.* 4*d.*

It., for the pelis (pall), 20*d.*

She being buryd the 24 day of Octobre, 1570."

She was buried near the high altar of the old Nunnery Church, beneath a marble stone, on which, engraven in a brass plate, was the following memorial of her:—"Hic jacet Isabella Sackvile, quæ

[1] In an instrument of the 50th Henry III., this lady is called Margaret Whatewyle.

[2] Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, ed. 1631, p. 429.

[3] Fuller's *Church History*, ed. 1655, p. 347.

fuit prioressa nuper prioratus de Clerkenwell tempore dissolutionis eiusdem Prioratus: quæ obijt 21 Octobris, Ann. Dom. Milessimo quingentesimo septuagesimo et Ann. Reg. Regin. Elisab. Dei Gra., &c., duodecimo." "Here lies Isabella Sackvile, who was prioress of the late Priory of Clerkenwell at the time of its dissolution: who died on the 21st of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and seventy, in the twelfth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth."

This venerable lady had shared the varied fortunes of the splendid institution over which she long presided. She had seen the wealthy Priory of St. Mary in the zenith of its glory, and had mourned in secret its dissolution, and mayhap felt a holy indignation when this seat of the ancient religion became by turns the abode of the noble and the commoner. Five sovereigns had swayed the sceptre in England in her long lifetime, and four of them had been gathered to the dust before her. Full thirty troublous years had passed away since she and the weeping sisterhood had first quitted the convent walls. One by one they had died and left her alone, to mourn their loss; and now in her turn, when the star of Protestantism was in the ascendant, and the queenly Elizabeth wielded the sceptre, she sank to rest beneath the weight of years, tired of her changeful life, and repose was found for her bones in the sanctuary in which she had delighted to worship.

It is evident from the Norman historians, that the Sackville family was of very ancient extraction, being among those who accompanied Rollo the Dane when he took possession of Normandy. The Sackvilles were lords of the town and seigniory of Sackville, in Normandy, anciently written Salchivilla, Salcavilla, and Saccavilla. Hirbrand de Salchivilla was one of the leaders who came into England with William the Conqueror. Isabel Sackville, Prioress of Clerkenwell, was the youngest daughter of Richard Sackville, who was Sheriff for the joint counties of Sussex and Surrey, as his ancestors frequently had been. In the 5th of Henry VIII., he was appointed, with other persons of the first rank, by Parliament, for assessing and collecting a subsidy of £163,000 by a poll-tax, for defraying the expence of taking Terouenne and Tournay; and in the 10th of the same reign was Treasurer of the Army in France. He died the 24th of May, 1524, and was buried at Wythiham. His lady was Isabel, daughter of John Digges, of Barham, in Kent, Esquire, by whom he left issue four sons and six daughters. Thomas Sackville of this house was created Earl of Dorset by King James, in 1604. Lionel, the seventh Earl, was created Duke of Dorset, in 1720, by George I. This noble family have had their seat at princely Knole—the grand cynosure of Kent—since Queen Elizabeth granted the fee simple of that antique domain of baronial splendour to Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst.

Anne Borough, or Boroeghe, one of the sisterhood at the time of the dissolution of the nunnery, to whom a pension of £4 a year was allowed out of its confiscated possessions, returned again to her parental home, and occupied the long remainder of her days in deeds of charity. She died in the year 1577, at the advanced age of 75, lamented by the poor, whose necessities she had continually relieved, and was buried in the church of All Saints, Dingley, Northamptonshire, where on the south side of the communion table, let in the wall, is a monumental brass on which is engraved her portrait in the garb of a nun praying at a table, whilst from her hands raised in the attitude of prayer proceeds a label, with the words, "Jesu, Jesu, Marie," engraved upon it. Behind her are the arms of her family, a chevron ermine between three chaplets, and beneath, the following inscription, in old English characters:—"Here resteth the bodye of Anne Boroeghe, second daughter of Nicholas Boroeghe, of Stanmer, in the countye of Middlesex, Esquier, sometyme professed of Clerkenwell, nere London, who died the 9th of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord God 1577, after she had lived 75 years, to the great losse of the poor who divers ways were by her relieved."[1]

Within the ancient Priory of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, its noble founder, Jordan Briset, was interred, according to the testimony of several writers. On the authority of the cartulary of the Priory of St. John, he died on the 15th of December, 1110, and was buried in the chapter-house of the nunnery. Muriel, his wife, who is named as co-foundress with her lord in the grant of land for

[1] Whalley's *History of Northamptonshire*, vol. ii., p. 306.

its erection, is stated to have died on the 1st of May, 1112, and to have been buried in the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

"Jordanus Briset miles Dominus de Clerkenwell obiit 1110.

"Muriela Uxor ejus obiit 1 kal Maij anno 1112 et sepulta apud Hospitali S. Johnnanis.

"Iste Jordanus fuit primus fundator tam Hospitalis et Ecclesiæ S. Johnnis Jerusalem in Anglia quam Prioratus Monialium de Clerkenwell et obit xv. kal Decembris, A.D. MCX., tempore Hen. I. et sepultus est in domo capitulari dicti prioratus."[1]

But Stow and Weever agree in stating what seems most probable, viz., that they were both interred in the chapter-house of the nunnery, which, in the time of the latter author, was called "the old vestrie," and which continued to be so called up to the time of its demolition. After distinctly referring to the burial of the founder and his wife, Stow continues:—"There lye buried in this church John Wikes, Esq., and Isabell his wife; Ralph Timbleby, Esq. Dame Agnes Clifford; Dame Jahan (Jane), Baronesse of Greystocke; Dame Jahan Ferrars," &c.[2]



SEAL OF SAINT MARY'S CONVENT.

A few impressions of the official seals of the nunnery, fragile as they are, have been fortunately preserved from entire destruction. One of these, attached to an instrument without date, but apparently of the fourteenth century, remaining in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster, is an impression on dark green wax, of the common seal of the Prioress and Convent of St. Mary, Clerkenwell. It is large and slightly oval, and represents the Virgin sitting on a seat of an antique form, having the infant Jesus on her knees, who holds in his right hand a staff surmounted with a cross, and his left hand is open. The legend and sinister side of the seal are much mutilated, the words or portions of them distinguishable are, SIG . . . FONTE CLERICOR.



RECEIPT SEAL OF SAINT MARY'S CONVENT.

In the Augmentation Office is an impression of a small seal, used in giving receipts. This is to an instrument bearing the date of the 6th Henry VIII. The subject of the seal is the Virgin and Child, the former crowned, having in her right hand a sceptre; underneath is a female figure on her knees in the attitude of prayer. The legend is—S. RECEPTOR REDDIT DE CLERKENWEL.

In the 31st year of the reign of Henry VIII., A.D. 1540, the site of the nunnery was granted to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who, in 1545, gave it back to the king in exchange for a "mansion house, within the town of South Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, and other messuages, &c." The subjoined extract from a letter, addressed by Richard Layton to the Lord Privy Seal, is an interesting confirmation of this grant:—

"Hit may please your Lordshipe to be advertisede that this Saterday, the vj. of September, we put the Duke of Northefooke his servande in custodye of Clerkenwell, and have fully dissoluede the same to the contentacon of the Prioresse and all her sisters.

"Yr Lordeshippes most bownden to commande,

"From London this Satterday at nyght, the vjth. of September, 1539."[3]

"RIC. LAYTON, Preste.

[1] *Register Hospitalis S. Joh. Jer'lm*, MS. Cotton, Nero, E. vi., fol. 1.

[2] STOW'S *Survey*, ed. 1598, p. 360.

[3] ELLIS'S *Orig. Letters*, letter 530, vol. iii., series 3rd.

The king, however, in the 37th year of his reign, re-granted the "scite of the priorie of Clerkenwell" to Walter Henley and John Williams, knights. In the 5th year of Edward VI. the site was alienated to Thomas Culpeper, Esq., and by him in the same year to John Aylworth, of Maribone, for the sum of £500.

The original indenture of sale is preserved in the British Museum, and is important, inasmuch as it serves to show that the conventual buildings were then entire, and also affords a partial description of them. It speaks of "the chief mansion howse of the late monasterie of Clerkenwell, in the countie of Midd., together with all the cloyster and all other edifices, buyldings, courts, and quadrantes, nowe in the tenure or occupation of Sir Reignold Scotte, knight, or his assignes; and also the orchard or gardyne commonlyo called the Convent Gardyne, nowe in the tenure or occupation of the same Sir Reignolde or his assignes, with all and syngler the appurtenances. All which premises the said Thomas Colepepyr late purchased and had to hym his heires and assignes of the gyfte and graunte, bargayne and saile of Richard Marden, of Cranbroke, gentilman."

"De licen. alien. scitum nuper domus nuper monastrii de Clerkenwell et al. terr. ibedem spect Thomæ Culpeper ar. et hæred suis ro lxxvij."[1]

In the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, our nunnery was alienated to Sir Thomas Pope and Elizabeth his wife.

"De alien. scitum et capit'lis mesuag. nuper domus monasterii de Clerkenwell Thomæ Pope mil et Eliz. ux ejus hæred ipsius Thomæ sine licentia regia fact perdonat ro lxxxij."[2]

An example of the sale and produce of part of the nunnery lands occurs in the rate book of Philip and Mary, where we find that its possessions in the parishes of Wankesey and Pevensy, in the county of Sussex, of the yearly value of 25s., were purchased by Sir Richard Sackvyle for £25.

Of the old Nunnery Church and the conventual buildings, the only contemporary depiction extant is, we believe, a rude outline sketch in Aggas's "Pictorial Plan of London," first published in the reign of Elizabeth, *circa* 1560. In this map the boundary walls of the nunnery are represented as inclosing an irregular area of considerable extent, and divided by a party wall into two distinct courts, the smallest of which lying east is said to have been the ancient cemetery. The Church of St. Mary, as represented in outline, consists of a low bodied nave and chancel, with a massive square tower surmounted by a small turret and cross, in the centre of the south side.

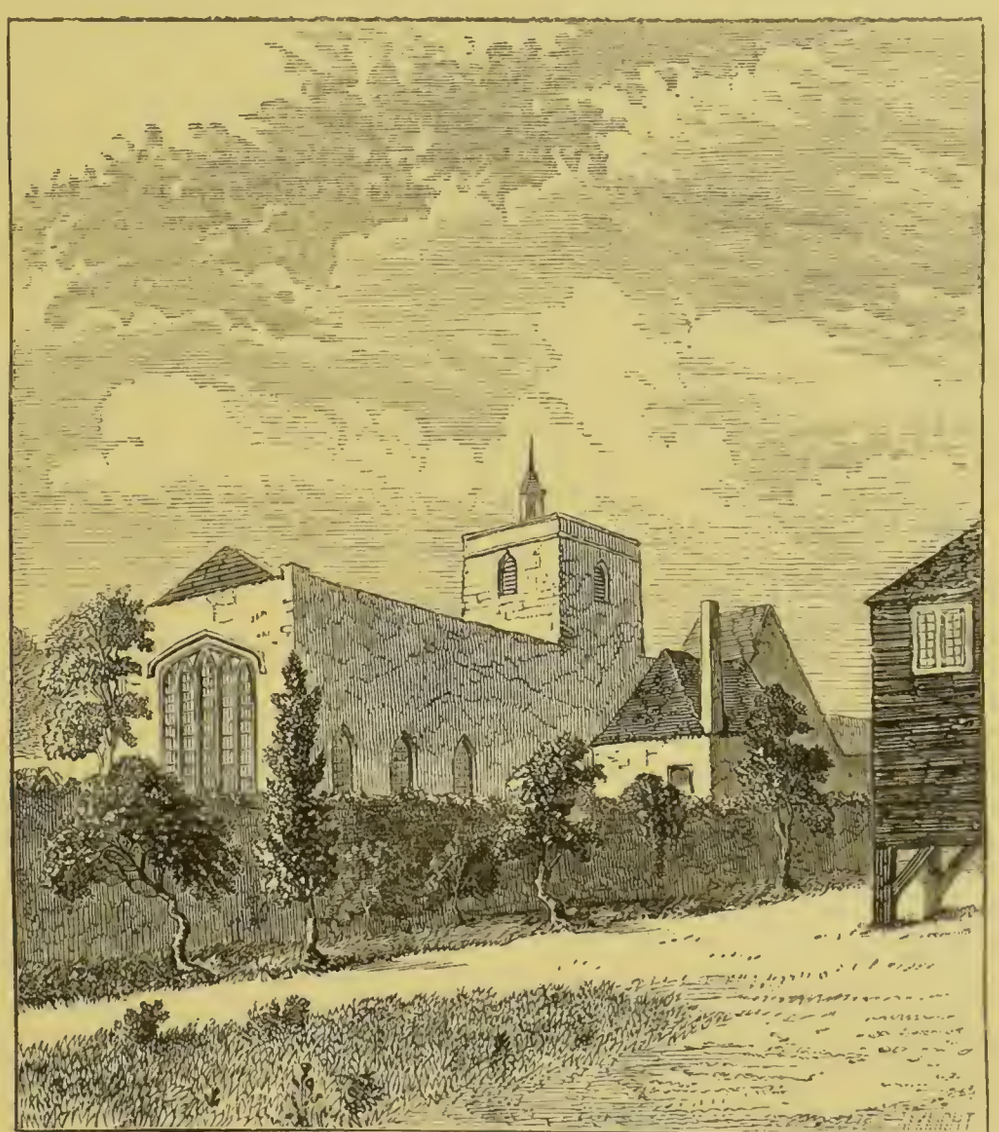
THE OLD CHURCH OF ST. JAMES.

In 1598, Stow says, "So much of the church which remaineth (for one great isle therof fell down) serveth now as a parish church of St. James, not only for the tenants and near inhabitants, but also for all up to Highgate, Moswell, &c." In 1587 a Mrs. Dorothy Ley was prosecuted for trespassing on a piece of ground, north of the choir of the church, "which, in times past, had been an eyle or quire;" and it is probably to this circumstance that Stow refers when writing the above. The church was leased at this time by the parish, as in the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1598 there is the following item:—"Paid unto Mr. Durdent for makinge and engrossinge of the lease of the church 12s. 8d.;" and in the same accounts for 1604, there was "Paid for the rent of the church unto Sir William Fortescue, knight, for one halfe yeare ended at or Lay-d last past *sixpence*." From this it is evident that Sir William relinquished that half-year's rent to the parish, and received the sixpence from the churchwardens, simply as an acknowledgment of his due. This is confirmed by another entry in 1630, when there was "Paid to Sir William Forteskew, kt., for 1 qrter's rent, for our p'ish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, 5*l*."

[1] Orig. 4 Edw. VI., p. 2, Midd.

[2] Orig. 3 and 4, Phil. and Mar., p. 4, Midd.

In the year 1656 the church appears to have been the property of Edward Drake, of Tottenham South, gentleman, who, by indenture of bargain and sale, made on the 2nd of June in that year, granted the "Church of Clerkenwell, and the Rectorie or parsonage thereof, and churchyard," unto Josias Berners, James Berners, Richard Powell the elder, Richard Powell the younger, and Benjamin Powell, all of Clerkenwell, their heirs and assigns for ever, upon trust for the only use, benefit, and behoof of the parishioners and inhabitants of the same parish; chargeable nevertheless with a yearly pension of £4 18s. 9d., for the perpetual maintenance of a curate to celebrate divine service in the said church. It appears by this deed that Edward Drake held the hereditaments which were the



THE OLD CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, CLERKENWELL.

subject of the grant by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, and it also appears that he reserved to himself, at the time of the grant, two messuages or tenements, and two yards or gardens with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, situate and being in Clerkenwell-close, in the occupation of Ralph Wiseman and Henry Hazard, and forming part of the glebe of the church. The house No. 22, in the Close, now leased and occupied by Mr. John Brown, was the original rectory house, and is thus described in a lease thereof, dated the 9th of March, 1725, the term of which is now running:—"All that messuage or tenement No. 22, Clerkenwell Close, in the parish of Saint James, Clerkenwell, with the garden and premises, antiently occupied as the Parsonage house belonging to the Rectory or Parsonage of Clerkenwell in the time of Charles the Second."

The following is a copy of the counterpart of the bargain and sale of the church, which deed is now in the possession of Mr. Brown,[1] and is in a good state of preservation, only a few words being illegible where the folds and corners of the document have been worn :—

This Indenture made the second day of June in the year of our Lord according to the computaton of the Church of England one thousand six hundred fiftie and six **Betweene** Edward Drake of Totenham south in the countie of Midlsex Gent on the one parte and Josias Berners of the parish of Saint James Clerkenwell in the said county of Midlsex Esq James Berners Gentl^{n} sonn and heire apparant of the said Josias Berners Richard Powell of Clerkenwell aforesaid Esq Richard Powell Gentl^{n} sonn and heire apparant of the said Richard Powell and Benjamin Powell Gentl^{n} second sonn of the said Richard Powell on the pte **Witnesseth** that the said Edward Drake for and in consideration of a competent some of currant English money to him in hand paid by the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell before the ensealinge and delivrie of these pnts the receipt whereof the said Edward Drake doth hereby acknowledge hath granted bargained and sold **And** by these pnts doth grant bargaine and sell unto the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell and their heires **All that** Church of Clerkenwell and the Rectorie or parsonage thereof and Churchyard there togeither with the soyle thereof and the bui'dinges belonginge to the said Church wth their and every of their rightes members and appurtenances in the said county of Midlsex late to the Monastrie of Clarkenwell in the said countie of Midlsex belonginge or appertaineing and prell of the possions of the same and the advowson donaton and free dispotnon and right of patronage of Clarkenwell wth their rightes members and appurtenances whatsoever (except two messuages or tenements and two yards or gardens wth the appurtenances thereunto belonging situate and being in Clerkenwell Close in the occupation of Ralph Wiseman and Henry Hazard nowe or heretofore prell of the glebe of the said Church and the Rectorie thereof) **To have and to hold** the said Church and Churchyard and all and every pmises hereby granted except before excepted unto the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell their heires and assigns for ever to the use of them and their heires for ever upon trust and confidences nevertheless to and for the only use benefit and behoofe of the parishioners and inhabitants of the said parish of St. James Clerkenwell and their sucessrs for ever and to and for none other use trust intent or purpose whatsoever in as large and ample manner as the said Edward Drake heretofore held and enjoyed or was to have held and enjoyed the same together with the Rectorie of Clarkenwell by Lres patente under the Greate Seale of England chargeable nevertheless with one yearly penton porton or payment of foure pounds eighteene shillinges and nynepence for the ppetuall maintainance of a curate to celebrate divine service in the said Church of Clarkenwell which said penton of foure pounds eighteene shillinges and nynepence is agreed by and and every the parties to these pntes that the said penton for ever hereafter shal bee onely chargeable upon the said Church and Churchyard and thereof and every part thereof And the said Edward Drake (and the said two messuages as above excepted) to be wholly acquitted exonorated and dischardged thereof **And** the said Edward Drake for himselfe his heires executors and administrators and every of them doth covenant grant and agree to and with the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell their heires and assignes and every of them by these psents that he the said Edward Drake nowe is at the time of the sealeing and delivre of these pnts and soe shall continue unto the full executon of these psents to bee true and lawfull owner of the Rectorie of the said Church and pmises and that he now is seised to the executon of these pnts shall continue to be seised of the said Rectorie of the said Church and pmises and every parte thereof of a good lawfull and indefeazable estate of fee simple to him and his heires without any or lymitaton whatsoever wch may any way alter and determine the same **And** that it shall and may bee lawfull to and for the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell their heires and assignes peaceably and quietly to have hold possess and enjoy all and every the before bargained pmises with their appurtenances except before excepted subject to the proviso hereinbefore mentioned without any lett trouble suit evicton disturbance or demand of him the said Edward Drake his heires and assignes or any other pson or psons claymingeby from or under him them or any of them **And** that freed and dischardged and from all and singular former grants bargaines sales leases chardges estates tytles and all other incumbrances whatsoever the said penton or yearely paymt of foure pounds eighteene shillinges and nynepence onely excepted and **And** the said Edward Drake for himselfe his heires executors and administrators doth further covenant grant and agree to and wth the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell their heires and assignes and every of them by these pnts that he the said Edward Drake and Mary his Wife before the feast of All Saintes next ensueing the date of these pnts and upon the request and att the costes and charges in the lawe of the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell the

[1] The Editor begs to acknowledge the courtesy of this gentleman, who kindly permitted him to make a transcript of the deed in question.

survivor or survivors of them their heires and assignes shall and will in due forme of lawe by fine to be duely leavyed before the Justiees of the Court of Comon Bench at Westminster whereupon proclamaeons shall and may be had and made according to the usuall course of fynes wth proclamaeons for assurance of lands in suеh eases used and the forme of the Statute in that behalfe provided and assure unto the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell and their heires the said church and pmises hereinbefore mentoned and intended to bee hereby granted wth their appurtenanees by the name of the Rectorie Impropriate of Clarkenwell or such other name and diseripton as by the eounsell learned in the lawe of the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell their heires or assignes shal bee reasonably devised or required which said fines and all other fines soe as aforesaid or in to be had and leavyed shal be and enure and shal be adjudged taken and is hereby declared to be and enure to the use of the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell their heires and assignes for ever in trust nevertheless for and to the use of the said parishoners and inhabitants of Saint James Clarkenwell and their suceessors for ever Provided always that if the said Josias Berners James Berners Richard Powell the elder Richard Powell the younger and Benjamin Powell their heires and assignes or some or one of them shall not and doe not from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter free acquitt exonerate and discharge or otherwise well and sufficiently save harmeles the said Edward Drake his heires and assignes and the aforesaid two messuages or tenements before exeepted or mentoned to be exeepted out of this psent grant bargaine and sale of and from the aforesaid yearely penton porton or payment of foure poundes eighteene shillinges and nynepence and all arreares thereof otherwise dayes notiee to bee left at the Church of Clarkenwell aforesaid that the penton is behind and unpaid then if the said penton bee not dischardged it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Edward Drake his heires and assignes into the before bargained Church Churchyard Rectorie and pmises to reenter and the same to have againe repossess and enjoy as in his and their former estate right tytle and interest And that then and from thenceforth the said fine soe leavied or to bee levied as aforesaid shal bee and inure and shal be deemed endyed reputed and taken to bee and inure to the onely and behoofe of the said Edward Drake his heires and assignes anythinge herein eontained to the contrary thereof in anywyse notwithstanding In Witnesse whereof the said parties to these psents have hereunto interchangeably sett their hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

This deed has four pendant seals in red wax attached to it. It originally had another seal, which was the first in order, but the wax of that one has been broken off. Above the place of this lost seal is the signature "Jo. Berners;" the next seal is blank; the next has the signature "Richard Powell;" and the next two seals are blank. The attestation at the back of the deed is as follows:—

"Sealed and delivered in the prsens of us by Josias Berners and Rich. Powell the elder. Ri. Somer, Tho. Bland, Charles Mutton, Tho. Jenney."

The deed is endorsed as follows:—

"Counterpart of Mr. Edward Drake's bargain and sale to Mr. Josias Berners and os. of the parish church and rectory of Clerkenwell, in the county of Middx. Date 2 June 1656."

It will be observed that this deed has not been executed by Edward Drake, the grantor, and that it is a counterpart, and not a duplicate. The original deed must have been executed by the grantor, but the counterpart did not require to have his execution; and it was therefore signed by some of the grantees only.

It would seem that the church of St. James was purchased of Edward Drake by the parish, for we find that about the time when the deed was made the parishioners resolved in vestry—

"That Mr. Ireland do pay unto Mr. Drake the sum of £50 upon the sealing of a counterpart unto," the five trustees named in the before mentioned deed, "of the Church and Rectory of Clerkenwell, and the sum of £10 more in Michaelmas term next, upon the passing of a fine[1] by Mr. Drake and his wife."

The trusteeship went on for nearly eighty years, to the 24th of March, 1733, when, it appears, "The Minister and Churchwardens informed the inhabitants, that in 1656 the then parishioners purchased

[1] Fine *(finis or finalis concordia,* from the words with which it begins), in its origin, a real action brought to enforce the performance of a covenant concerning the land, which terminated in a compromise, the conusor or defendant acknowledging and *finally* confirming the right and title of the conusee or plaintiff. It became at length to be a mode of assurance acknowledged in a court of record, either in term or vacation, and proclaimed, *i.e.*, read openly in the Court of Common Pleas once in four successive terms.—Wharton's *Law Lexicon,*

of Edward Drake, gentleman, the Church and Parsonage thereof, and Churchyard, together with the Advowson, and which was conveyed to five gentlemen, then of this parish (who are long since dead), and unto their heirs and assigns for ever, upon trust, &c., for the parishioners; that the trust estate has now become vested in one William Berner, Esq., grandson and heir of James Berner, who was the surviving trustee; and that the Churchwardens have lately applied to him, to convey the same to five of the present inhabitants; upon which application William Berner acquainted the Churchwardens, *that he would keep the Presentation of the Church to himself.*"

A committee was appointed to compel him to convey the same; and on the 26th of May, 1734, it appears by the minutes that the vestry appointed William Browning, John William Rogers, John Westly, Harry Crosse, and Richard Weston, trustees; and forgave all the costs and charges against the above William Berner.

In 1748 new trustees were again appointed; and in May, 1753, counsel's opinion was to be taken, whether there was a necessity to compel the surviving trustee to assign his right to the other trustees appointed in May, 1748.

25 Nov., 1753.—"Twelve new Trustees for the Church were appointed; and the Churchwardens are desired, by such means as they shall be advised, to cause an assignment, by way of bargain and sale, to be enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, to be made from Mr. Richard Weston, the only surviving Trustee, for the benefit of the Parishioners."[1]

About the year 1623 the steeple of St. James's Church fell down, having stood time out of mind without any reparation; nor among the records of the church could any mention be found of any such thing. "The next year the parishioners were assessed 18d. in the pound to defray the expense of rebuilding the ancient tower, which had stood for more than five centuries, and the lead and other materials of the fallen structure were sold to pay in part the cost of a new one. It was this steeple in the rebuilding thereof, and being near finishing, fell again, upon the undertaker's neglect in not looking into the strength of that upon which he was to rear such a burthen. With the steeple fell the bells, their carriages, and frames, beating a great part of the roof down before them, the weight of all these together beating down two large pillars of the south isle, a fair gallery over against the pulpit, the pulpit, all the pews, and whatsoever was under or near it. But all these decays and ruins were recovered and made whole again, the walls firm and fair, and a new door made in the south wall. And the church furnished with all things necessary, and without and within beautified. And moreover the steeple begun from the ground, and raised as high as the roof of the church. And all this, thus far finished in the year 1627, cost £1400, notwithstanding there was then much to do."[2] In the month of January, 1627, application was made to Charles I. for timber towards re-edifying the church at Clerkenwell.[3] Of the precise period of its completion, we have no information. Newcourt, writing in 1708, speaks of it as finished "of late years," whilst his contemporary Hatton describes this tower as "all of brick, built with battlements coped with stone," and the church itself, as "built of brick and rough stone, partly of modern Gothic, partly of Tuscan orders."[4] In other words, the old stone walls were repaired with brick and then covered with plaster.

The second fall of the steeple in the seventeenth century, as we have seen, occasioned the destruction of part of the south aisle, with whatsoever was under or near it, to remedy which, on the rebuilding, a kind of transept was run between the remaining parts of the chancel and aisle and the tower; the projection of this transept on the south side being not so much as six feet, and on the north not more than fifteen. It, therefore, made a very little appearance within, though it had a separate cross roof from north to south, and in the exterior view was rendered striking by its gable ends.

The altitude of the church tower, and the turret by which it was surmounted, is stated by Hatton to have been 80 feet. The principal entrance to the church was beneath this tower, and was reached by a passage under some houses which then stood before the church on its south side, and

[1] Pascall's *Statements of Charitable Bequests*, &c., Clerkenwell, 1851.
[2] Ed. Munday, in Strow's *Survey*.
[3] *Calendar of State Papers*, Jan. 1627, Domestic series, temp. Charles I.
[4] *New View of London*, 1708, p. 283.

hence by a path across the churchyard, the approach being similar to that of the present church of St. Bartholomew the Great, in Smithfield, to which, in many respects, the old parish church bore a striking resemblance.

The dimensions of the old church were as follows :—Length of the chancel and of the south aisle within the walls, 80 feet; length of the nave or old vestry, 69 feet 2 inches; space between the nave and chancel, 20 feet 9 inches; entire length, 170 feet; breadth of the chancel and south aisle, 45 feet 10 inches; breadth of the nave, 22 feet; length of the transept, 67 feet. The altitude of the church was only 34 feet.

Hatton, who was by profession a surveyor, describing in 1708 the interior of the old church, says, "The walls are lined with oak of different height ; that round the communion table is about 9 feet high. The pews and pulpit are also of oak, tho' pretty old; as is also the altar-piece, where the painting of the commandments is somewhat decayed. They are placed between the Lord's Prayer and Creed, and over are the Queen's arms painted."[1] The decay spoken of we may reasonably infer to have been the case, since it is probable that little more than necessary repairs were effected since the year 1638, when the east end of the church, with the altar, was repaired and beautified at the expense of one individual: "As appeareth," says Strype, "by what is writ upon the wainscot there—viz., 'This Wainscoting, Railing and paving of this Communion Table was done November the 20th, An. Dom. 1638, at the sole charge of Richard Cook, innkeeper, dwelling at the Red Lion, in Gray's Inn Lane, who married with Susan, third daughter of John Goodcote, of this parish, grazier, who was churchwarden, Ann. 1588. And the Commandments finished An. Dom. 1639.'" About the same time a "fence or pale" was ordered to be erected, to extend from the north side of the chancel to the pale over against it, to inclose a burial place.

The south-west gallery, the neat appearance of which was commended by Hatton, was erected out of £100, bequeathed to the parish in 1704, by Francis Loveday, "the interest whereof yearly and every year to the end of the world was to be laid out in bread, to be distributed amongst the poorest sort of people of the parish;" but in lieu of putting the money out at interest the vestry agreed to build a gallery on the south side of the church. This was done, and "Loveday's gallery," as it was called, was let to the sexton for a rent equivalent to the annual interest upon the money expended, the sexton reimbursing himself by underletting sittings.[2] Many years after, in 1770, it was "Resolved that Loveday's Gallery be taken into the hands of the Churchwardens, the pews and seats to be rated, valued, and disposed of in the same manner as the other pews and seats in the Church."[3] The sexton, who was communicated with, said it "would be no injury to him," from which we may infer that the renting of this gallery was not then a very profitable speculation.

There was another lower gallery at the west end of the church, for charity children, which was erected in 1722, out of £120 bequeathed by Thomas Crosse, Esq., for other charitable purposes. Above the rest, northward, a little east of the last, was a gallery erected for the family of the Duke of Newcastle, by permission of the vestry.

It is remarkable that there was no organ to lead the choral part of the services in the old church until within sixty years of its demolition, when, as Seymour informs us, in 1735, "a fine organ was lately set up."

In the year 1714, and subsequently, the following services were maintained in the church :— "Morning prayers every weekday at 11, and Evening prayers on Saturdays only, as a preparation for the Sabbath ; a monthly lecture on the last Sunday at 5, maintained by a religious society of the parish ; Charity sermons on the second Sunday of every quarter, and a preparation sermon for the Holy Sacrament upon the last Friday of the month at 11."[4]

In the year 1735, a painting of the Virgin Mary and Child was placed over the altar—a proceeding which fired the parishioners with indignation, for in their mistaken zeal they considered

[1] Hatton's *New View of London*, 1703, p. 283.
[2] *Vestry Minutes*, June 18, 1704 ; March 5, 1705.
[3] *Vestry Minutes*, May 22, 1770.
[4] Patterson's *Pictas Londonesis*, 1714.

the picture too Papistical to occupy such a prominent place in the church; and so general did this dissatisfaction become, that the churchwardens were compelled to take it down, and probably disposed of it to some unprejudiced person for just what money it would fetch.

The following is part of a letter on the subject of this picture, addressed by a Protestant zealot to the Bishop of London, August 6th, 1735:—

"Being lately in the Church of St. James, Clerkenwell," writes this enthusiast, "I observed an altar piece newly erected, which gave me great offence, as I find it does many besides: *the Virgin Mary is painted with Christ in her arms, in the front, with Moses and Aaron on each side,* as her proper guard. I wish your Lordship would take a view of this new work, which, in my judgment, is the reproach of Protestantism, and very nearly ally'd to images, which we so justly condemn in the Church of Rome. And as such fopperies are now growing upon us (and such as the common people were in all ages as well as the present too fond of), so I doubt not but you'll order its removal, and not suffer anything of the like kind, either there or in any other church within your jurisdiction."

Of this effusion his lordship very prudently took no notice, and the writer sent a copy of it to a newspaper called the *Old Whig*, in which it appeared on the 30th of October, 1735.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1735, p. 679, is "A representation of a fine picture on the Altar-piece of St. James's, Clerkenwell."

In the old church was an open seat or bench, measuring eight feet six inches in length, and bearing the following inscription:—"Hoc Opus Perætun Fuit Anno Dominy 1534." "This work was completed A.D. 1534." This antique bench, of which nothing is at present known, was intended to accommodate four persons, being separated by elbow rests. Two drawings are extant of it—one by Mr. J. Carter, engraved in the "Gentleman's Magazine,"[1] and another taken by J. Saunders, 1736, in possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

About the year 1662, there was in the Church of St. James, Clerkenwell, one of the best fire-engines then known. "A good musician," says quaint Thomas Fuller, "makes a good instrument; and it was a poor Blew cap, better known by his work than his name, that played so well thereon that (though not with the left-handed Gibeonites to hit the mark within an hair's breadth), he could hit within the scantling of a shilling."[2] When the old divine whose words we have quoted wrote, the fire-engine was of recent invention; and it is to the credit of some old parish officers that Clerkenwell became early possessed of so good a one, the instrument costing about £30.

When the downfall of the church was decreed, its general aspect was that of an edifice antique indeed, but in which nearly every ancient feature was so mixed up with modern repairs that few feelings of veneration could be excited by it. The large window at the east end of the chancel had evidently been altered both in size and figure from that or those originally placed there; at the top it formed a segment of so large a circle as to be nearly flat. The other windows were numerous, and of every variety as to date, dimensions, and shape. They were both acutely and very obtusely pointed, round-headed, square, oblong, and oval, and introduced in all parts of the walls, without regard to symmetry or regularity. The portion most decidedly antique in character was a range of four pointed arches, supported by large round clustered columns, between the chancel and south aisle; these, though certainly not so old as the foundation of the nunnery, were probably part of some re-edification or enlargement of the structure, in the reign of Richard I. or John.

The destruction of the old church went on apace before a contract was made for a new one. In the meanwhile, and until the present structure was raised, the parishioners met for divine worship in the vestry of the old church, at the west end.

A beautiful monument, in memory of Sir William Weston, the last Prior of St. John's, who was buried in May, 1540, was a conspicuous object in the old church. Of this interesting memorial, now entirely gone, Weever has given the following particular description[3]:—"In the north walle of the chancell is a faire marble tombe, with the portraiture of a dead man lying upon

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1816, vol. 23, p. 217. [2] Fuller's *Worthies*, fol. 1662, art. "Middlesex," p. 191.
[3] Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 430.

his shroud; the most artificially cut in stone that ever man beheld. All the plates of brass are stolne away, onlly some few peeses remaining, containing these words:—

"'Hospitalitate inclytus genere præclarus.

(Here are Arms).

"'Hanc urna officii causa.'"

In the centre, on another plate, in old English characters, was—

"Spes me non fallat, quam in te semper habebam
Virgo da facilem votis natum. "

And, on another—

"Eece quem cernis semper tuo nomini devotum
Suspice in sinum Virgo Maria tuum."

In 1788, when the old church was destroyed, this noble monument was removed, it being purchased by Sir George Booth, and conveyed to Burliegh. "On Monday, April 27th," writes a contemporary, "I attended a gentleman of Islingtón, to observe the removing of the monument of Sir William Weston, the last Prior of St. John of Jerusalem; and, after great labour of the workmen in removing of the carved stone ornaments, dust and rubbish, the lead coffin was discovered, which was deposited within a few inches of the surface, under a stone on which was laid the emaciated figure (representing the deceased prior). On the breast part was a cross raised in lead. On raising the cover the skeleton appeared, but without any appearance of its having been wrapped in cere cloth, or habit of his order; nor did it seem at first that ever any embalmment had been used; but on more careful inspection there was found a quantity of dark-coloured mucilaginous substance between the thighs and the lower parts of the body, of an unctuous feel, but quite inodorous. The bones were laid in the same order as when the corpse was deposited in the lead coffin, which did not appear had ever been enclosed in one of wood. The fingers and toes were fallen off, but the other parts retained their proper situation, and some teeth remained in each jaw. On measuring the skeleton it was exactly six feet in length, wanting an inch." Previous to this, we learn from Strype, Prior Weston's tomb had been opened by direction of Mr. Howard, churchwarden, in 1704, "who was minded to repair and make up this tomb (which was broken and sunk), and bid the labourers dig where it was in order thereto. And near the surface they met with a leaden coffin, with the figure of a cross on the top towards the feet. He strictly commanded them to inter the said corpse as they found it. But the workmen among themselves opened it, and found nothing, as they were ready to swear, but all decayed to bones and dust; only they found a liquid matter (the embalmment) at the bottom of the coffin." The skeleton, it is said, bore a striking resemblance to the emaciated figure recumbent in the lower compartment of the monument.

A vulgar tradition respecting these cadaverous effigies, not uncommon in our cathedrals, is that the persons whom they represent have been starved to death in the vain attempt to imitate the Saviour's fast of forty days and nights.

Within the communion rails of the old church was a flat stone, which marked the resting place of Dr. John Bell, Bishop of Worcester in the time of Henry VIII. This stone was inlaid with a figure of brass, representing the bishop in his pontificals. On a brass plate was this inscription, in old English:—

"Contegit hoc marmor Doctorem nomine Bellum,
Qui bene tam rexit præsulis officium;
Moribus, ingenio, vitæ pietate vigebat
Laudatis cunctis, cultus et eloquio.
A.D. 1556, die Aug. II."

This eminent prelate was a native of Worcestershire. He was educated at Baliol College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of LL.B. in 1504. He enjoyed in his lifetime many ecclesiastical appointments. In 1518 he was made Chancellor of the Diocese of Worcester, and about the same time Archdeacon of Gloucester, and Prebendary of Dernford, in the church of Lichfield, 18th of February, 1525-6. His eminent qualities commended him to the notice of Henry VIII., to whom

it is believed he for some time acted as secretary. He was engaged by the king in the matter of his divorce from Queen Catherine, and in April, 1530, he accompanied Edward Fox and John Longland to Oxford to obtain a decree from that university in favour of it. He also went abroad on this business, and took at some foreign university the degree of LL.D. He was present at the baptism of Prince Edward in 1537, and was raised to the bishopric of Worcester in 1539. In 1540 he was again employed on the king's business, being appointed one of a committee to decide on the validity of his Majesty's marriage with Anne of Cleves; and his signature is affixed to the decree, dated July 9th, 1540, declaring the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne of Cleves to have been invalid. He resigned his bishopric in 1543, and sought retirement in the pleasant suburb of Clerkenwell, where he died the 11th of August, 1556, and on the 13th of the same month was buried "lyke a byshope, with myter and odurs, thynges that longyst to a byshope, with ij. whyt branches, ij. dosen stayffes, torcheys, and iiij. grett tapurs,"[1] near the altar in the old Church of St. James, Clerkenwell. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Harpfield. The bishop, by his will, dated August 10th, 1556, and proved 24th of October following, is a benefactor to Baliol College, and bequeaths fifty marks to the poor scholars at the University of Cambridge.[2]

On the north side of the old church was a stone altar tomb, surmounted by Corinthian pillars supporting a pediment. Beneath lay the effigy of Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, attired in the costume of the period of Queen Elizabeth, with the head of a negro at her feet.

"The Ladi Elizabeth Barkley of
The Quene her Mattes. Bede Chamber
And Second wife to Syr Mavrice
Barkle Knight deceased; Standerd
Bearer to her Mtie. to her father
& to her brother departed this
Lyfe in this Parish the 16 of
June 1585 Being 52 yeares
Ovlde in the Fayth of Jesus Christ
& was bvried in the flower vnder
This toome: This Ladi was the
Davghter of Anthony Sondes
Esqvier She had children
Too sonnes & one davghter
Robert Margret and John."

This monument might have been preserved to the present time had it not sustained much wilful injury. Hatton, who saw it in 1708, describes it as "much damnify'd and neglected, having pews built before it." When this tomb was opened in 1788, the body of her ladyship, which had been embalmed, was found preserved entire, dressed according to the fashion of her time, and wearing upon her hands a pair of brown gloves. The coffin was immediately after this inspection closed. The tomb and its inscription have perished.

Of the life of this worthy woman little is known. One delightful incident of her youth only has been recorded; her noble constancy, under severe religious trial, which is deserving of lasting remembrance by every upholder of our Protestant faith. To use the words of honest John Foxe, she was one of those who were "saved by God's providence from burning in Queen Mary's time." Writing of the year 1558, the old martyrologist records that, "Mistress Sandes, now wife of Syr Morice Bartlet, then gentlewoman wayter to Lady Elizabeth, being in the Towre, denied to come to mass, and therefore besides the hearty displeasure of her father was not only displaced from her roume, and put out of the house, but also was in great jeopardy of further tryall. But the Lord who disposeth for euery one as he seeth best wrought her way out of her enemies handes by flying ouer the seas, where she continued amongest other banished exiles in the citie of Geneva and of Basill (Basle) till the death of Queen Marie."[3]

[1] Green's *Worcestershire*, 1, 201. [2] Machyn's *Diary Athenae Cantabrigienses*, pp. 161, 541.
[3] Foxe's *Ecclesiastical History*, fol. ed. 1576, p. 1975.

On "a fair plated stone, in a comely chapel by the pulpit," was the following inscription to the memory of a descendant of one of Queen Mary's Privy Councillors :—

"Here lieth the body of Thomas Bedingfield, Esq., 2d son unto Sir Henry Bedingfield, Knt., late of the county of Norfolk and one of the Privy Council to Queen Mary ; Also this Thomas Bedingfield was one of the honourable band of Gentlemen Pensioners unto the late famous Queen Elizabeth, and Master of the Tents and Pavilions unto the most mighty King James, Monarch of Great Britain. He departed this life the 11th day of August, Anno Dom. 1613.

"This monument was made and placed here at the cost and charges of John Skillicorn, Esq., being his Executor."

After the death of the young King Edward VI., a Protestant faction, headed by the Duke of Northumberland, proclaimed the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, in opposition to the Catholic Mary, the next in succession to the throne. Sir Henry Bedingfield was one of the first knights who came to the assistance of Queen Mary with a body of servants and tenants, she being at Framlingham Castle, in the county of Suffolk. After her coronation the Queen made him Governor of the Tower and one of the Privy Council.[1] Thomas Bedingfield, unlike his noble sire, appears not to have achieved any particular distinction. With reference to the office he held under Government, there is preserved among the collection of State Papers a warrant, dated June 27, 1611, to pay to Thomas Bedingfield, Master, and Edmund Monday, Yeoman of the Tents, £33 6s. 8d. per annum, being half of 100 marks formerly divided between the Masters of the Tents and Toils for providing a room to put them in; also £33 6s. 8d. towards their charges in building the room. There is also another warrant to pay £200 to Thomas Bedingfield, Master of the Tents, Hales, and Pavilions, for the repair and provision of the same.[2]

In the old church was a marble tablet, surrounded by a black border, affixed to the first pillar on the right, entering the chancel, on which was inscribed the following encomiastic lines in praise of an old antiquary, John Weever, the well-known author of a book on "Funeral Monuments," who died in the reign of Charles I., and was buried under a pew near the pillar against which this memorial of him was placed :—

"Upon a very worthy friend, Mr. John Weever, a learned Antiquary.

"Weever, who laboured in a learned strain
To make Men long since dead to live again,
And with Expense of Oyle and Ink did watch
From the Worm's Mouth the sleeping Corse to snatch,
Hath by his Industry begot a way,
Death (who insidiates all things) to betray,
Redeeming freely by his Care and Cost,
Many a sad Herse, which Time long since gave lost ;
And to forgotten Dust such spirit did give,
To make it in our Memories to live.
Where Death destroyed when he had Power to save,
In that he did not seek to rob the grave.
For where so e'er a ruined Tomb he found,
His pen hath built it new out of the Ground.
'Twixt Earth and him this interchange we find,
She hath to him, he been to her like kind.
She was his Mother, he (a grateful child)
Made her his Theme, in a large Work compil'd,
Of Funeral Reliques, and brave Structures rear'd,
On such as seemed unto her most endear'd
Alternately a Grave to him she lent,
O're which his Book remains a Monument."

[1] Wooton's *Baronetage*, vol. 2, p. 111. [2] *Calendar of State Papers*, temp. James I., 1611-1623, pp. 49 and 58.

To the foregoing epitaph Hatton, in his "New View of London, 1708," subjoins another, reputed to have been written by Mr. Weever himself.

"Lancashire gave me breath
And Cambridge Education,
Middlesex gave me Death
And this Church my Humation.
And Christ to me hath given
A Place with him in Heaven.
Ætatis suæ 56, Anno Domini 1632."

When the church was taken down, the Society of Antiquaries, with a very proper zeal for the preservation of this tablet, ordered a diligent search to be made for it, but without success, as it had been taken from the church a few years previously by some person or persons unknown.

Affixed to the second pillar from the east was an engraved monumental brass, bearing the arms and effigies of William Byrche and his dame Anne, in the attitude of prayer, and having the following quaint inscription in old English:—

"1576.

"Anne Wyfe of William Byrche doth lie
In yearth before this pillar stone,
Whose Soule wythe God dothe rest on hie,
In September twice three and one
The Daye, the Year of Christe; for see
And fyrste the same accountede be;
Then give God Prayse, and lowlye
Guide us O Lord in thy right ways."

Another small marble monument, adorned with the emblems of mortality, was sacred to the memory of Thomas Whyte, Receiver for his Majesty (Charles I.) in the counties of Warwick and Leicester, who departed this life 2nd of July, 1642, and "lyeth here buried."

"Hither no tears but garlands bring,
To crown this good receiver's dust,
Who gave account to God and King,
And lives rewarded with the just.
So to his faith and office both gave rest,
The King his quittance, God *quietus est*."

On the south side of the altar was a monument of the Ionic order, adorned with a pediment, whereon were seated two cupids weeping.

"M. S.

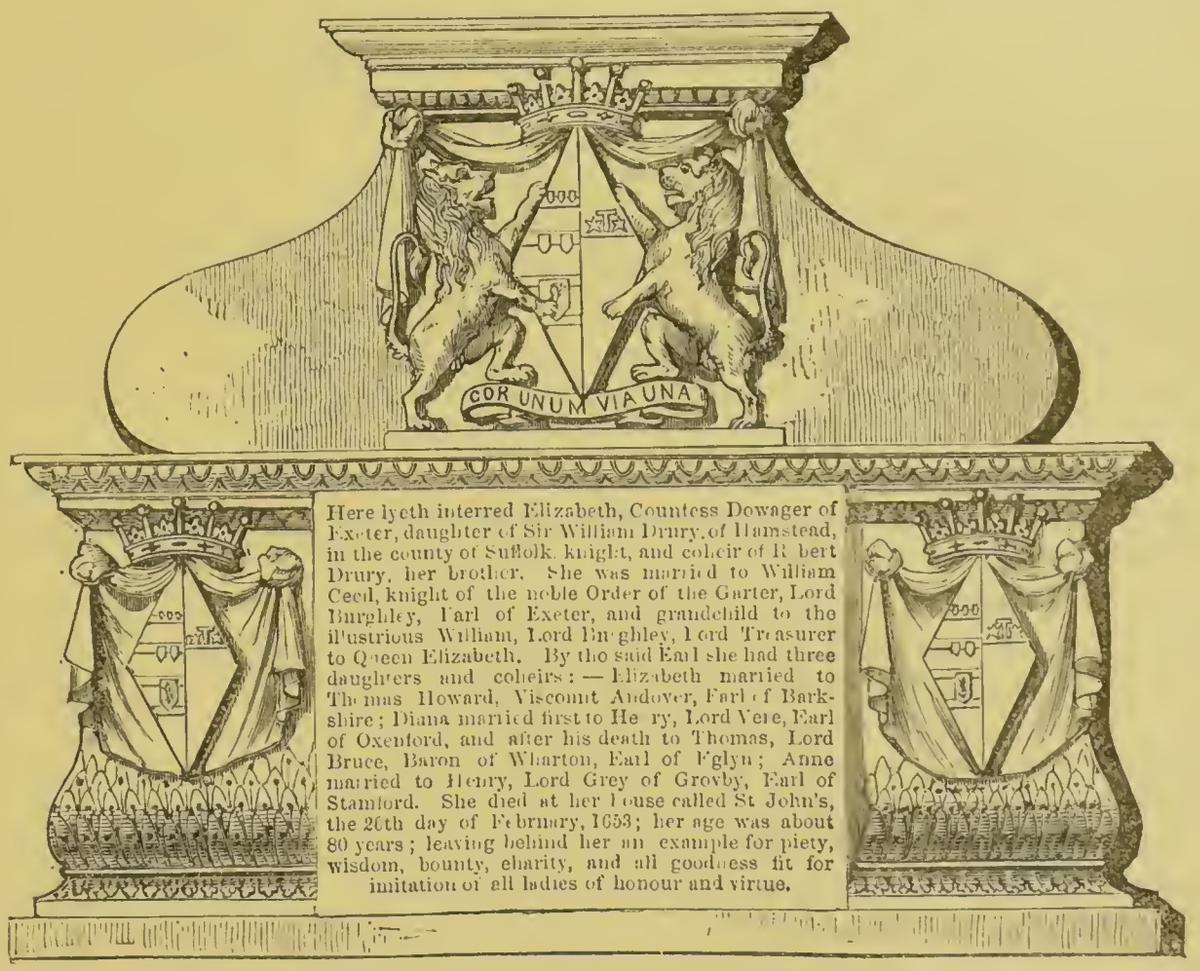
"Ann Booth, third daughter of the Right Honorable George Delamere by Lady Elizabeth his wife, eldest daughter of Henry, Earl of Stamford, by the Lady Ann, youngest daughter of one of the coheirs of William, Earl of Exeter.

"April the 20th, 1651. She came into the world, which too much priding itself in her, became unworthy of her. November the 21th, 1667. She received a divine summons to repair to her eternal repose, which her glad soul obeyed, leaving its fair mansion to be here deposited with her noble grandmother and incomparable brother.

"Aged 16 years 7 months.

"Fair Soul! what passions shall attend thy urn?
'T were barbarous to rejoice, in vain we mourn;
But this 's our Consolation, now thou'rt fled,
That choicest fruits are early'st gathered.
And our Complaint Heav'n seems to silence thus—
What 's fit for it is much too good for us.
Where beauty, youth, and honour lyes,
By Death's Surprize
Resolv'd to common dust;
Without a Tear
None can appear
But 's cruel or unjust."

The "noble grandmother" of this young damsel was Elizabeth, Countess of Exeter, to whose revered memory a beautiful monument was erected in the old church of St. James, but which, on the erection of the present structure, was consigned to the vaults, where it at present remains in obscurity, affixed to the wall at the east end of the south aisle—a position which corresponds to that which it originally occupied in the old church. It is of white marble, in the form of a table monument, over which are carved in low relief the arms of the family included in a lozenge-shaped shield, having as supporters two lions rampant.



MONUMENT TO ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF EXETER, IN THE VAULTS OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH.

Close by this tomb there was originally a painted board, setting forth that this lady was honoured and beloved by all for her hospitality and charity to the poor, and freedom from all pride, that she left great legacies to her servants (to some annually for life), and was grandmother to thirty-two children, and great grandmother to thirty-three.

A neat white marble tablet placed over the Countess of Exeter's monument was inscribed to the memory of Dr. William Booth, the "incomparable brother" of the before mentioned Ann Booth.

"H. S. E.

"Guilielmus Booth Illustris D.D. Georgii Baronis Delamere & Elizabethæ Uxoris suæ filius primo genitus quoad paternum genus vetustissima Hamonis de Massie, quondam unius ex octo principatus Iestræ Baronibus stripe orundus quoad Maternus Nobilisimus Greyorum & Ceciliorum Gentibus conjunctus, uptote Henrici Comitis Stamfordiæ de filia nepos Gulielmi Ld. Burghley sub Diva Elizabethæ summi Angliee Thesaurii, trinepos Elizabethæ autem Commitissæ de Exceter hic juxta tumulatæ pronepos, adoleseens pietate in parentes, Morum sua vitate, forma & ingenio certe incomparabilis.

Natus est 17 Aprilis, 1648.
Denatus 20 Jan., 1661.
Ciuis Homo flos & Bulla."

On the south side was a marble monument with columns, entablature and pediment of the Ionic order, with enrichments of festoons, cherubs, and urn. This was inscribed:—

"Juxta hcic conduntor ossæ Dudley Palmer; Is Antonii Palmer Equites a Baleno filius fuit & Hares probitate ergo omnes, in notos Munificentia in amicum Immortali.

Amicitia inclytus, Anno Dom., 1666.
Etat. Suæ primo Climaterico cœlebs occubiut."

This memorial was of Dudley Palmer, son and heir of Antony Palmer, a Knight of the Bath, who, as the above inscription relates, "died a bachelor in his grand Climacterical year." This latter expression is remarkable, as illustrating a then popular belief, and one which is not yet extinct—viz., that certain periods in a man's life are critical or climacteric. According to some astrologers every seventh year was so. Others, on the contrary, affirmed that only those years produced by 7, multiplied by the odd numbers 3, 5, 7, and 9, were climacterical, it being considered that those years were marked by some notable change with respect to life, health, or fortune. The last of these periods, the 63rd year, the product of 9 multiplied by 7, was the "grand climacterical" year, when, if any sickness happened, it was likely to prove mortal. Such as died at this eminently critical period had their ages so expressed upon their monuments, as in the instance above noticed.

Evelyn wrote in his diary:—

"30 Oct., 1682.—Being my birthday, and I now entering my great climacterical of 63, after serious recollection of the years past, giving Almighty God thanks for all his merciful preservation and forbearance, begging pardon for my sins and unworthiness, and his blessing on me the year entering."[1]

On a spacious marble gravestone in the old chapter house, used as a vestry, was this inscription:—

"Here lyeth the body of Sir Thomas Holt, knight, one of the King's serjeants-at-law, who departed this life the 28th of July, in the year of our Lord 1685."

This Sir Thomas was the father of the famous Lord Chief Justice Holt. He tried, rather unsuccessfully, to eke out the income arising from a small patrimonial estate by following the profession of the law, and rose to be bencher of Gray's Inn. In 1677 he became serjeant-at-law, but was known by mixing in faction intrigues rather than by pleading in Westminster Hall. Of the party who were first called "Tories," he was one of the founders. Taking the court side with much zeal he was rewarded with the honour of knighthood. "Of course," writes Lord Campbell, "he was an abhorrer, inveighing against the petitioners as little better than traitors, in consequence of which he was taken into custody by order of the House of Commons. The old gentleman soon after died, and if he had been childless his name never more would have been heard of."[2]

A marble monument "on the north side of the church, towards the west end, in a kind of chapel leading into a gallery," was inscribed to the memory of

"George Long, Esq., of this parish, who aged 73 years and 6 months, departed this life the first day of Feb., 1654. He was pious towards God, a good friend to this church in rebuilding of it, charitable to the poor of this parish, an indulgent husband to all his wifes (he had three), a careful and provident parent to his children, and a loving master to all his servants, and here rests in the hope of a joyful resurrection."

A gravestone near the south-west door of the church bore this inscription:—

"Here lyes the body of Richard Gwyn, who departed Feb. 16th, 1692-3.

"As you are, so were we,
As we are, so you must be."

A spacious gravestone in the churchyard, close by the church, commemorated one

"Nathaniel Spencer, who departed this life the 30th of November, 1695, in the 29th year of his age—

"Pray think on me as you pass by,
As you are now so once was I;
But now I lye dissolved to dust,
I hope to rise among the just."

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 169.

[2] Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chief Justices*, vol. ii., p. 119.

Near the south-east corner of the church was a black and white marble monument, with entablature and pediment, to the memory of Sir George Strode, a distinguished Royalist, and a great benefactor to the poor of Clerkenwell.

"Georgius Strode heic juxta situs Gulielmi ex Antiquo Strodorum in Dorsettia genere filius e trinis secundus Vir bonus Domi & apud exteros quæ Optimorum Gratiam comparando que rem familiar augendo fortunæ suæ faber.

"Rebeccæ filiæ & Cohær Nicolai Crispe de Nobili Crisporum in agro Wilton prosapia Ux. unica Conjuxamantissimus Filiis denis quinis filiabus cum Numerosa proleparens puis, amicis promerendis constans, Hospitibus excipiendis Benignus subditus Fidelis Equestri Dignitate donatus.

"Quippe Vulneribus septem uno in prælio contra rebelles fortiter demicando acceptis (Sexagenarius quam esset & emeritus) necron duobus filiis natu majoribus, Paternæ erga Regem observantiæ studiosissimus mortem oppententibus, Carolo I. servus probatissimus, capite fortunis quo perduellibus damnatus & exul Imperante Carolo II. redux Christianus Catholicus Antiquæ Fidei confessor, inconcussis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ propugnator, accerimus Dei cultor, assiduus pauperibus bonorum erogantor liberalis, Octogenarius denatus 13 kal. Jun.

"Anno Salutis reparatæ 1663.

Per Christum Resurrectionem felicem expectat.

Sic luceat Lumen."

Sir George Strode, whose excellent virtues are commemorated in the foregoing epitaph upon his monument, was born in the year 1583, and was the son of William Strode, of the ancient family of the Strodes of Dorset. His loyalty and attachment to Charles I. obtained for him that monarch's favour, who, in the time of the civil wars, made him second commissioner of the army for London. In 1642, when he was in the sixtieth year of his age, but withal active in the suppression of tumult, in one desperate engagement with the rebels he received no less than seven wounds. He was strenuously opposed to the execution of Charles I., and for his loyalty to the king suffered the loss of fortune, the malice of his enemies, and long imprisonment. There is still preserved the order of Parliament to Sir John Black to sequester Sir George Strode's goods, Die Jovis, 28th of September, 1643, bidding him "to make sale thereof for the payment of such gentlemen of the House of Commons as have advanced money for the payment of the forces under Sir William Waller."[1] He was in his lifetime very charitable, and gave many hundreds away by weekly distribution to the poor of St. James's, Clerkenwell, and of St. Sepulchre's parish. He was a stanch Protestant, and zealous for the worship of God. When an "utter barrister" of the Middle Temple, in 1618, he wrote "The Anatomie of Mortalitie" "for his own private comfort;" and when far advanced in years he translated from the Spanish Fonseca's "Holy Love," 1652.[2] This latter work contains an engraved portrait of Sir George Strode. He was very devout in his serious preparations for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, of which he often partook; and a few years prior to his decease he bequeathed to the parish for the good of the poor an estate near Great Malvern, in Worcestershire, out of which £6 was to be paid by quarterly payments to the minister of St. James's for preaching on the Saturday afternoon before the monthly communion, "to prepare the parishioners for that great work;" but if the minister should not be "of religious conversation, according to the doctrine of the Church of England professed in the reign of James I.," the money was to be given to the poor. Sir George Strode died at the age of eighty, on the 13th of June, 1663.

A writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1746, says, "In June, 1718, as I was walking into the fields, I stopt in Clerkenwell Churchyard to see a grave-digger at work. He had dug pretty deep and had come to a coffin which had lain so long that it had become quite rotten, and the plate so eaten with rust that he could not read anything of the inscription. In clearing away the rotten pieces of wood the grave-digger found an hour-glass close to the left side of the skull, with sand in it, the wood of which was so rotten that it broke where he took hold of it. Being a lover of antiquity I bought it of him." It was an ancient custom to put an hour-glass into the coffin, as an emblem of the sand of life being run out.[3]

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 5497, fol. 70.

[2] Granger's *Biog. Hist of England.*

[3] Hone's *Year Book*, p. 701.

EXTRACTS FROM THE OLD PARISH REGISTERS.

MARRIAGES.

1598: January 28.—Wolstan Dixie gent and Frances Throgmorton.

1604: March 17.—Sir Thos. Fowler and Dame Marie Spencer.

1604: July 20.—Sir Thomas Griffin and Dame Eliz. Stowelde.

1604: September 11.—Sir John Hubbard and Mrs. Barbara Hoord.

1607: June 25.—Sir Thos. Palmer and Mrs. Martha Wingate.

1607-8: January 9.—Sir Edward Foster and Marie Challoner.

1610: June 11.—Sir George Trencher and Mrs. Penelope D'urfey.

1617: August 20.—Sir Thos. Burton and Anne Havers.

1619: August 19.—Sir Paul Tracey and Mrs. Anne Dutton.

1620: John Gorges, Esq., eldest son of Sir Ferdinando, and the Ladye Frances Fynes, daughter of the Right Hon. the Earl of Lincoln, were marryed together the 31st of July.

1622: July 4.—Sir Henry Barlan and Mrs. Elizabeth Mimer.

1624: June 21.—Sir Stephen Butler and Mrs. Mary Banslye.

1657: March 11.—Sir George Windham and Mrs. Frances Perceval were published in our church.

Robert Lord Lexington and Lady Mary St. Leger were marryed together Feb. 24, 1660.

Sir Richard Franklyn, knt. and bart., of Moore Parke, in the co. of Hertford, and Lady Hellinor Tryon, of Halsteed, in Essex, were married together, April 30, 1661.

John Fenwicke, Esq., the sonne of Sir William Fenwicke, and Lady Mary Howard, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle, were married together in the Earl of Elgen's chapel, July 14, 1663.

John Jacob, Esq., and Mrs. Catherine Allington were married together, May 26, 1644, by Dr. Henchman, Bishop of London.

William Brownlow and Elizabeth De-la-fontaine married July 28, 1664.

BAPTISMS.

1585: January 19.—Honora, daughter of Sir Thomas Mildmay.

1590: July 14.—Hugh, son of Sir John Pornets.

1590: September 1.—Christopher, son of the Earl of Worcester.

1605—John, sonne of Sir John Drury, was x'dned 4 Julie; and 13, John, sonne of Sir John Hubbard, knt.

1609: November 28.—Kathrin, daughter of Sir Thomas Challoner.

1611: March 16.—Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Woodhouse.

1613: April 24.—Frederick, son of Sir Thomas Challoner.

1615: March 7.—George, son of Sir Thomas Holte, bart.

1615: December 26.—Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Anderson.

1616: September 23.—William, son of Sir John Hunt, knt.

1617: November 14.—Marie, daughter of Sir Francis Coningsby.

1619: July 13.—Theodoxia, daughter of Sir William Saunders.

1619: July 24.—Mary, daughter of Sir John Andrewes, knt.

1622: August 20.—Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Legg.

1630: September 21.—Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Wyatt.

1632: March 19.—Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheeke.

1635: January 6.—Grisell, daughter of Thomas Brinley, Esq.

1635: August 3.—Francis, son of Miles Holwood, was christned at the Spanish Ambassador's.

1638: September 23.—Edward, son of Sir Edward Heyton, knt., bart.

1643: February 14.—Katherine, daughter to Sir Dudley North et dame Ann.

1645—Henrietta, daughter to Sir Henry Chomleye, the last of May.

1646: December 1.—Edward, sonne of Robert Lord Bruce and the Lady Diana.

1650: April 11.—Mary, daughter of Henry Middleton, Esq.

Robert Smith, sonne of Robert Smyth, Esq., and Dorothy Countess of Sunderland, was born Dec. 24, 1653, and christned Jan. 4, 1653.

1654: November 9.—Mary, the daughter of George Berkeley, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, son and heire to the Right Hon. the Lord Berkeley. Diana Corbett, daughter of Sir Vincent Corbett and dame Sara his wife, was born Sept. 2, baptised the 12th, 1665.

1657—Mrs. Mary Bruce, daughter to Robert Lord Bruce and the Lady Diana, was born Dec. 31.

1658: September 14.—Alice, daughter of Joseph Ayloffe and Frances his wife.

1660: January 28.—Charles, the son of Robert Lord Bruce and the Lady Diana.

1661: July 15.—Charles, the son of Sir Maurice Berkeley, knt. & bart., and the Lady Anne.

1661: September 5.—Thomas, son of Thomas Coventry, Esq.

1662: June 19.—Henry, son of Lord Robert Bruce.

1662—Lady Katherine Howard, daughter of the Right Honorable Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, and dame Ann his wife, born July 29, baptised Aug. 6.

1662—Mary, daughter of Sir John Keeling and Lady Mary.

1663: June 1.—James, son of the Right Hon. George Lord Berkeley.

1663: July 23.—John, son of Sir Edward Cropley, knt.

1663—Ann Charlotte Bruce, the daughter of the Right Honorable Robert Lord Bruce, Earl of Elgin, and the Right Hon. Lady Diana Countess of Elgin.

1664: November 15.—Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Wiseman.

1664—Henrietta, daughter of the Right Honorable George Lord Berkley.

1666: May 14.—Alice, daughter of Sir John Keeling, knt., Lord Chief Justice of England, and dame Mary his wife.

1685—Katherine Sidney, daughter of Lord Lisle and dame Elizabeth his lady, born Aug. 21, baptised the 30th.

1687—Charles Sidney, son of Robert Lord Lisle and Madam Elizabeth, Jan. 24.

1691—Harry, son of Lord Lisle, baptised Feb. 4.

Alicia, daughter of Mr. George Smith and Dorothy, was borne July 18, 1691, and baptised the 30th by the Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of Gloucester.

1708: January 1.—Daniel, son of Daniel Defoe.

1734—Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert and Frances Burnett (whom God preserve).

1736: October 22.—Gilbert, son of Gilbert and Frances Burnett.

BURIALS.

Sir Thomas Challinger, knt., died Oct. 14, 1565, and was afterwards buried in St. Pawle's Church, London.

1566-7: January 20.—Francis, son of Sir John White.

1572: June 6.—Sir Thomas Benger.

1577-8: January 14.—Constance Bennet, gent., and a good benefactor to this parish, was buried in the chancel.

1581: July 30.—Richard Brooke, sec. to Mr. Secretarie Walshingham, beinge slaine in the fielde.

1585-6: January 20.—Eleanor, daughter of Sir Thos. Mildmay.

1591: September 20.—Mary, daughter of Edward Lord Sturton—chancel.

1591-2: February 18.—Robert, sonne of Sir Thomas Coningsbie, knt., in the church.

1599: November 23.—Frances, daughter of Ladie Clifford.

1607: August 14.—Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Markham.

1607: November 21.—Pollina, Ladie to Sir Maximilian Dullison—chancel.
1610: April 24.—Dame Elizabeth, wife to Sir William Hense—chancel.
1610: October 15.—Sir Henry Sackford.
1611: August 19.—Mrs. Frances, daughter of Sir Philip Woodhouse.
1615-6: March 15.—Francis, son of Sir John Butler, knt.
1616: October 10.—Dame Elizabeth, widow to Sir Henry Weston, knight banneret to Henry VIII.
1617: April 11.—Jane Burtley, daughter to Lady Minns, wife of Sir Henry.
1617—Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Coningsby.
1619: June 10.—Hellen, daughter of Sir John Fythyardett.
1619: June 16.—William, son of Sir Edward Mountford.
1620: May 3.—Mr. Edward Dallison, eldest sonne of Sir Roger Dallison.
1620: May 13.—Sir Roger Dallison, knt. and bart.—chancel.
1621: July 5.—Dame Anne, wife to Sir John Andrews. A still-born child of this ladie was buried a few days before.
1621: August 22.—Theodosia, daughter of Sir William Saunders.
1621: December 9.—X'pian, daughter to Sir Matthew Carey.
1623: December 20.—Mr. Vicessimus, son to Sir Paul Tracye.
1624: April 27.—Humfrey Maddox, yt cut his throat in ye Lord Dudley's howse.
1625: January 30.—Sir John Wood, knt.—church.
1625-6: January 5.—Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Row[1]—chancel.
1630-1: March 7.—Mary, wife of Sir Harvye Merrye—chancel.
1632—John Weever.
1633—John, sonne of Sir John Symonds.
1644-5: January 13.—Joan, daughter to Philip, Lord Wharton.
1653: June 7.—Edward Zouch, Esq., slaine in the fielde.
1653-4—Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Exeter—chancel.
1653-4: March 9.—Sir Dudley Carleton—south aile chancel.
1655: May 24.—Mrs. Penelope Wiseman, daughter of Sir Richard—chancel.
1656-7—Sir John Thowrowgood, knt., was buried in the chancel, near the Countess of Exeter.
1656-7: March 4.—Thomas Turner, gent., wounded by theeves, of which wounds he died—chancel.
1657: November 23.—The Lady Fish, wife to Sir Edward Fish—chancel.
1658: July 28.—Sir Edward Fish, knt. & bart.
1658: August 10.—George, Lord Berkeley died at his house in St. John's, and was buried the 13 at Cranford, in the county of Middlesex, leaving issue George Lord Berkeley, his only son and heire.
1660-1: January 10.—George Saville, son and heire of Sir George Saville, bart.—chancel.
1661: October 16.—Colonel Robert Wood, Sir Robert Wood his nephew.
1661-2: January 22.—William Boothe, son and heir of George Lord Delamer.
1661-2: March 22.—Dame Mary Munnox, the wife of Sir Humphrey Munnox, buried in the chancel near the Prior's monument.
1662: June 5.—Winnifride, daughter of Sir John Copplestone—chancel.
1663: June 2.—Sir George Strode, that worthy benefactor to the church and poore—chancel.
1663: July 25.—Henry Sedley, Esq., son of Sir John Sedley, in Kent[2]—chancel.
1667: July 31.—Sir Richard Chevertone's lady—chancel.
1678: March 3.—The Duchess of Newcastle's page.

[1] The wife of Sir Nicholas Rowe was the daughter of Sir John Hayward, the author of the "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," which work was published by the Camden Society (vol. vii.), under the editorship of John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., who gives in his account of the Annals some particulars of the author and his family.

[2] The Sedleys were of Aylesford Friary, which was given to them by Queen Elizabeth. Sir John Sedley was Sheriff of Kent in the nineteenth year of James I. His posthumous son was Sir Charles Sedley, the poet and dramatist, who became so noted for his wit and gallantry in the licentious days of Charles II. The brilliancy of his parts was so great that that king is said to have told him, that "Nature had given him a patent to be Apollo's Viceroy."—Brayley.



THE PULLING DOWN OF THE OLD CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, 1788.

1680 : September 14.—Sir Justinian Lewin, from Castle Yard, Holbourne—chancel.
1692-3 : March 8.—The wife of Dr. Goodall, from his house in Charterhouse Yard.
1694 : June 15.—Winifred, the Lady Coventry, wife of Thomas, first earl.
1694 : July 12.—Sir Richard Fanshawe, buried at Ware.
1703-4—Sir Goddard Nelthrop, bart.
1712 : July 1.—Thomas Crosse, Esq.
1713 : November 19.—John Crosse, Esq.
1714—Thomas Britton.
1714-5 : February 11.—Henry Penton, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn.
1714-5—Gilbert Burnet, Lord Bishop of Sarum, buried in the chancel, March 22.

From the foregoing extracts, and from the accounts given before (pp. 9-11), it will be seen that Clerkenwell has been patronised from the earliest times by the nobility, both as a place of residence, and as a suburban spot where they baptised and married their children, and buried their patrician dead. We can scarcely read these records of Hymen and Death without a retrospective glance at the courtly people who have from time to time been gathered in the church of St. James. The roll is marked with the names of bishops, earls, lords, baronets, knights, esquires, and titled gentlewomen. What a varied pageant do they make for the mental vision! How picturesque and quaint are their dresses as they come up out of the long past, and how little they seem to be related to this present age. But my Lady Mary plighted her troth at the altar then with the same love in her heart as that which blushes the cheeks of wedding maidens now; Sir Thomas saw his little heir christened at the font of St. James's then with the same doting pride as that which quickens the pulse of a father when his boy receives the baptismal rites now; the relict and children of Sir John wept the same bitter tears then when he passed into his solemn resting place as those which course upon the cheeks of the bereaved mourners of the dead now. Love and sorrow are ever young, and are the contemporaries of all times. There presents to us matter for contemplation as we run through these registers of the dead, for who can tell how much of sadness, or joy, or hope, or virtue is covertly chronicled in each line of them? By way of appendix to these lists of the aristocrats of this parish we may add, that Sir Amias Poulett, Knight, who died on the 26th of September, 1588, was at the time of his decease, seised of a granary, with garden land to the same belonging, containing one acre, in Clerkenwell;[1] and that Sir John Arundel and Sir John Gresham were connected with this parish in the sixteenth century.[2]

[1] Collins' *Peerage*, edit. 1812, vol. iv., p. 8.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1860, p 570 ; Illustrations of the Sixteenth Century, from the Records of the County of Middlesex.

CHAPTER III.

THE DISTRICT OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, CLERKENWELL—Continued.

New Church of St. James—Laying of the First Stone—Inscription Plates placed in it—The entire Cost of the Church—The Tower and Steeple—The General Exterior of the Church—The Interior—The Altar Piece—The Organ—The Font—The Vestry—Model of the Steeple of the Church—Plan of the Parish—Small Figure of St. James the Less—The Turret Clock—The Belfry—The Sizes and Weights of the Bells—The First Peal rang on them—Change Ringing—Some Account of Bells and Bell Ringing—The Pancake Bell still rung in Clerkenwell—The Monuments of Bishop Burnet, Mr. and Mrs. Crosse, Henry Penton, Elizabeth Partridge, The Reverends Sellon, Davis, Foster, Sheppard, and Faulkner, William Adkins, The Rev. James Winfield and his Wife, Martha and Thomas Hodgson, Joseph Hale, William Abud, Mico Wagstaff, Thomas Sherwood, Thomas Greatrex and Mary Fox, William Clare, Sir William Wood, a famous Archer—Archery in Clerkenwell—The Church Vaults—Ministers of St. James's, Clerkenwell—The Past Elections of Ministers.

THE NEW CHURCH OF ST. JAMES.

In 1788 an Act of Parliament (28 Geo. III., c. 10) was passed for the rebuilding of the parish church of Clerkenwell, and for the payment of the building expences by annuities.

At the time of the demolition of the old church of St. James, and the building of the present one, memorial medals were struck by the parish, and presented to those persons who had subscribed to the fund which was raised for the purpose of paying in part the cost of rebuilding the sacred edifice. The medals bore a representation of the old church, and the inscription, "Clerkenwell. MC," on the obverse, and of the new church, and "Clerkenwell. 1788," on the reverse.[1]

COPY OF A MEDAL STRUCK IN 1788.



SAINT JAMES'S OLD CHURCH.



SAINT JAMES'S NEW CHURCH.

The preparation of the ground for the new church was commenced on the 25th of August, 1788, and the first stone was laid 16th December of the same year; it enclosed a glass vase, in which were a guinea, two shillings, a sixpence, and a penny, all coined in 1787, together with two brass plates covered with wax, with the following inscriptions in English:—

"Glory to God in the highest, and on
Earth Peace, Goodwill towards men."

[1] The Editor begs to thank Mr. J. Reynolds, of Chadwell-street, for enabling him to illustrate this history with a copy of one of these medals.

"The first stone of this Church was laid on the 16th day of December, 1788, when this plate was deposited therein by the Rev. William Sellon, Minister of this Parish—John Aris, John Howard, Churchwardens; the Rev. Sir George Booth, Baronet" (with numerous other names), "the Acting Trustees appointed by Act of Parliament for building the new Church; William Blackborow, Esq., Treasurer; Abraham Rhodes, Nicholas Lacy Fry, and William Cook, Vestry Clerks; and James Carr, Architect and Surveyor to the Trustees."

"This edifice stands on part of the site of the late Church of St. James, Clerkenwell, which was formerly part of the Priory called Ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ de Fonte Clericorum, for nuns of the Order of St. Benedict, founded in the year 1100, upon 14 acres of land given by Jordan Briset to Robert his chaplain, to build a religious house upon. The Priory was suppressed 26 Henry VIII., and after passing through various hands, the Church, by purchase, became vested on the 2nd of June, 1656, in trustees, for the use of the parishioners of this parish."[1]

The entire expense of building the church, and enclosing it, amounted to nearly twelve thousand pounds. The architect's papers furnish the following

"Account of contracts and additional works in Building the Church of St. James, Clerkenwell[2]:—

First Contract	£7985	0	0
Second ditto for enclosing the Church	31	10	0
Third ditto, Building a wall between Mr. Mallett's and Mr. Savory's	7	10	0
Fourth ditto, Building the Spire of Stone	281	13	0
Fifth ditto, for three feet added to Height	20	0	0
Sixth ditto, for Stone Ashler and Curbs to Steps	71	8	0
Extras, as to Account made 19th Jan., 1799	2560	0	0
	£10,957	1	0
Deduct for old Bricks	193	19	0
	£10,763	2	0
Amount of work done since the above account (exclusive of the west steps, not completed) to 14th November, 1792	271	7	2½
	£11,034	9	2½

The church was completed in 1792, and on the 10th of July, in the same year, was consecrated by Beilby Porteus, then Lord Bishop of London.

"On Tuesday, in the forenoon, the Bishop of London performed the ceremony of consecrating St James's, Clerkenwell, after which the churchwardens, &c., were entertained at the house of the rector."[3]

The new structure was reared upon the floor of the old one, and this, together with the natural elevation of the site, has rendered it a conspicuous object for many miles round, and when viewed at a short distance its aspect is imposing. The materials used in its construction are stone and brick, and the workmanship is of a very superior character.

The tower at the western end is of stone, surmounted by a balustrade, with vases at the angles. It is 100 feet in height, and in the Tuscan style of architecture. The lantern rising from it is octagonal, with three apertures one over the other, on each of its eight sides. From this springs a slender spire of polygonal form, resting on balls, the apex crowned by a gilt ball and vane. The original design for this steeple was adopted only to the top of the lower story of the lantern, it having been intended at first to complete the structure from thence with an inelegant "wooden cupola." The walls of the lantern, about twelve inches in thickness, are strengthened by iron cramps.

On taking down, in the year 1849, the spire of St. James's Church, it was found that the iron cramps had oxidised and burst, leaving the joints of the masonry open. The stones facing the west and south-west were much decomposed, but those towards the north-east had the tool marks perfect. In rebuilding, the hardest stones were placed opposite the south-west, and all deficiencies made good with new Portland stone. Each joint was saddle-jointed, and in every one were inserted iron dove-tailed cramps, enveloped in sheet copper, soldered, and run with lead. The spire is hollow, and its sides are about ten inches thick. A new solid course of Portland stone has been introduced about midway, and the spindle passes through this, and is secured with a nut; the spindle has also been

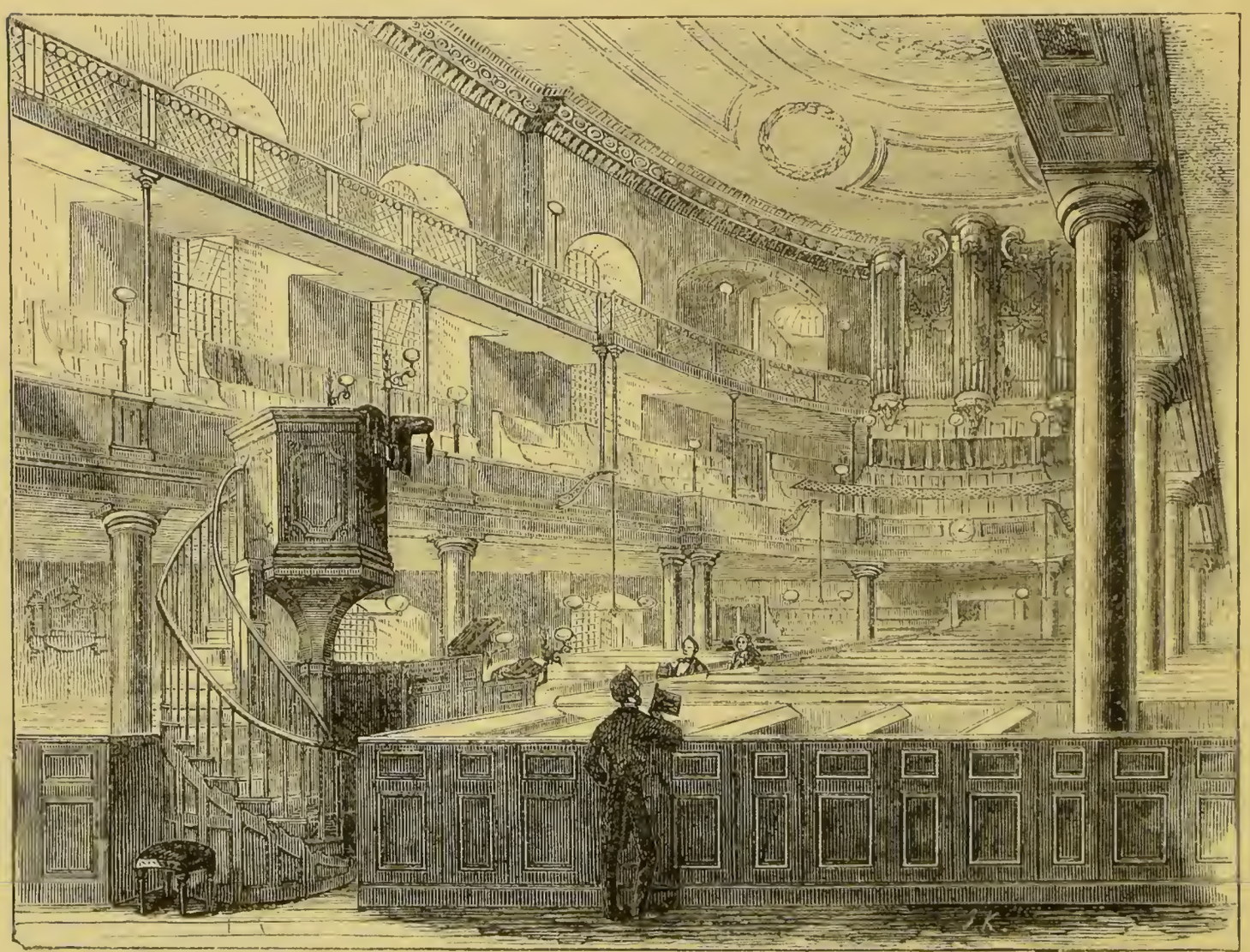
[1] *Vide* page 33.

[2] Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 208.

[3] *Public Advertiser*, July 11, 1792.

painted and wrapped in lead. Between the solid course and the capstone were deposited lists of the Trustees, Guardians, and Voters of the Borough of Finsbury. The vane is a new one, six feet long by two in depth, which, with the staff twelve feet two inches long, has been gilt. The old vane represented a comet, and had belonged to the turret of the former church of St. James. A lightning conductor, 180 feet in length, passes below the foundation in a furcated form.[1]

The general exterior of the church is not remarkable, it being built chiefly of brick with stone dressings. The south side has slightly projecting wings pierced by Doric entrances, over which



INTERIOR OF SAINT JAMES'S CHURCH, CLERKENWELL.

are arched windows, and above these a balustrade; the whole is surmounted by a cornice with dentels extending round the building. The body of the church is pierced by eight arched windows on each side, the lower tier being the smallest. At the east end are three windows, the centre a Venetian one, over which is a pediment with a semicircular aperture in the tympanum. The view of this end, as also of the north side, is almost excluded by the surrounding houses. The extreme length of the church on the outside is 110 feet, the width of the front at the basement 62 feet, and the height of the body 53 feet. The walls vary in thickness from two feet seven inches to three feet nine inches.

The interior of the church is in keeping with the general design, and all its adornments are chaste and simple. Pillars, painted in imitation of marble, sustain galleries on either side. Upper galleries, supported by slender iron columns and fronted by a handsome iron railing, extend along the

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec., 1819.

sides of the building at a considerable height; and although erected subsequently to the building of the church, viz., in 1822, are no disfigurement to the interior of it. They are intended for the accommodation of the children of the Sunday Schools. The galleries for the charity children are in recesses at the west end, which is semicircular.

The large Venetian window at the east end is blank, and divided by two pilasters into three compartments, in the centre one of which is painted the Hebrew word "Jehovah," encircled by a glory, and above is the representation of a curtain. In the semicircular space at the top are figures of angels and a descending dove. In the side compartments are sacred emblems; on either side formerly hung the colours of the old Clerkenwell Volunteers.

The altar-piece is composed of pillars, an entablature and pediment of the Doric order. On the apex of the pediment are the royal arms, carved, painted, and gilt; on the tympanum is a celestial crown and palm branches. Beneath, on four panels, are inscribed the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue. Upon the wall on either side are bass reliefs representing the communion vessels and a censer containing incense suspended by ribbons. At either extremity of the entablature is placed a gilt blazing urn.

The pews are grained in imitation of oak, and capped with mahogany. The pulpit and reading desk are of oak.

The total number of sittings in the church is about 1500, of which about 800 are free seats.

The organ, a beautiful instrument, was made by George Pike England, in 1790, and cost £500. The old organ was subsequently disposed of by England for £220, and erected in the parish church of Beccles, Suffolk.[1] The present instrument has two rows and a half of keys, and contains twenty-one stops, but has no pedal pipes.

The font was erected on Christmas-eve, 1851. It is of Portland stone, of circular form, and stands at the west end of the nave upon an octagonal step. The bowl is cylindrical, and is ornamented with twelve architectural olive leaves, with palm leaves in the interstices, supported on a plain circular shaft with a boldly moulded spreading base. It is in the Roman style (the same as the church), but the proportions partake of the mediæval fonts which are introduced as an improvement upon the slender baluster font in London churches. The font is lined with lead, and has a water drain. It was designed by its promoter, W. P. Griffith, Esq., who raised the money for its erection by a half-crown subscription. It cost £11 17s. 6d. On the cover, which is of plain oak, and harmonious in design, is the following inscription on a circular brass plate:—

"This font, presented by public subscription, was erected Xmas-eve, 1851, and designed by W. P. Griffith, architect. The lid was the gift of Mr. David Fowler of this parish. D. Titmuss and C. Hill, churchwardens."

The old font, of white marble, placed in 1788, was a small one, being not large enough for the total immersion of an infant if required by its sponsors. It has been broken up. Before the present font was placed a common leaden bowl was used at christenings.

The vestry is a very commodious apartment, and was formerly much used for vestry meetings and other parochial purposes, and some years ago baptisms were administered there. It contains several things of interest. Over the fireplace is a neatly executed model of the steeple of the church; opposite, rolled up, and enclosed in a mahogany case, is a Plan of Clerkenwell, drawn for various parochial purposes in the year 1808 by John Tyrer, and upon the case containing this plan is placed a small painted carved wood figure of the apostle St. James the Less, to whom the parish church is dedicated.

St. James the Less was so called to distinguish him from the other apostle, the son of Zebedee, which appellation is supposed to have been given either from his being called later to the apostleship than the former, or from the smallness of his stature. He is also known as St. James the Just. He was the son of Alpheas and Mary, the sister of the Virgin Mary. James and his brother Jude were called to the apostleship in the second year of our Lord's ministry. After his resurrection Christ appeared to James (1 Cor. xv. 7). He was afterwards made Bishop of Jerusalem, and ordered the affairs of the Christian Church in that city. "He was always a virgin and was a Nazarite, in

[1] Hopkin's *History of the Organ*, p. 108.

consequence of which he was never shaved, never cut his hair, never drank any wine or other strong liquor; moreover he never used any bath or oil to anoint his limbs, and never eat of any living thing except when of precept, as the paschal lamb; he never wore sandals, never used any other clothes than one single linen garment. He prostrated so much in prayer that the skin of his knees and forehead was hardened like to camels' hoofs. His eminent sanctity made even the Jews style him the just man; it procured him the privilege of entering at pleasure into the Sanctum, or Holy place, that part of the Temple where none but the priests were allowed by the law to enter. In the year 51 he assisted at a council of the apostles held at Jerusalem, about the observance of circumcision and other legal ceremonies of the law of Moses. He is the author of an epistle which he wrote in Greek about the year 59. At length this holy man suffered a cruel death from the malice of the Jews, who, disappointed in their designs upon St. Paul by his appeal to Cæsar, resolved to revenge it upon St. James. He was summoned with others before the Sanhedrim or great council of the Jews, accused of violating the laws, and given over to the people to be stoned to death, who carried him up to the battlements of the Temple and would have compelled him to renounce his faith. But St. James took the opportunity to declare his faith in Christ, crying aloud to the multitude that Jesus the Son of Man was seated at the right hand of the Sovereign Majesty, and would come in the clouds of heaven to judge the world. The Scribes and Pharisees, enraged, cried out, 'The just man also hath erred,' and going up to the battlements they threw him headlong to the ground, saying he must be stoned. Though much hurt, St. James arose on his knees and prayed for his murderers. The rabble pelted him with stones, and at last a Fuller gave him a blow on the head with a stone, and he presently expired, 10th April, A.D. 62. He was buried near the Temple, in the place in which he was martyred."[1]



FIGURE OF ST. JAMES THE LESS.

The turret clock, made by Thwaites, was erected in October, 1791, "by order of the Trustees for building a new church in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell." It shows the time upon three dial-plates of copper, nine feet in diameter, facing the west, north, and south. It is a thirty-hour clock, striking the quarters upon four bells, and the hour upon the tenor bell. In 1843 it was repaired by Messrs. Moore, and is now set once a week to Greenwich mean time.[2]

In the belfry is suspended a peal of eight musical bells, which are made of the six old ones, recast about the year 1791, the most ancient of which, hung in a wooden frame, was used during the rebuilding of the church to summon the parishioners to divine service in the old vestry.

The treble is 2 ft. 6¾ in. in diameter; 6 cwt. 22 lbs. in weight; the key E flat; and is thus lettered—"Thomas Mears cast me 1791:"

[1] ALBAN BUTLER'S *Lives of the Saints*, pp. 516-8. [2] Communicated by Messrs. Thwaites & Reed, of Clerkenwell.

The second in the peal is 2 ft. 7½ in. in diameter; weight, 6 cwt. 1 qr. 17 lbs.; and is thus lettered—"Thomas Mears cast this bell in 1801: Thomas Woolcott, Thomas Sharwood, churchwardens."

The third, 2 ft. 9½ in. in diameter; 7 cwt. 15 lbs. in weight, is lettered—"Thomas Mears cast me in 1791."

The fourth was cast in 1791, and recast in 1837, owing to a flaw in the metal; its diameter is 3 ft., and weight 7 cwt. 3 qrs. 20 lbs.; it is lettered—"Thomas Mears cast me in 1837: James Hayward, John Walter Cropley, churchwardens."

The fifth is 3 ft. 3¼ in. in diameter; 11 cwt. 25 lbs. in weight; and is lettered—"Thomas Mears cast me 1791."

The sixth is 3 ft. 5¼ in. in diameter; 12 cwt. 1 qr. 25 lbs. in weight; and is lettered—"Thomas Mears cast me 1791."

The seventh is 3 ft. 9¼ in. in diameter; 15 cwt. 2 qrs. 16 lbs. in weight; and is lettered—"Thomas Mears cast me 1791."

The tenor bell is 4 ft. 3 in. in diameter; 21 cwt. 3 qrs. 26 lbs. in weight; and was "Cast by Thomas Mears, of London, in the year 1791: Rev. James Davis, minister; William Pardoe Allet and Thomas Gibbard, churchwardens; John Garth, parish clerk."[1]

The first peal rang upon these bells was nearly a twelvemonth previously to the consecration of the church. On Monday, September 26th, 1791, the Cumberland Youths rang a complete peal of 5120 bobmajors in three hours twenty-one minutes, being the first whole peal on the new peal of bells in the tower of St. James's new church.[2]

In the present ringing room are four tablets, on which are inscribed particulars of memorable peals since rung. One records the first peal of grandsire triples, consisting of 5040 changes, in three hours fifteen minutes, rung by the Westminster Youths on Monday, October 8th, 1800; another, a peal of grandsire triples, consisting of 5040 changes, in three hours fourteen minutes, by the Cumberland Society, October 6th, 1829; a third records the ringing of a peal of double Norwich coast bobmajors, 5040 changes, in three hours fourteen minutes, by the Cumberland Society; the fourth tablet, and the most recently inscribed, relates to the first peal rung in the Rev. Robert Maguire's incumbency, and records that eight members of the Cumberland Society, on 21st January, 1858, rung on the bells a true peal of triples on Steadman's principle, consisting of 5040 changes, in two hours forty-five minutes.

For nearly fifty years past the members of the Cumberland Society of ringers have regularly assembled in the belfry of St. James's Church, on Thursday evenings, for practice, when the various methods of ringing are systematically gone through.

Between one and two years ago the bells of St. James's Church used to be chimed by Mr. George Morris, an excellent bell-ringer, who played fine chaunts and hymn tunes upon the euphonical instruments which hang in the steeple here. Mr. Morris had the ropes so arranged, that he could ring eight bells at once, viz.—The 1st on his right thumb; 2nd, left thumb; 3rd, left elbow; 4th, left hand; 5th, left foot; 6th, right hand; 7th, right elbow; 8th, right foot. Since Mr. Morris left St. James's Church he has been appointed steeple-keeper of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, where he now practises on ten bells. This companologist has in England few equals in his art. His portrait was given in "The British Workman," No. 97, January, 1863.

BELLS AND BELL RINGING.

"Bells are to the whole parish what a church organ is to an assembled congregation. They wake up the heart's affections, and lead us in our praises to God." To a parish like Clerkenwell, which is possessed of so fine a peal of bells, some few observations on the history of bells and bell

[1] Communicated by Messrs. Mears, of Whitechapel.

[2] Extract from the Ringers' books.

ringing will not, we think, be void of interest. The invention of bells is ascribed to Noah by Dionysius Bar Salbi, an Oriental scholar of the twelfth century, who, among other works, wrote a curious disquisition on bells. He mentions that several histories record a command given to that patriarch to strike on the bell with a piece of wood three times a day, in order to summon the workmen to their labour while he was building the ark; and this he seems to consider the origin of church bells; an opinion which is indeed common to other Oriental writers. [1]

The Romans had bells in use both for sacred and domestic purposes; and we learn from Strabo that the market time was announced by the ringing of them. The tomb of Porsenna, King of Tuscany, was hung round with bells. The hour of bathing was made known at Rome by the sound of a bell; the night watchman carried one, and it served to call up servants in great houses. Sheep had them tied about their necks to frighten away wolves, or rather as an amulet. A practice which still obtains in this country of attaching a bell to the neck of the ewe, thereby to guide the lambs, is perhaps a relic of this ancient superstition.

The first person who introduced bells into the religious worship of the Christian Church was Paulinas, Bishop of Nola, about the year 400. It is related that, in the year 610, Lupus, Bishop of Orleans, being at Sens when it was besieged by Clothair II., ordered the bells of St. Stephen's Church to be rung, the deafening sound of which so terrified the besiegers that they fled. The first large bells are mentioned by Bede, in 680; before that period the early British Christians made use of wooden rattles (sacra ligna) to call the congregation of the faithful together.

The arrival of kings and great personages was anciently greeted by the ringing of a joyous peal. In the churchwarden's accounts of Waltham Abbey Church, A.D. 1542, temp. Henry VIII., is the following:—"Item, paid for the ringing at the Prince his coming, a penny." [2]

The first regular peal of bells in England was put up in Croyland Abbey, Lincolnshire, by the famous Abbot Turketullus, who died *circa* 870. The bells used in monasteries were sometimes rung with ropes, having brass or silver rings at the ends for the hands. They were anciently rung by the priests themselves, afterwards by the servants, and sometimes by those incapable of performing other duties, as persons who were blind—thus, "In the monasterye of Westminster ther was a fayre yong man which was blinde, whom the monks had ordeyned to ryngе the bellys."

It was customary in the Roman Catholic Church to baptize bells, that they might receive power to "act as preservatives against thunder and lightning, and hail, and wind, and storms of every kind, and that they may drive away evil spirits." The baptism of a bell, and the naming of it in honour of a particular saint, were attended with much pomp. The service was long, and the ceremonies were numerous. The monks first blessed the fused metal in the foundries in the monasteries. At the baptism the bell was washed with holy water by the hand of the bishop, solemnly crossed, and anointed in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; persons of quality standing as sponsors at the christening, holding the rope in their hands, and answering on the bell's behalf; after which it was prayed for in this manner:—"Lord grant that whensoever this holy bell, thus washed and baptized and blessed, shall sound, all deceits of Satan, all danger of whirlwind, thunder, and lightning and tempests may be driven away, and that devotion may increase in Christian men when they hear it. O Lord pour upon it thy heavenly blessing, that when it sounds in thy people's ears they may adore Thee. May their faith and devotion increase, the devil be afraid and tremble and fly at the sound of it. O Lord sanctify it by thy Holy Spirit, that the fiery darts of the devil may be made to fly backwards at the sound thereof; that it may deliver us from danger of wind, thunder, &c. And grant Lord that all who come to church at the sound of it may be free from all the temptations of the devil." [3]

The oldest bell belonging to the former church of St. James was consecrated to St. Nicholas, and on its margin was moulded an invocatory prayer—"O presul pie Nicolæ nobis miserere." (O holy Bishop Nicholas, pity or pray for us.)

[1] Fletcher's *Notes on Nineveh*, vol. ii., p. 212. [2] Fuller's *History of Waltham Abbey*.
[3] *Pontificale Romanum*.

Bells were never rung in Catholic times during the last three days of the Passion Week, for on the Thursday before Good Friday the ropes were tied.[1]

The Passing Bell, which is still nominally retained by the Established Church, although not now tolled until after death, was anciently rung for two purposes—one being to bespeak the prayers of all good Christians for a soul just departing, and the other being to drive away the evil spirits who stood at the bed's foot and about the house, ready to seize their prey, or at least to molest and terrify the soul in its passage; but by the ringing of the bell they were kept aloof, and the soul, like a hunted hare, got the start. Hence was occasioned the high price which was demanded for tolling the greatest bell of the church, for that being most sonorous, the demons watching for the passing soul were affrighted to a greater distance when it was rung; moreover its being heard further off would obtain for the dying a greater number of prayers. The sixty-seventh canon of the Church of England directs that "when any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled and the minister shall not be slack to do his last duty." The Passing Bell is now generally disused, and only the short peal which the canon commands "to be rung after the party's death" is continued.

On the day appointed for the interment of Queen Mary, the consort of William III., the King commanded that the largest bell in every cathedral, and collegiate and parochial church in England and Wales should be tolled in the morning from two until three, and from five until six.[2]

"Bells," says Fuller, "are no effectual charm against lightning. The frequent firing of abbey churches confuteth the proud motto commonly written on the bells in their steeples, wherein each entitled itself to a six-fold efficacy:—

> 'Men's death I tell by dollful knell;
> Lightning and thunder I break asunder;
> On Sabbath all to church I call;
> The sleepy head I raise from bed;
> The winds so fierce I do disperse;
> Men's cruel rage I do assuage.'.

Whereas it appears that abbey steeples, though quilted with bells almost cap-à-pie, were not proof against the sword of God's lightning."

The Pancake Bell is still tolled in Clerkenwell parish on Shrove Tuesday, from half-past twelve until two o'clock in the afternoon. It is the seventh bell, or largest but one of the peal, raised half way, and then suffered to descend by its own weight. Before the Reformation the great bell in churches was rung on Shrove Tuesday to call people together to *shrive* or confess their sins, as a preparation for the holy season of Lent. This bell was afterwards called the Pancake Bell, when it was only a signal for people to begin frying their pancakes. Taylor, the water poet, who wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century, makes a facetious allusion to this custom. Speaking of the whole kingdom being in a state of perturbation on Shrove Tuesday morning, he says:—"But by the time the clock strikes eleven, which by the help of a knavish sexton is commonly before nine, there is a bell rung called the Pancake Bell, the sound whereof makes thousands of people distracted and forgetful either of manners or humanitie. Then there is called wheaten flour, which cookes do mingle with water, spice, and other tragicall and magicall inchantments, and then put it little by little into a frying pan of boiling suet, where it makes a confused dismall hissing, until at last, by the skill of the cook, it is transformed into the form of a Flip-Jack, which ominous incantation ignorant people doe devoure greedily."[3]

By the law of the land, the churchwardens are bound to supply the church with a bell and a rope, to ring the people to church, and to toll at their funerals; but these officers are not obliged to furnish a ring of bells. The bells of a church are under the joint guardianship of the incumbent and the churchwardens. The latter are not to suffer them to be rung without good cause to be allowed

[1] Ducange *Verbo Circula Campana*, "Spelman *v.* Campana." Golden Legend, f. clxxxviii.
[2] *London Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1694.
[3] Taylor's *Works*, fol. 1630, p. 115.

by the minister and themselves; and the consent of the former is necessary, he having the power to limit the times of ringing, and the ringers being subject to his orders. It would nevertheless seem that on particular occasions, at some churches, the incumbent has not always the power to prevent the bells being rung; for instance, it was often a matter of stipulation in covenants that the bells of churches should be rung in honour of the arrival at the place of bishops, abbots, &c., and neglect to ring them when these visitations occurred was an offence for which the incumbent was liable to a penalty. But this general authority over the peal appears to be implied in the custom at induction to a benefice; for the inductor having opened the door puts the person inducted into the church, who usually tolls a bell, to give public notice and make his induction known to the parishioners. There is an old saying that the number of strokes given on the occasion will correspond with the years the incumbent is to hold the living. The churchwardens are compelled to see that the bells be not rung superstitiously upon holy days or eves abrogated by the Book of Common Prayer.[1] Before the Reformation no layman was allowed to be a ringer; the office was confined to ecclesiastics, and it is said they were obliged to perform their office in surplices.[2]

Eight bells, which form the octave or diatonic scale, make the most perfect peal. Ten and twelve bells are often rung, and they, of course, increase to an almost incalculable extent the variety of changes. This term is used because every time the peal is rung round, a change can be made in the stroke of some one bell, thereby causing a change in the succession of notes. In ringing of changes there is commonly one bell (the treble), termed the "hunt," by reason of the constant motion, that is as a guide by which the rest of the bells are directed in their several courses. The following numbers are placed to show how three bells can ring six changes:—1 2 3; 1 3 2; 2 1 3; 2 3 1; 3 1 2; 3 2 1. Four bells can, in the same manner, be shown to ring four times as many changes as three—viz., 24; five bells five times as many as four—viz., 120; six bells six times as many as five—viz., 720; and so on. And in this way it has been calculated that it would take ninety-one years to ring the changes upon twelve bells, at the rate of two strokes to a second; and the full changes upon twenty-four bells would occupy more than 117,000 billions of years.[3]

The English, since the introduction of bells, have been distinguished for their proficiency in the art of bell ringing, and their partiality for it as an amusement. Paul Hentzner, an old traveller, who visited England near the close of the reign of Elizabeth, relates that the English people were "vastly fond of great noises, such as firing of cannon, drums, ringing of bells, so that it is common for a number of them that have got a glass in their head to go up into some belfry and ring the bells for hours for the sake of exercise."[4] The eminent judge, Sir Matthew Hale, is said, by Antony à Wood, to have belonged to a society of bell ringers when a young man. Gentlemen have been known to expend their fortunes in this scientific amusement; and to the mania for it, which once prevailed, probably many of our parish churches owe their bells.

Quaint Thomas Fuller, about the middle of the seventeenth century, advising men to take heed of over violent exercises, observes:—"Ringing ofttimes hath made good music on bells, and put men's bodies out of tune, so that by overheating themselves they have rung their own passing bell."

Bell ringing now is almost exclusively practised by the members of the Cumberland, the Westminster, and other societies or colleges of youths, who devote themselves to the study of campanology, or the art of producing musical changes upon the bells. On the death of a member of one of these associations, it is usual to muffle or buffet the bells by tying pieces of leather, old hat, or any thing that is tolerably thick, round the ball of the clapper of each bell, and then ringing them round at a set pull, causing them to emit a dull, mournful sound.

Bells were formerly often rung backward on alarms, as of fire, &c., or as a mark of general sorrow; probably the ringers began with the smallest, and ended with the largest bell.

The tolling of a bell is nothing more than producing a sound by the stroke of the clapper against the side of the bell, the bell itself being in a pendant position, and at rest. In ringing, the bell by

[1] Prideaux on *Churchwardens*.
[2] *The Bell: its Origin, History, and Uses*, by Rev. A. Gatty, 12mo., 1848.
[3] *The Bell*, p. 62.
[4] Hentzner's *Journey in England*, 1598, p. 89.

means of a wheel and rope is elevated to a perpendicular; in its motion to this situation the clapper strikes forcibly on one side, and again, in its return downwards, on the other side of the bell, producing at each stroke a sound.

THE MONUMENTS IN THE CHURCH.

In the vestibule of St. James's Church, on the south side, is a beautiful monument of white marble, to the memory of Bishop Burnet, which was erected at the expense of the parish. "At a Vestry held November 13th, 1715, It was moved a monument should be erected to Bishop Burnet, in consideration of twenty guineas paid to the poor.—Granted."[1] The pediment of the monument is circular, supported by pilasters of the composite order, on the extremities of which are urns, and in the centre are the arms of the See of Salisbury, and Burnet, impaled on a shield. On the frieze are cut in relievo several books and rolls, among which is one entitled "Hist. Reform." The inscription is as follows:—

"H. S. E.

"Gilbertus Burnet, S.T.P.

"Episcopus Sarisburiensis, & Nobilissimi Ordinis a Periscelide Cancellarius. Natus Edenburgi 18 die Septembris, Anno Dom. 1643, Parentibus Roberto Burnet Domino de Cremont, ex antiquissimâ Domo de Leyes, & Rachele Johnston, Sorore domini de Waristoun: Aberdoniæ Literis instructus: Saltoni Curæ animarum invigilavit. Inde juvenis adhuc, SS. Theologiæ Professor in Academia Glasgoensi electus est.

"Postquam in Angliam transiit, rem sacram per aliquot annos, in Templo Rotolorum Londini administravit, donec nimis acriter, ut iis qui rerum tum potiebantur visum est, Ecclesiæ Romanæ malas Artes insectatur, ab officio submotus est.

"E Patriâ temporum iniquitate pro fugus Europam pera gravit: Et deinceps cum Principe Auriaco reversus, primus omnium a Rege Gulielmo & Reginâ Maria Præsul designatus, & in summum tandem fidieciæ Testimonium, ab eodem Principe Duci Glouecstriensi Præceptor datus est.

"Tyrannidi & Superstitioni semper infensum scripta eruditissima demonstrant, nec non Libertatis Patriæ veræque Religionis strenuum semperque indefessum Propugnatorem. Quarum utriusque conservandæ spem unam jam a longo tempore in Illustrissimâ Domo Brunsuicensi collocarat. Postquam autem Dei Providentia singulari Regem Georgium Sceptro Britano potitum conspexerat, brevi jain, annorum & Felicitatis satur, à vivis excessit.

"Duxit uxorem Dominam Margaritam Kennedy, Comitis Cassiliæ filiam: Dein Mariam Scot, Haga Comitis. Quæ ei septem Liberos peperit. Quorum adhuc in vivis sunt, Gulielmus, Gilbertus, Maria, Elisabetha, & Thomas. Postremo Uxorem duxit viduam Elisabetham Berkelii; quâ duos Liberos susceepit, fato præmaturo non multo post extinctos.

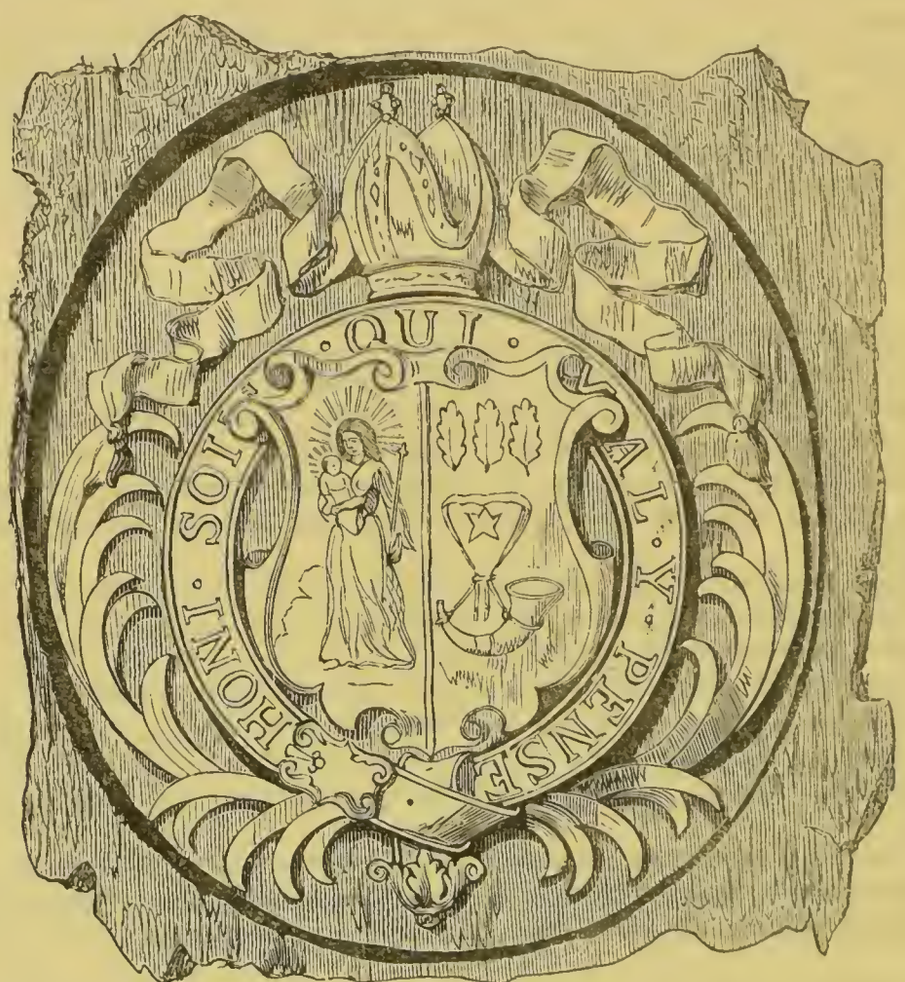
"Amplissimam pecuniam in pauperibus alendis, & in sumptibus ad utilitatem publicam spectantibus, vivus continuó erogavit: Moriens duo Millia Aureorum, Aberdoniæ Saltonoque ad juventutem pauporiorem instituendam, Testamento legavit, Obiit 17 Martii, Anno Dom. 1714-15. Ætat. 72."

This inscription records that Bishop Burnet was a native of Edinburgh, and, while still a young man, Professor of Theology at the University of Glasgow; that, removing to England, he was sometime preacher at the Rolls (chapel), where his zeal against Roman Catholic intrigues proving too much for existing powers, he was dismissed from his office; that, leaving his country through the evil of the times, he made the tour of Europe, and, returning with the Prince of Orange, was the first bishop made by William and Mary, and, in proof of the highest confidence, tutor to the Duke of Gloucester; that he ever opposed tyranny and superstition, as his excellent works show, and earnestly defended the liberties of his country and true religion; that he, by a singular providence of God, lived to see the best hope of preserving both in the accession of the House of Brunswick, and soon after died, satisfied with years and happiness; that he was twice married, and had nine children, only five surviving him; and that he in his lifetime constantly devoted a very ample sum of money to the relief of the poor, and promotion of objects of public utility, and at his death bequeathed two thousand guineas (? *Aureorum*) to Aberdeen and Saltoun, towards the instruction of indigent young persons.

Bishop Burnet was buried beneath the altar in the old church; a plain blue slab marked his

[1] Malcome's *London Redivivum*, vol. iii. p. 203.

resting place, on which slab were his arms carved in relief, surrounded by the Garter, bearing upon it the familiar motto, "Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense." Beneath this was inscribed, in Roman characters:—"Here lies interred the Right Rev. Father in God, Gilbert Burnet, D.D., Lord Bishop of Salisbury, Chancellor of the most noble order of the Garter, who departed this life, March 17, 1714-15, in the 73rd year of his age." This slab, which is still entire, the sculpture upon it being well preserved, is in the vault beneath the church at the east end. On the 7th of September, 1788, the corpse of Burnet was found in a leaden coffin, the outer one of wood having decayed. The inscription was much corroded, and through an aperture at the top of the coffin,



THE ARMS OF BISHOP BURNET, FROM HIS TOMB IN THE OLD CHURCH OF SAINT JAMES, CLERKENWELL.

the skull and some hair were visible. The coffin of his granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Mitchell, lay on his coffin. On the south side was that of his son Thomas, with a plate inscribed—"The Hon. Sir Thomas Burnet, Kt., one of his Majesties Court of Common Pleas, died 17th May, 1753, in the 59th year of his age." "On going into the vaults of St. James's Church, about the year 1814," says Mr. Warner, "I discovered the monument of Bishop Burnet. Felt considerable regret at finding it in such a place, and immediately set about to make interest with some of the Board of Trustees, for the purpose of getting it removed to some more suitable place. The result was its removal to the place it now occupies."[1]

A large mural monument, of veined marble, with pilasters of the Corinthian order, and a pediment and shield charged with the family arms, and decorated with the well-executed busts of Mr. Crosse and his lady, bears the following inscription:—

"Underneath lyeth interr'd in a vault the body of Thomas Crosse, late of this parish, esq., one of her late Maties. justices of the peace for the county of Middx., who died the 15th of June, 1712. Hee was one of the sonns of John Crosse, of the same parish, esq., and marryed Dorothy, the eldest daughter of James Willymott, late of Kelshall, in the county of Hertford, esq., who in his lifetime was justice of the peace of the quorum,

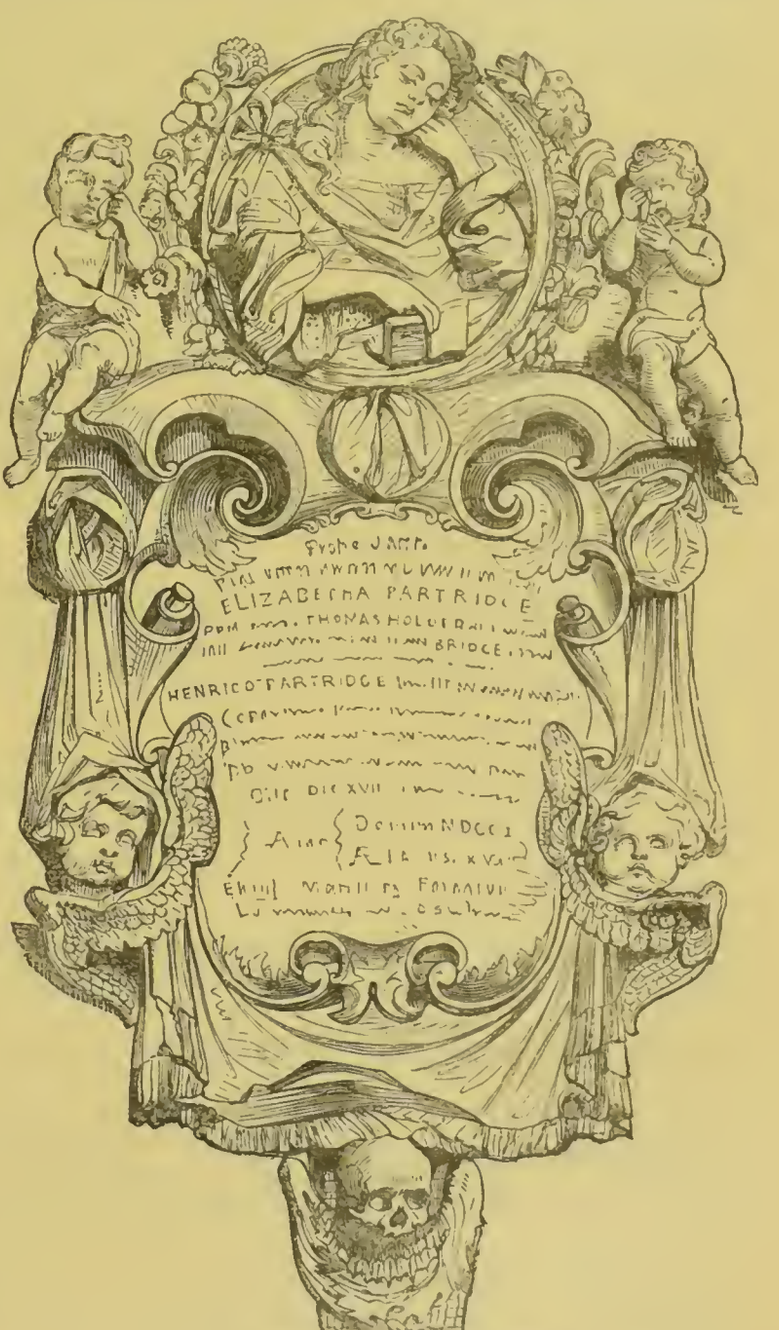
[1] MS. Notes on Clerkenwell.

and also deputy-lieutenant of the said county of Hertford. Hee, the said Thomas Crosse, was a great benefactor to this parish, and charity school thereunto belonging, having by his last will, and testamentary schedule thereunto annexed, bequeathed several considerable legaeys to the same : aged 49."

Placed at a considerable height from the pavement is a monument of pyramidical form, the base of which is thus inscribed :—

" Juxta jaeet quod reliquium est Henrici Penton, Armigeri, Hospitii Lincolniensis nuper Assessoris. Vir erat vitâ integerrima, moribus probis, in omnibus jurisperitiæ munijs obeundis summâ fide, indefessâ diligentiâ, rei alienæ non appetens, atque adeo sua non profusus, ut opes suâ solum industriâ abunde congestas hæredi suo moriens reliquerit. Ob. Feb. 6, anno æræ Xtianæ 1714, æt. 75."

In the church porch, on the north side, affixed to the wall, is a beautiful monument to the memory of Elizabeth Partridge, which is one hundred and sixty-one years old. It occupied a very conspicuous position in the old church, having been affixed to the first pillar in the chancel, facing southward. Upon the erection of the present structure, in 1788, it was consigned to the vaults, and there affixed to one of the piers of the arches by which the church is supported, at the east end. It remained in obscurity for nearly seventy years, hidden by a pile of coffins, and literally begrimed with dirt, until the spring of 1858, when, by the good taste of the churchwardens, Messrs. King and Blogg, it was rescued from oblivion, and, after undergoing a thorough cleansing, was again restored to the light of day. The monument is of white marble, beautifully designed and carved in relief, and when first erected was farther enriched by colour and gilding, of which every trace has been removed. The inscription, which runs as follows, tells in a few words an affecting history :—



MONUMENT TO ELIZABETH PARTRIDGE.

" Prope jaeet pia filia, uxor optima infausta mater Elizabetha Partridge, proles unica Thomæ Holder, de Northwold, in Com Norfolc, Armigeri et Bridgetta Uxoris ejus. Nupta (suo & parentum gaudio) Henrieo Partridge e Medio Templo Armigero, eopula fœlica quidem et fragile ! Primam nempe infantulum enixa doloribus et febre correpta. Obiit die 17 Januarii, A.D. 1702. Ætat 17.

" Eheu ! Mariti & Parentum Lacrymæ & disiderium."

Of this the following is offered as a free translation :—Near this place lie the remains of Elizabeth Partridge, a pious daughter, the best of wives, and a youthful mother. She was the only child of Thomas Holder, Esq., of Northwold, in the county of Norfolk, and Bridget, his wife, and married, to the joy of her parents, Henry Partridge, Esq., of the Middle Temple. Their union was truly happy, but soon broken; for, after giving birth to her first child, she died of a low fever, the 17th of January, 1702, aged 17. Alas! husband and parents mourn her loss.

Over this memorial is an oval containing a portrait bust of Mrs. Elizabeth Partridge, in *alto relievo*, attired in the costume of the period of Queen Anne. The countenance is beautiful, but expressive of deep sorrow; the head reclines languidly on the left hand, and in the right is held expanded a copy of the Scriptures, on which originally was painted this reference—"Rev. xix. 8"[1]—now quite obliterated. On either side seated is a cupid weeping, with one hand brushing the tears from his eyes, and formerly holding a torch in the other. These have been broken off, so that only the extremities remain. Below these are angels' heads, whose wings were originally gilt, as were also the fringe and tassels of the mantling. The beauty of the monument is further enhanced by scrolls of leaves and flowers, carved in low relief, whilst the whole design is appropriately terminated by a death's head, of which the lower jaw is broken. A shield originally contained the arms of Partridge and Holder impaled,[2] done in colours; but this, at some time knocked off by accident, is entirely gone. Of the excellent young lady, whose worth is so feelingly commemorated in the foregoing epitaph, removed hence by death in the flower of her youth and beauty, it may, we think, be truly said, that—

Early, bright, transient, chaste as morning dew,
She sparkled, was exhaled, and went to heaven.

On the walls of the church, at the east end, on either side of the communion, are the following memorials of former incumbents.

On an oval tablet:—

"Near this Place Lie the Remains (Being the first deposited in the Vault Underneath this Church) of the Rev. William Sellon; who, with indefatigable Industry, and the purest Religious Zeal, having devoted Thirty-three years of his life to the respective duties of Curate and Minister of this Parish, Died July 18, 1790, aged 60 years.—As a Preacher, he gave to Divine Truth all the Force of Human Eloquence. As a Man, he gave to the Precepts of Christianity all the Force of Human Example."

On another oval tablet:—

"In the Chancel-Vault near this place are deposited the Remains of the Rev. James Davies, Minister of this Parish; One of the Lecturers of *Saint Lawrence Jewry*; and Lecturer of *Saint Stephen's, Coleman Street*; who died July 8, 1804, aged 74. And also of Elizabeth, his wife, who died November 6th, 1800, aged 67."

On an oblong tablet:—

"In Memory of the Rev. Henry Foster, M.A., Minister of this Parish, who departed this life, May 26, 1814, aged 60 years. Brethren, the Time is Short."

On an oblong tablet:—

"In Memory of the Rev. Thomas Sheppard, A.M., 25 years Minister of this Parish, who departed this life August 31, 1839, aged 78 years. Also, Frances, his wife, who died March 25, 1834, aged 64 years."

On an oblong tablet of white marble, with pediment, relieved by a laurel wreath:—

"In Memory of the Rev. William Elisha Law Faulkner, M.A., 17 years incumbent of this Parish, who died August 7th, 1856, in the 68th year of his age. His Memory will long live in the hearts of the poor, to whom he was a Kind and Sympathysing Benefactor, and of his Flock, to whom he expounded clearly and in a Gospel Spirit the words of Eternal Life. The Memory of the Just is Blessed."

In the north aisle are several mural tablets to the memory of deceased parishioners. On the wall at the east end of this aisle is a neat pedimented tablet of white marble:—

"Sacred to the Memory of Mr. William Adkins, many years Governor of the House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields, who died Nov. 29, 1822."

[1] "And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints."—Rev. xix. 8.

[2] Gules, on a fess cortissed between three Partridges rising, Or, as many torteaux, impaled with the arms of Holder; Sable, a chevron, between three anchors Argent.

Parallel with this tablet is another, of uniform size, to the memory of Rev. James Winfield, of Chester, and Martha, his widow, who died the 19th of October, 1839, in the 80th year of her age, and was buried in the west ground of the church. Proceeding along this aisle westward are tablets in memory of Martha Hodgson, who died on the 3rd of February, 1823, aged 57; of Thomas Hodgson, who died on the 14th of August, 1840, aged 74; of Joseph Hale, who died on the 23rd of October, 1813, and Martha Hale, obit the 22nd of August, 1832, aged 69; and of William Abud, obit the 8th of November, 1827, aged 64, Elizabeth Abud, who died the 9th of December, 1842, aged 80, and William Taylor Abud, eldest son of the above, who died the 31st of December, 1848, aged 58.

On the wall at the south east corner of the church is a circular tablet to the memory of Mr. Mico Wagstaff, who died the 30th of April, 1814, aged 62. In the south aisle is a mural tablet:—"Sacred to the Memory of Thomas Sherwood, Esq., Obiit March 13th, 1824, Ætat. 68." Another of these wall tablets commemorates Thomas Greatrex, who died the 27th of April, 1824, aged 53; and Mary Fox, widow, his sister, who died the 5th of May, 1840, aged 67. Beyond this last named is a beautiful marble monument, sacred to the memory of Mr. William Clare, for sixty years an inhabitant of this parish, who died the 12th of August, 1838, in the 73rd year of his age.

In a very obscure position against the wall on the gallery staircase in the south-east corner of the church is a memorial stone to the famous archer, Sir William Wood. This monument, as appears from an inscription surrounding the original stone, was restored in 1791, at a cost of £12, by the Toxopholite Society, and placed in its present position, it having been originally affixed to the south wall of the old church, on the outside. The tributary lines inscribed upon it are as follows:—

"Sr WILLIAM WOOD Lyes very neare this stone,
In's time in Archery Excell'd by none.
Few were his Equalls. And this Noble Art
Has suffer'd now in the most tender part.
Long did he live the honour of the Bow,
And his Long life to that alone did owe.
But how can Art secure? Or what can save
Extreame Old age from an appointed grave?
Surviving Archers much his losse lament,
And in respect bestow'd this Monument:
Where whistling arrows did his worth proclaim,
And Eterniz'd his memory and name.
Obijt Sept. 4th,
Anno Dni. 1691.
Ætat 82."

The title of knighthood borne by this famous toxopholite was an honour conferred upon him by his fellows, on account of his superior skill in feats of archery. Mr. William Wood was marshal or captain of a corps of archers attached to the Artillery Company. The Society of Finsbury Archers was distinct from that body, and appears to have been an assemblage of persons who were lovers of that manly exercise for which the English were in days of yore very famous. In honour of Katherine, queen consort of Charles II., who had probably shown the archers some countenance and favour, the marshal wore a badge of silver with the circumscription "Reginæ Katherinæ Sagitarii," and the arms of England impaled with those of Portugal. The device upon it was that of an archer drawing a bow, in relief. This ornament, which weighed 25 oz. 5 dwts., was presented to him by the contribution of Sir Edward Hungerford and others. It covered the whole breast of the archer, as he is represented in a very scarce old print in Harding's "Biographical Mirror," 1795.[1] A handsome cap and feathers grace the archer's head, while in his right hand he holds his baton of office. Sir William Wood was the editor of a thin octavo pamphlet of eighty pages, entitled "The Bowmen's Glory, or Archery Revived; giving an account of the many signal favours vouchsafed to Archers and Archery by those renowned monarchs, Henry VIII., King James, and Charles I., as by their several

[1] Vol. I, p. 66.

gracious commissions here recited may appear; with a brief relation of the manner of the Archers marching on several days of solemnity. Published by William Wood, Marshal of the Regiment of Archers. London, printed by S. R., and sold by Edw. Gough, at Cow-cross, 1682." The copy of the first edition of this pamphlet, now in the British Museum, belonged to Miss S. S. Banks. It was a presentation from its worthy author to the original owner, as we find from an inscription on the fly-leaf:—

"Edward Phillipss his book, given him by Mr. Wood his relation, the best auther in his days; and was buried in Clarkenwel by the Companey of Archers, all with theire Bowes and Arows, and showt 3 times over his graue, and there sett up for him a monument in the walls in versis."

Pennant says this work, from the rage for archery at one time, sold for a guinea and a half each volume.

Wood was by no means a vain man, and did not in this literary performance parade his own exploits, two slight notices being all that occur throughout the book concerning himself. Describing a grand procession of archers through London, he says—"First came two ensigns before the marshal of the field, the marshal (himself) being clad in green velvet and satinn, with a trunchion in his hand; then followed him forty Foresters, apparelled all in green, every one bearing a bow and four shafts by their side, with horns at their backs, which they winded as they went along, &c. Next five *Swattruters* strangely apparelled, with green hose down to the small of their legs, with strange caps agreeable, bearing on their necks long swords, which seemed very stearn in countenance. These five green men were prepared by Mr. Wood, who being continual ranger did both express his name and beautifie the show. His badge also bare a fair shield, upon which stood this sentence, 'More ways than one to the Wood.'" He lived to the green old age of eighty-two, and died on the 4th of September, 1691. His length of life was attributed to the exercise of the bow. At his funeral the regiment of which he was captain attended, and he was buried with archers' honours—three flights of whistling arrows—arrows having a pile of horn, which, in their passage through the air, produced a loud whistling noise—being discharged over his grave. The Company of Archers afterwards erected in respect to his memory the monument already noticed.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the open plains on the northern side of London, which had the common name of the Finsbury Fields, were much resorted to by the votaries of archery, as well as by the citizens who sought for pure air and outdoor amusements. Archery was much promoted by the kings of England from the earliest times, and particularly by those who followed Edward III., who also encouraged the toxopholite's art in this country. Henry VIII., at a celebrated shooting match which was contested at Windsor, conferred on several persons, who distinguished themselves with the long bow, titles after the places from whence they came; thus, there were the Duke of Shoreditch, and the Marquisses of Islington, Hoxton, Shacklewell, &c., all these being places in the open fields round London where archers used to assemble. In 1583, a grand shooting match was held under the direction of the "Duke of Shoreditch, who was captain of the London Archers," assisted by his several officers, the Marquisses of Clerkenwell, Islington, Hoxton, Shacklewell, &c. In 1682 there was a most magnificent cavalcade, at which Charles II. was present, and which was succeeded by an entertainment, given by the Finsbury Archers, on which occasion the old titles of Duke of Shoreditch, Marquis of Islington, &c., were bestowed upon the most worthy. There is extant a ticket used by the Finsbury Archers about this period.[1] The following is a copy thereof:—

"FINSBURY ARCHERS' TICKET FOR SHOOTING, 1676.

"All Gentlemen, Lovers of the noble society of Archery, are desired to meet at Drapers' Hall, in Throgmorton street, on Monday, the 24th day of July, 1676, at Twelve of the clock, precisely, and according to the ancient custom of the Finsbury archers to deliver to the bearer hereof, Mr. William Wood, upon the receipt of this Ticket, Two shillings and sixpence, that provision may be made accordingly. This serves also to give notice, That the Eleven score Target shall be set up in the *New Artillery Ground*, upon Wednesday, the 26th day of July following, and that day to begin to shoot at the same by nine of the clock, (as it was begun and shot at last year).

[1] Lewis's *History of Islington*.

All Archers intending to shoot at the same are to pay down their twenty shillings upon the 24th day of July, unto us, or either of us, or to Mr. William Wood, that plate may be provided, and further trouble prevented of sending to Archers for the same, the place and time of meeting them being uncertain.

"Given under our hands July 1, 1676.

"Edward Hungerford.
"Edmund Ashfield."

This ticket is ornamented with a wood cut, in which two archers are depicted standing in like attitudes on either side of a tree in the centre of the design, equipped in the costume of the period—a large slouched hat with feathers, a braced bow in one hand, and an archer's pike or stake in the other; round the waist a belt, under which is thrust, as was customary, a few arrows for ready use. A quiver, containing more arrows, is suspended from the same belt over the hip, and by the side hangs a short sword, or *couteau de chasse*. The figures answer to a description given by Sir Will d'Avenant, in a mock poem, entitled, "The Long Vacation in London," 1673. Referring to the shooting matches between the attornies and proctors, he says:—



FINSBURY ARCHER'S TICKET FOR THE SHOOTING OF 1676.

Each with solemn oath agree
To meet in fields of Finsburie,
With loynes in canvas bow case tyde,
Where arrowes stick with mickle pride;
With hats pin'd up and bow in hand,
All day most fiercely there they stand,
Like ghosts of Adam Bell and Clymme,
Sol sets for fear they'll shoot at him.

The Sir John Oldcastle Tavern, in Coldbath-fields, was patronised by the Clerkenwell Archers, as appears by the following advertisement, which had at the top of it two bowmen archers, with a mark in the shield:—

"All gentlemen of the ancient and noble exercise of Archery are invited to the annual dinner of the Clerkenwell Archers, Mrs. Mary Barton's, at the sign of Sir John Oldcastle (Cold Bath Fields), on Friday, July 18, 1707, at one o'clock, and to pay the bearer, Thomas Beaumont, Marshall, 2s. 6d., taking a sealed ticket, that the certain number may be known, and provision made accordingly. Nath. Axtall, Esq., and Edward Bromwich, gent., Stewards." [1]

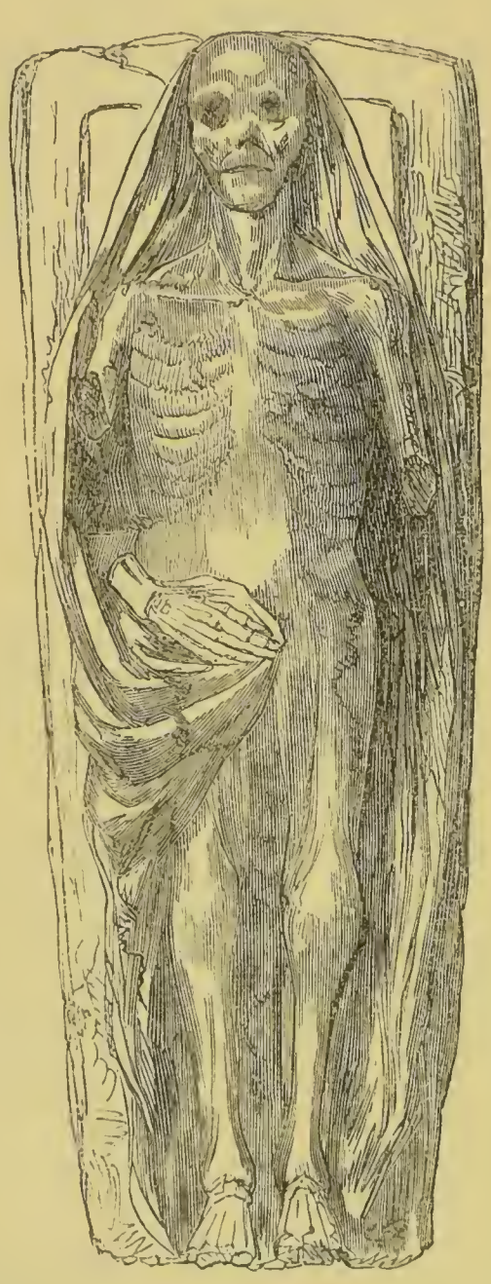
The antiquary Somner, in the appendix to his "Antiquities of Canterbury," 1640, quotes from Bingham's "Aclians Tacticks," p. 24, the following apology for archery:—

"Archers have alwayes beene of speciall esteeme for the field, and preferred before the other kindes of light-armed. . . . I may not pretermit the praise of our Nation in this skill. Our owne stories testifie, that the great battailes, we gained against the French, were gained by the joynt-shooting of our Archers principally. And that the English have heretofore excelled in Archery and shooting, is cleare by the testimony even of strangers. Cienta, (Aurel. Cienta *de disciplin. mil. lib.* 2, 206), commending the use of Bowes, as necessary for the service of the field (and that long after Guns were invented), preferreth the English before all other, and setteth him downe as a patterne for other to follow. . . . It was a skill almost appropriated to our Nation. By it, we gained the battailes of Cressy, of Poitiers, of Agincourt, in France; of Navarre, in Spaine. By it, we made ourselves famous over Christendome."

The vaults beneath the Church of St. James are dry and spacious, and have not that gloomy, cheerless aspect common to such places of sepulture, they being well lighted and ventilated. Several

[1] *Harl. Cat.* 5961, 4to. Bagford's Coll. Brit. Mus.

of the vaults belonging to particular families are enclosed by iron gates. Since burial here in leaden coffins has been compulsory, there has been no perceptible effluvia arising from the decay of mortality. The floor of the vaults is overlaid with monumental slabs, the inscriptions on which are nearly effaced. At the east end, affixed to the wall, are the monuments of Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Exeter, and William Booth, Esq.; and near them, placed against one of the piers, is a tablet in memory of John Short, Esq., late Lord of the Manor of Clerkenwell. On the north side, in an upright posture, are the once recumbent effigies of Prior Weston and Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, sadly



EFFIGY OF PRIOR WESTON.



EFFIGY OF LADY ELIZABETH BERKELEY.

mutilated. The former represents a man of ordinary stature, partly enveloped in a sheet, and so emaciated by disease that the bones protrude through the skin. The latter represents a dame attired in the costume of Elizabeth's time; the face is completely obliterated, and the hands are broken off. We can only regret that these ancient figures should be consigned to oblivion in such a place as this. In the north-west corner, covered by a large stone, is a pit in which were buried indiscriminately the relics of mortality found in excavating round about the church at the time of its erection. On the south side, near the entrance to these vaults, was a coffin of enormous bulk, which contained the ashes of one Sinnot, a dust contractor, who died in 1822. The outer coffin was about eight feet in length,

three in width, and two in depth. Burials are no longer permitted here. In the year 1860 the whole of the coffins, except those in family vaults, were laid under the floor of the vaults. When the ground was excavated for this purpose the original slab which covered the remains of Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was discovered a few feet below the surface. The piers and arches which support the church above are composed of brickwork, and appear to be of great solidity and strength.

THE MINISTERS OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH.

The ministers of the Church of St. James, Clerkenwell, have been as follows:—

Richard Weston, in 1561.[1]

Thomas Price, licensed the 15th of November, 1583.[2]

Henry Fletcher, licensed the 12th of February, 1585.

John Preston, A.M., 1607. He was born at Heyford, in Northamptonshire. He was admitted to King's College, Cambridge, in 1604, and elected Fellow of Queen's College, in 1609. "He was," says Anthony à Wood, "the greatest pupil-monger in man's memory, having sixteen fellow commoners admitted in one year to Queen's College." He subsequently became a Doctor of Divinity, and was appointed Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He diligently employed his pen in defence of religion, and many of his sermons and religious treatises are extant. He was a perfect politician, admirable at concealing his thoughts and intentions, and governing his passions. He was the patriarch of the Presbyterian party. The Duke of Buckingham rather used than loved him to work the Puritan party, but when he found that party useless to the intended purpose he neglected Preston.[3] This reverend gentleman died on the 15th July, 1628, and was buried in the church at Fawsley, in Northamptonshire.

John Andrews, A.M., 1612. He was a Somersetshire man. He was entered a student in Trinity College, Oxford, in 1601. "At the age of 18 he took one degree in arts," says Anthony à Wood, "and left the University, and became a painful preacher of God's word." To this writer we may ascribe a very rare poetical work entitled "The Anatomie of Basenesse; or the foure quarters of a Knave—Flatterie, Ingratitude, Envie, Detraction."

> "He that hath these foure parts, needs no more haue
> To be recorded for a complete knave."

It was published in 4to., in 1615, and dedicated to Sir Robert Sidney, by J. A.[4]

Henry Goodcole, A.M., in 1637.

James Sibbald, S.T.P., licensed the 19th of November, 1641. At the execution of James Hamilton, Earl of Cambridge, for treason against the Commonwealth, on the 5th of February, 1648, he was attended on the scaffold by Dr. Sibbald, whom he had chosen for his comforter in his sad condition. After addressing the multitude assembled in defence of his loyalty to his sovereign, and in attestation of his innocence, he kneeled down with Dr. Sibbald and prayed with much earnestness and devotion. Afterwards the earl kneeled down by the side of the scaffold, prayed awhile to himself, and then with a smiling and cheerful countenance he embraced the doctor, and his servant, saying to them, "Ye have been faithful to me, and the Lord bless you." Then laying his head upon the block he stretched out his right hand, and at one blow the executioner severed his head from his body.[5] This divine, who appears to have meddled with the politics of his time, and to have been a Royalist, is burlesqued in a rare tract, published in 1647, entitled "The Parliament of Ladies." Therein Doctor Sibbald, pastor of St. James's, Clerkenwell, is mentioned "to preach before the house; but one Cornelius brought

[1] *Lib. Visitat.*
[2] *Stanhope, Par.* ii.
[3] *Fasti Oxonensis*, i., 333, 414.
[4] *Athenæ Oxonensis*, ii., p. 493.
[5] Walker's *History of Independancy*, ed. 1660, pt. 4, p. 5.

an accusation against the Doctor aforesaid for one illaffected to the present government, having preached lately in his house in a tub, whereupon he was rejected."[1] About the year 1660, Dr. Sibbald claimed to be considered vicar of Clerkenwell, and announced his design of obtaining his appointment from the king by presentation, and thus ignore the right of the parishioners to elect their minister. This expressed determination on his part, aroused the indignation of the parishioners, who talked of revoking his election, ordered the surplice to be secured in the vestry, the pulpit and reading desk to be locked, and even gave directions to call in the aid of civil power, if needed, to oppose his entrance. This show of resistance caused him to abandon his design for a while; but in October, 1662, this ambitious divine styled himself vicar. This aroused the anger of his flock to such a degree that it was only from his long residence of thirty years that they forgave him, on his making a public recantation in the church, and before the Bishop of London. After this he remained their curate until 1668.

Edward Sparke, D.D., from 1660 to 1665. This gentleman was educated at Cambridge, and in the reign of Charles I. was minister of St. Martin's Church, Ironmonger-lane, London, from which he was ejected during the Civil Wars, and was plundered of his goods. In 1660 he was restored to his benefice, and made chaplain to Charles II. He afterwards became minister of St. James's, Clerkenwell, but on being collated to the vicarage of Tottenham, which was vacant by the decease of William Wimpew, M.A., in 1665, he resigned his curacy at Clerkenwell. He was vicar of Walthamstow from 1662 to 1665. He died in 1693. He was the author of "Scintilla Altaris," and a book of primitive devotion, illustrative of the feasts and fasts. In the second edition of this work, published in 1660, the author is described as "Preacher at St. James, Clerkenwell, London." To the editions of 1662, 1666, and 1682, his portrait is prefixed.[2]

Richard Kingston, M.A., in 1665. He published a sermon entitled "Pillulæ Pestilentiales, or a Spirit Receipt for the Cure of the Plague, delivered in a Sermon preached in St. Paul's Church, London, in the midst of our late sore Visitation, by Richard Kingston, M.A., and Preacher of St. James, Clerkenwell," 8vo., 1665. The preface to this discourse he dates "From my study at St. James's, Clerkenwell," the 18th of October, 1665.

William Selater, A.M. He was licensed on the 17th of September, 1666. He published several sermons—one on 1 John v. 21, London, 1663, 4to.; another from Rev. ii. 10, London, 1671, 4to.

Dewel Pead, A.M. He was licensed the 5th of December, 1691. Duel or Dewel Pead, Peade or Paed, M.A., was chaplain to the Duke of Newcastle, and was presented to the living of St. James's, Clerkenwell, on the 5th of December, 1691, by Josias Berners, Esq., who was patron in trust for the parish; but Mr. Pead engaged to resign this curacy at a month's notice if required, on pain of forfeiting a sum of money. He was educated in the Westminster School, where he obtained a Queen's Scholarship, and was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge, 1664. He published several sermons which he had preached on particular occasions, such as the deaths of Queen Mary and William III. In 1708, on a day of thanksgiving for the glorious success of the Duke of Marlborough's campaign, he preached a discourse entitled "Parturiunt Montes,[3] &c., or Lewis and Clement taken in their own snare," from Psalm x., 2, the latter part of which was published at the earnest desire of the auditory. In 1709 he delivered a sermon "On Mr. Preston being torn to pieces by his own bears," at Hockley-in-the-Hole, Ray-street. He died at a very advanced age on the 12th of January, 1726-7, and was buried in his parish church on the 20th of the same month.

Adam Batty, M.A. He was lecturer of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and in 1728, Rector of St. John's, and Incumbent of St. James's, Clerkenwell. He published a sermon in that year which he had preached at Chiswick. He was Rector of Buckland in 1732, and died at Clerkenwell, the 4th of February, 1737. Twenty-six sermons of his were printed after his death, in two volumes octavo, 1739.

[1] *The Parliament of Ladies; or divers remarkable passages of Ladies assembled in Spring Garden, in Parliament assembled.* Vespere Veneris Martis, 26, 1647.

[2] Robinson's *Tottenham*, ii. p. 102; and Granger's *Bio. Dict.* vol. iii., p. 288.

[3] Parturiunt Montes, nascetur ridiculus Mus. The mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse.

Charles Lee was minister until 1743.

Gilbert Burnet, M.A., was minister from 1743 to 1746. He had been Vicar of Coggeshall, in Essex, and was elected without opposition Incumbent of Clerkenwell, in the year 1743, and so continued until the time of his death, which was sudden, for he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and expired on the 28th of January, 1745-6, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He was a useful and popular preacher. Soon after his decease two volumes of "Practical Sermons on various subjects, by Gilbert Burnet, late Vicar of Coggeshall, and Minister of St. James, Clerkenwell," were published for the benefit of his two helpless orphans—a son of about eight years of age, and a daughter of about seven. They had been deprived of their mother some years before. In the preface to these volumes, which were edited by Rev. W. Barnes, Vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet-street, it is stated that the "only motive of this publication is an earnest desire to bring up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord the surviving infants of the deceased, whose sudden death left them destitute of all other means of subsistence but what under the providence of God should flow from the pure streams of Humanity and Benevolence." Burnet's sermons are written in a graceful, instructive, and practical manner, displaying solid reasoning, true piety, and unaffected charity. His pen was occasionally employed in general literature. He abridged "Boyle's Philosophical Lectures," in three volumes, octavo, 1737, which met with a good reception, and were translated into French. Gilbert Burnet is represented as having been Bishop Burnet's second son; this, however, is erroneous and arises from a confounding of the two persons, both of whom were clergymen, bore the same precise Christian and surnames, took the same degrees, and were contemporaries. The Rev. Gilbert Burnet, second son of the bishop, was appointed chaplain to King George I., in 1718, and was Rector of East Barnet. He died a bachelor in 1726, and was buried in the chancel of the parish church of East Barnet.[1]

John Doughty, M.A., was minister from 1746 to 1757.

William Sellon, M.A. (1758-1790), was minister of the united parishes of St. James and St. John, one of the evening preachers at the Magdalen Hospital, alternate afternoon lecturer of St. Andrew's, Holborn, in 1762, and of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, from 1758 to 1790—preferments which are said to have produced an income of £1300 a year, and to which he was elected by the choice of the several congregations. He was also at one time the proprietor and preacher of Portman-street Chapel, and by Lord Pomfret he was nominated one of his chaplains. Sellon's preaching appears to have been much admired, and mention is made in the "Annual Register" of a very large sum having been collected after a charity sermon of his preaching at the Magdalen. He died at the age of sixty, after a long and painful illness, and on the 18th of July, 1790, was buried in the vaults of St. James's Church, of which he had been minister for thirty-three years.[2]

Henry Foster, M.A., was the son of a shalloon manufacturer, who resided near Halifax, in Yorkshire, where he was born in the eventful year 1745. He was the youngest of five sons. His first serious impressions were received from overhearing one of his father's workmen at family prayer. In 1764, when about nineteen years old, he entered Queen's College, Oxford, where he acted with seriousness and discretion, and won the esteem of his tutor, Dr. Fothergill. In September, 1767, he was made a deacon, and within two years after, ordained a priest by titles, in both cases from the Rev. Mr. Romaine, whom he assisted at St. Anne's, Blackfriars. About this time he received an invitation from Newton of Olney. Soon afterwards he was chosen to the lectureship of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate-street, which he resigned on being appointed lecturer of the joint parishes of St. Andrew and St. Anne, Blackfriars. Here he continued curate and lecturer for more than twenty years. About the year 1769 he was chosen Friday evening preacher at St. Antholin's, Watling-street; in 1774, Tuesday evening preacher at St. Swithin's; and in the next year Thursday morning preacher at St. Peter's, Cornhill, where, however, he received no salary for several years, owing to the right of election being litigated. For many years he was licensed minister of Long-acre Chapel, in connection with the Rev. Richard Cecil, with whom he was also united in preaching alternately the early Sunday

[1] Watt's *Biblio. Brit. Practical Sermons*, by G. Burnet, 2 vols., 8vo., 1747. Allibone's *Dict. of Eng. Lit.*, 1859. Burnet Papers, Add. MSS., No. 11, 404, p. 120.

[2] *Vide* page 62.

morning lecture at St. Margaret's, Lothbury. For four periods of three years each (the longest term one minister can supply according to the will of the founder) he preached the Sunday evening lecture at Spitalfields. Such were the numerous engagements of the Rev. H. Foster, who, in the year 1790, on the death of Mr. Sellon, offered himself as a candidate for the incumbency of Clerkenwell. Finding his friends were roughly treated, he withdrew from the contest before the election closed, and Mr. Davies was elected. In July, 1804, Mr. Davies died,[1] and Mr. Foster was again nominated as a candidate for the perpetual curacy of Clerkenwell. It was with reluctance he consented to stand, and he declared that he would not canvass, and that if the soliciting of one vote would secure his election he was resolved not to ask it. He was opposed by Mr. Lendon, minister of Pentonville Chapel. Whilst the election was pending, Mr. Foster was met by a friend, who expressed a desire that he might succeed; to which he replied, "Sir, I have such an awful sense of the weight of the charge of this extensive parish that if setting my foot across the kennel would secure my election I dare not do it." He was elected after four days' poll, on Monday, the 30th of July, 1804, by a majority of 58; but owing to his election being litigated it was not until June, 1807, that he was licensed by Bishop Porteus to St. James's, Clerkenwell. From that time he confined his labours wholly to his parish, where he preached statedly at the workhouse, catechized the poor children, and delivered a preparation sermon on every Friday before the Sacrament. Soon after he began to preach many of the inhabitants of Pentonville requested him to preach at that chapel, but on the morning appointed, Mr. Lendon's friends secured the pulpit. Some of Mr. Foster's friends would have contested the matter, but he was unwilling, saying "I am a man of peace," and immediately left the vestry. In 1812 he had a severe illness, which greatly affected his memory, and weakened his mental powers, so that from that period he preached with reluctance and timidity. He occasionally addressed his parishioners from the desk, his corpulence and infirmities making it impracticable for him to ascend the pulpit. In the spring of the year 1814 he suffered a severe spasmodic affliction, from which he was never entirely relieved. He died suddenly on the night of the 26th of May, 1814, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and was buried in the churchyard of St. James's, Clerkenwell, near the west door, on Friday morning, the 3rd of June.[2] On the following Sunday morning funeral sermons were preached by the Rev. G. Watkins, Rector of St. Swithin's, in St. James's Church, and by the Rev. Thos. Shepherd, at Pentonville Chapel, both ministers discoursing from the same text—Rev. xiv. 13. Several interesting traits in the character of this exemplary minister have been recorded.[3] Once having assisted a person to commence business, who afterwards failed, as was alleged, through a want of prudence, he visited the poor man in prison. He being aware in some measure of what had been said against him, began to apologise to his kind benefactor, fearing reproach. "I do not now come to talk to you about religion," said Mr. Foster; "you are in distress, I come to relieve you." He then asked what would liberate him, to which the poor debtor replied that he had no security to offer. "Sir," said Mr. Foster, "I am not going to lend you the money, I mean to give it," and at once filled up a cheque upon his banker. Mr. Foster was an early riser, and for more than a dozen years of his life used to walk in Spa-fields before breakfast when the weather permitted. His manner of living was frugal. His suppers were confined so rigidly to bread and cheese that when he went with another clergyman seventy miles from London to preach two charity sermons, although an elegant supper was provided, he could not be persuaded even for that once to relinquish his custom. His preaching was characterized by a beautiful simplicity; he laboured to be plain, and seems to have adopted the maxim, never to use a hard word when he could find an easy one. Mr. Foster was an avowed Calvinist, but he had too much wisdom and prudence to introduce points of unnecessary controversy into the pulpit. He published nothing of his own except a single sermon, which he preached in Newgate, but he edited an edition of Archbishop Leighton's "Exposition of St. Peter." Such was the modesty of Mr. Foster that he never suffered a portrait of himself to be taken, and although one was obtained it was drawn by stealth.

[1] *Vide* page 62.

[2] *Vide* page 62.

[3] *Evangelical Mag.*, Feb., 1815.

Thomas Sheppard, M.A., was minister from 1814 to 1839.[1]

William Elisha Law Faulkner, M.A., filled the incumbency from 1839 to 1856. He died on the 7th of August, 1856, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. A monument to his memory has been erected in St. James's Church, as before mentioned.[2]

Robert Maguire, M.A., the present incumbent, was elected in April, 1857. Upon the death of the Rev. W. E. L. Faulkner, as before-mentioned, the parish of Clerkenwell was disturbed with the questions, "Who shall be his successor?" and "Who the electors?" The latter question was the more perplexing one, for the parishioners had theretofore had the power of election, but now the vestry, which had been newly constituted by the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855, laid claim to the sole right of appointing the minister. It was not long before candidates for the vacant incumbency presented in the persons of the Rev. Robert Maguire, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Rev. Horace Roberts, M.A., of Magdalene College, Cambridge. The first-named gentleman was invited to come forward by a committee of parishioners, who addressed, in the columns of the Clerkenwell News, of August the 23rd, 1856, the "Electors" of Clerkenwell, in favour of that gentleman; and in the same paper Mr. Roberts addressed the "Parishioners" on his own claim to be elected to the vacant pulpit. Mr. Maguire was recommended to the desired position by having been engaged in the adjoining parish of Islington for some time previously to the vacancy occurring, and having from the pulpit advocated the cause of the charities of Clerkenwell. He was also favourably known from having been engaged in controversy with Roman Catholics, and was already looked upon as a "man of mark." A fixed dislike to what is called "High Church" principles had taken root in the northern suburbs, and this was favourable to Mr. Maguire, for he was known to be decidedly opposed to the introduction of imitations of the Roman Catholic mode of worship into Protestant churches. Mr. Roberts based his claim to the incumbency on the ground that he had occupied the pulpit of St. James's for the four months preceding the late incumbent's death, during which period the inhabitants had had an opportunity of testing the soundness of his doctrinal views. He utterly repudiated "controversial questions of faith, inasmuch as" he conceded, "to members of every religious denomination the irreproachable exercise of their own religious feelings;" and he urged that for the first ten years of his ministry he had "had, in two parishes, the charge of 10,000 souls, and during the whole of that period had lived on terms of friendship and goodwill with the parishioners at large, abstaining from interference in the secular business of the parish, and allowing to others the liberty of conscience which he enjoyed himself;" and he promised that, if he were elected, he would attend to the spiritual welfare of all, and would make the care of the poor his first consideration.

The churchwardens (Mr. W. Jones and Mr. F. King) took the opinion of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Q.C., as to whether the power of election rested with the ratepayers or the vestry. While this question was being considered, the candidates and their friends were not idle. The people were generally allowed to be the disposers of the vacant living, and to the people were all appeals made, and rigid canvasses of the parish at once commenced. Mr. Roberts was supported by Mr. W. Jones, the churchwarden, and by various members of the local boards, while Mr. Maguire was supported by a committee formed of most of the influential men in the parish, with Mr. J. F. Harding, F.R.C.S., for chairman, and Mr. G. C. Steet, F.R.C.S., and Mr. J. H. Hewer, M.R.C.S., for honorary secretaries. Great excitement now prevailed in the parish, and all the usages of parliamentary elections were brought into play. Mr. Roberts occupied the pulpit of St. James's, and men complained that instead of preaching sermons he delivered election addresses. Then it was charged against him that he prevented the other candidate from obtaining a hearing from that pulpit, and it was alleged against his supporters that they refused to allow Mr. Maguire's friends the use of the Parochial School-rooms in Amwell-street, in which to hold a public meeting, except on the terms that Mr. Roberts should also be allowed to take part in the proceedings. By thus injudiciously endeavouring to "steal a march" upon Mr. Maguire, the friends of Mr. Roberts roused a deep spirit of opposition in the people, who in all

[1] *Vide* page 62.

[2] *Vide* page 62.

cases have a love of fair play. It was also reported that Mr. Roberts was "inclined" to Puseyism, a report which did not assist him. A public meeting was called by Mr. Maguire's friends in the rooms of St. James's-walk Parochial Schools, and to a crowded and influential assemblage of the parishioners Mr. Maguire delivered a long and able address. Resolutions were here passed unanimously, pledging the meeting to support Mr. Maguire's claims. On the same evening Mr. Roberts's friends called a meeting at the Belvidere Tavern, Pentonville, when Mr. Roberts had an opportunity of telling those assembled his views, and his history. Another meeting was held in the large school-room in Amwell-street by Mr. Maguire's friends, and a crowded assemblage, with but one dissentient voice, proclaimed for Mr. Maguire. A few days after the other candidate held a meeting in the same room, which was again crowded. Mr. Roberts made an address, which was not listened to with the best of feeling, for in several parts the reverend gentleman was interrupted by hisses and groans, and twice or thrice he was so assailed with groans and disapprobation that he was unable to proceed. These interruptions occurred when the speaker pointedly spoke as to his not entering into controversy on matters of faith, allusions which were interpreted to refer to Mr. Maguire, who was a noted controversialist. At this meeting Mr. Roberts was asked several questions, which, however, he did not answer to the unqualified satisfaction of his hearers, for on a resolution being moved, stating the meeting's "undisguised satisfaction," and promising the "warmest efforts" of those present "to secure his election to the vacant incumbency," Dr. Sleigh, of Lloyd-square, rose to move an amendment. The report of that meeting says:—"In the first instance, he (the Doctor) felt it incumbent upon him to declare that both candidates were perfect strangers to him; but he felt it his duty as a Protestant—(cheers)—as venerating our great Reformation—(renewed cheers)—and as being fully aware that there were being surreptitiously brought into the Church Popish errors—(loud cheers)—to put an all-important question to test the reverend gentleman upon that point. It was a most vital duty for Protestants to take their stand upon, to ascertain whether the candidates were tinctured with the rubbish of Popery. (Cheers.) He did not pretend for a moment to say that Mr. Roberts was so tinctured, but he (Dr. Sleigh) was about to put to the reverend gentleman a question, which would decide whether he was or was not [so tinctured]. The first question was, 'Is the Prayer-book to be the expositor of the Bible, or is the Bible to be the expositor of the Prayer-book?'" The reverend gentleman refused to answer any questions on controversial matters at all, and an amendment was moved by Dr. Sleigh, and carried by a majority of hands, that no candidate should be supported who did not give "unequivocal evidence" that he believed the Bible to be the expositor of the Prayer-book, and that the Holy Scriptures were "the only and infallible standard of sacred truth." The chairman refused to accept the decision so obtained, and after some other matters had been discussed, the meeting came to a close with cries of "Maguire for ever," and "No Popery."

The opinion of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, taken by order of the churchwardens, as to with whom rested the election of an incumbent, was now given, and from the statement made by the learned gentleman it was found that the question was no nearer a solution than it was before the opinion was taken. In as many words he stated that it appeared to him that the right of election had passed from the ratepaying parishioners to the new vestry formed under the first, second, and third sections of the 19th and 20th of Victoria, c. 112: but he considered the construction open to so much doubt, that he advised the parishioners to take the advice of the Court of Queen's Bench before the right of election should be surrendered to the vestry.

The vestry, on receiving the "opinion," acted upon it by advertising for candidates, and in answer to the advertisements forty-seven gentlemen applied for the vacant office. It was ordered by the Bishop of London that no more than five should be selected to preach probationary sermons, and, accordingly, five gentlemen were chosen from the large number who presented. Those chosen were:—Mr. Roberts, by 25 votes; Mr. Ball, by 24; Mr. Maguire, by 23; Mr. Lester, by 18; and Mr. O'Brien, by 14. Up to this time Mr. Maguire and Mr. Roberts had occupied the attention of the parish; but now some persons began to think that in the dissensions created by the injudicious friends of both gentlemen, some other would stand in a better position, and many and strong endeavours were



THE VESTIBULE OF THE CLERKENWELL SESSIONS HOUSE.

made to shake the positions of the leading candidates. Mr. Roberts had, in the early part of the vacancy, everything to hope, but what with the unhappy controversies on personal questions which he allowed himself to be led into, and the uproar that was created in the public mind by the statement that thirty-five out of seventy-two of the vestry were pledged to support him, his light, as time wore on, considerably waned. Mr. Maguire, on the other hand, rose in public estimation. He was wise enough to throw out no sneers against his opponent, but pursued the "even tenor of his way," and gained as many friends as his opponent created enemies.

The probationary sermons commenced on Sunday, the 21st of September, 1856. The Rev. T. Hanley Ball, of St. John's, Greenock, preached in the morning, and in the course of an eloquent sermon said, that the most important of a minister's duties were that he should lay down the Word of God, and, as an old divine has said, "preach it so plainly that all, even the most illiterate, may understand it; so forcibly, that even the most insensible may feel it; so convincingly, that the most argumentative may receive it; so tastefully, that the well-educated may be won by it; so seriously, that the most thoughtless may be impressed with it; and so intelligibly, that the well-informed may be instructed and guided by it." This sermon won for Mr. Ball numerous friends, and had not many of the electors been pledged there cannot be a question but that he would have stood in a better position than he did on the day of the election. In the evening of the same Sunday the Rev. J. W. Lester, of Ashton Hayes, near Chester, a gentleman who had acquired great reputation as an author, preached a powerful sermon to a crowded church. At the morning service of the following Sunday, September the 28th, the Rev. Robert Maguire preached, and so eager were the people to hear him, that lobbies, stairs, and every place where the least sound of his voice could be heard, were crowded by attentive listeners. The subject of the discourse—"The Prodigal Son"—the reverend gentleman is reported to have handled "in an original and powerful manner." The sermon produced a marked effect upon the minds of the listeners, and many of that large congregation, who were previously unconvinced as to the best man, were led to place their reliance upon Mr. Maguire. In the evening of that day the Rev. James O'Brien, formerly the curate of St. Peter's Church, Vere-street, Marylebone, preached, but created little effect. The Rev. Horace Roberts, who had been curate at Halstead, Essex, and at St. Botolph's, Colchester, preached the last of the probationary sermons on the morning of Sunday, October the 5th, and thus obtained an advantage over all his competitors, for the last word is ever considered to be the most effective.

The parish church, for some years previously to the death of the Rev. W. Faulkner, had been miserably attended, and religious feeling in the parish at the time of the vacancy occurring was at the lowest ebb. This was owing in a great measure to the bad state of health of Mr. Faulkner having prevented him from taking an active part in the ministration of his office. But when the vacancy was made by death, there appeared to be a gradual religious awakening, and this had its climax during the time of the probationary sermons. Men began to turn their attention to religious questions, and out of the evil of a divided parish arose the good that the people began to think of their long-neglected duty to their Maker. This general and almost unthought of change in the people continued when the cause of it had passed away.

The day of election was settled by the vestry to be the 10th of October, and at a meeting held previously to the election, a deputation, headed by Mr. Steet, waited upon the vestry and presented a memorial, signed by 1641 ratepayers, in favour of Mr. Maguire. The memorial was as follows :—

"A Memorial to the Vestry of the Parish of Clerkenwell, in favour of the Rev. Robert Maguire, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin.

"We, the undersigned householders of Clerkenwell, feel assured that the Rev. Robert Maguire is the most suitable candidate for the vacant incumbency of St. James's, Clerkenwell. His education has been strictly Scriptural and Protestant, and his conduct since his ordination has been such as becomes a minister of religion; his ability and power in the pulpit are forcible and impressive, his character is irreproachable, and his manners kind, affable, and frank to all, both rich and poor: on these grounds we desire and respectfully urge you to support his application for the vacancy, should it be declared that the power is in your hands."

Mr. Steet, on the part of the deputation, on being interrogated, said that all names of persons not householders had been carefully erased from the memorial, and that the 1641 names still remaining were those of bonâ fide householders, and that more names might have been obtained in favour of Mr. Maguire, but many of the inhabitants would not allow that the vestrymen had the power of election in their hands. The presentation of the memorial, it is said, "produced a marked sensation."

The day of election at length arrived, and out of seventy-two vestrymen (or seventy-one, for one was dead) sixty-six were present. Outside the Vestry Hall a very large crowd had assembled, anxious to know the first result of the election by the vestry. The vestry, in opposition to Mr. W. Jones, the churchwarden, elected Mr. Pascall to preside over the meeting. After a long discussion it was resolved that all the candidates should be voted for, and should not one have a majority of the vestrymen present, that the lowest on the list of candidates should be struck off, and another show of hands taken; that this plan should be repeated until only two were left, and then that the higher of the two should be the elected incumbent. At the first show of hands the numbers were :—For Mr. Ball, 4; Mr. Lester, 6; Mr. O'Brien, 0; Mr. Maguire, 31; Mr. Roberts, 25. The names of Mr. Ball and Mr. O'Brien were then struck off, and on the next show of hands the numbers were :— Mr. Lester, 7; Mr. Maguire, 33; Mr. Roberts, 25. Mr. Lester's name was then struck off, and the election decided by 40 votes being given for Mr. Maguire, the number at first given for Mr. Roberts remaining the same. Mr. Maguire was then called in and congratulated on his appointment, and asked to preach on the following Sunday.

It soon became known in the parish that the Rev. Robert Maguire was elected, and had agreed to preach in St. James's Church on the following Sunday. The sacred edifice, on the morning of the day when the reverend gentleman was to have preached his first sermon as incumbent of Clerkenwell, was thronged with people, and had it not been for the strong good sense of Mr. Maguire a most lamentable scene would have taken place in the church. The churchwarden who had so warmly espoused the cause of Mr. Roberts had made an arrangement for that gentleman to preach, and, disregarding alike the wishes of his colleague (Mr. King), of the vestry, and of the parishioners, he had determined that Mr. Roberts should preach, and preach he did. No interference was made, though many persons were so insulted that they offered to clear the pulpit for Mr. Maguire; but the offer was refused. When the actions of Sunday became known, the course adopted by the unsuccessful candidate and his supporters was all but universally condemned, and the result was that Mr. Maguire acquired new friends, while against his opponent the people were fast turning. The greatest indignation was aroused by the proceeding in the church, and such evidences of bad taste—to say the least—were only stopped by the Bishop of London ordering the curate not to allow Mr. Roberts to preach while the licence of the incumbent elect was in abeyance.

Directly after the election was known two *caveats*[1] were served—one on behalf of Mr. Roberts and the other on the part of Mr. Jones—against the induction of Mr. Maguire, on the grounds that the vestry had no power as a vestry to elect, and that the election rested only with the people. The vestry, on the motion of Mr. E. J. Thompson, agreed to appear by counsel in support of the vestry rights, and so the matter for a time rested.

The first step in opposition to the vestry was soon taken. On November the 8th Mr. Maguire attended the Consistory Court, Doctors'-commons, and was "presented." A proctor, however, appeared on the part of two parishioners (Mr. Frederick Willis and Mr. Turpin Carter), and objected to the licence being granted. The opposing proctor was then ordered to bring his allegation or petition on the next court day. The next phase quickly followed. On December 17th a motion was brought into Sir R. T. Kindersley's Court for an injunction to restrain the Bishop of London from inducting the Rev. Robert Maguire, M.A., into the living of Clerkenwell, on the ground that the election of the reverend gentleman by the vestry was null and void. The parties in this suit were

[1] A *caveat* is a kind of process in the spiritual court to stop the institution of a clerk to a benefice, or probate of a will, or the like.

Carter and Dudley against Cropley. The judge refused the motion, and against this decision notice of appeal was given. The question was thus still left undecided. It is reported that at this time an offer was made to the incumbent elect, that if he would discharge the Rev. Mr. Wild, the evening lecturer of St. James's, and appoint the Rev. Horace Roberts, all opposition should cease. The offer was not accepted, and the proceedings continued.

The appeal was heard on the 13th of January, 1857, before Lord Justice Knight Bruce and Lord Justice Turner. The whole history of Clerkenwell and the usages of the parish were brought before the Court. Among the authorities appealed to were Stow, Dugdale, and Strype, and it was endeavoured to be shown that the new vestry had not the power to supersede the inhabitants in electing an incumbent, and that the appointment of a perpetual curate was properly vested in the inhabitants for the benefit of the parish, and not in the inhabitants in vestry in their parochial character. The power of the inhabitants in their parochial character had certainly passed into the new vestry, and instead of the inhabitants levying rates, and controlling the parish as theretofore in "open vestry," their elected representatives did so. It was contended that all the powers of the people had passed into the vestry, and that this power of electing an incumbent was now vested alone in the representatives of the ratepayers. The judgment was reserved; but was delivered a short time afterwards (the 26th of January). This judgment was in favour of the appellants, and by it the inhabitants obtained the right to elect the incumbent, and the whole costs of the suits were thrown upon the vestry, as one of the judges held that the question was one which it was to the interest of the parish to determine.

The contest then commenced again by an appeal being made to the people, and the Rev. T. H. Ball also entered himself as a candidate with the Rev. Robert Maguire. The Rev. H. Roberts, after a short consideration, withdrew from the contest. It was now supposed that there would be no further trouble, and that the election would at once take place. The earnest supporter of Mr. Roberts (Mr. W. Jones, the senior churchwarden), however, ruled otherwise, for on his colleague (Mr. F. King) stating, that unless the day of election were declared he should forthwith issue notices to proceed with the election, Mr. Jones threatened to cause a *caveat* to be entered against any clergyman so elected. The inhabitants of the parish, one of the churchwardens (Mr. F. King), and the Bishop of London were all desirous that the election should take place as speedily as possible; but Mr. W. Jones ruled otherwise, and posted a notice on the church doors that the election should not take place until the 30th of March—a postponement which, it is said, would have given the Bishop of London the right to take the power of electing an incumbent out of the hands of the people for ever, if his lordship had thought proper so to act. This was early in February, and the people patiently waited until the end of March drew nigh. On the Sunday previous to the 30th, another notice was found posted on the church doors, stating that the election should be postponed until after the 22nd of April, by order of the "Senior Churchwarden." Now the people were fairly roused, and a public meeting having been called, the junior churchwarden was urged to issue notices for the election to take place on Thursday, the 2nd of April. The notices were issued, and the meeting for the purposes of the election was called on the day named in the vestry of St. James's Church; but as there was not room there, the meeting adjourned to the Amwell-street School-rooms. The gentlemen who offered themselves by letter for candidates were:—The Rev. T. W. Herbert, of Prince's End, Tipton, Staffordshire; the Rev. C. Overton, of Cottingham, near Hull (who emphatically stated that he would not enter on a contested election); and the Rev. Robert Maguire. There was no letter from Mr. Ball or Mr. Roberts.

The election was then proceeded with. Mr. Charles Wells Lovell was the proposer of Mr. Maguire, and Mr. Richard Mullens was the seconder. Mr. Ball and Mr. Herbert were also proposed. A show of hands was taken, when the numbers were:—For Mr. Maguire, about 400; for Mr. Ball, 11; for Mr. Herbert, 12. Mr. Churchwarden King then declared Mr. Maguire duly elected; but a poll being demanded, three days following, Friday, Saturday, and Monday, were appointed for the purpose, the polling to take place at the Workhouse, and each voter to have single votes.

The first day's polling resulted in the following numbers being polled:—For Mr. Maguire, 538;

for Mr. Ball, 4; for Mr. Herbert, 1. At the close of the polling on Saturday the numbers were :—Mr. Maguire, 888; Mr. Ball, 7; Mr. Herbert, 1; and on Monday the result of the election was shown in the following numbers:—Mr. Maguire, 1697; Mr. Ball, 10; Mr. Herbert, 5. Mr. Maguire was then called forth, and the meeting agreed to re-assemble at the church according to custom. Here the churchwarden (Mr. King) in the open vestry declared Mr. Maguire duly elected as incumbent of Clerkenwell. The matter did not rest here, for the other churchwarden issued notices to the parish, that the election for incumbent would take place on the 27th of April. The friends of Mr. Maguire determined that no other candidate should be elected, and on the meeting assembling Mr. Maguire and Mr. Ball were proposed, but the numbers for the first-named gentleman being overwhelmingly great no poll was demanded. On the following Sunday, May 3rd, 1857, the reverend gentleman was inducted into the incumbency, and all further opposition was withdrawn. Thus ended a series of contests which, while they lasted, caused much hostility of feeling and unseemly demeanour amongst many of the partisans of the several candidates for the pulpit of St. James's Church. But the bickerings and litigation worked a good end, for the parish of Clerkenwell obtained an incumbent of moral and mental worth, and the inhabitants established their accustomed right to elect their minister. This latter fact is an important one in its historical bearing, and has led us into a somewhat lengthy record of the disputes in question, for if at some future period the right of the people of Clerkenwell to elect the incumbent of their parish be disputed, our chronicle may be useful to them as a summary of the vestry minutes relating to the matter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DISTRICT OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, CLERKENWELL—CONTINUED.

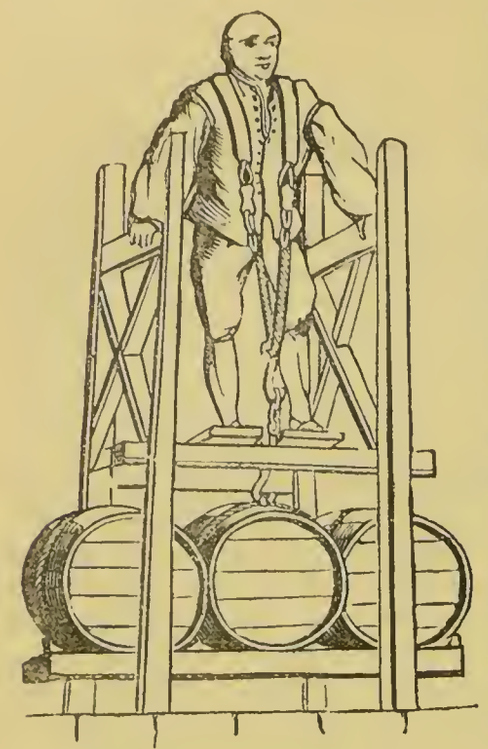
GREAT BATH-STREET:—Topham, the Strong Man, and his extraordinary Feats of Strength—The Residence of Emanuel Swedenborg, with some Account of this remarkable Man. BAYNES-ROW:—Cold Bath-fields Prison, or the House of Correction—The Site originally a Lay-stall—The Building of the Prison—Abuses therein—Riots amongst the Prisoners—Reformations—Silent System introduced—The Treadwheel—Exterior of the Prison—Description of the Gateway—Interior of the Prison—Additions made thereto—Extent of accommodation—The Official Staff—Dietary Table—Statistics of Prisoners—Last Official Report—Hunt imprisoned in this Gaol. BOWLING GREEN-LANE:—The Bowling Greens there formerly—St. James's Burial Ground—The "Cherry Tree" Public House—The Laystall—The Whipping Post—The Lane once called Feather Bed-lane. CLERKENWELL-CLOSE, formerly the Nunnery-close:—The Crown Tavern—The Residences of Thomas Weever, Sir Thomas Challoner, and Oliver Cromwell—Biographical Notices of Sir Thomas Challoner, father and son—Richard, Earl Clanricarde—Sir John Cropley—Dr. Theophilus Garencier—Dr. Maynwaring—An Unlucky House—A Mad House—Newcastle-place—Newcastle House—The Remains of the ancient Nunnery—The Cloisters—The Nuns' Hall—The Duke of Newcastle and his Literary Duchess—The Duke and Duchess of Albemarle. CLERKENWELL-GREEN:—The Green—The Pound—The Pillory—The Welsh Charity School—The Middlesex Sessions House—Drinking Fountain—Distinguished Residents—Sir William Tresham—Sir William Sands—Sir Richard Chiverton—Sir William Bolton—Alderman Hough—Alderman Gibbs—Sir Gower Barrington—Sir W. Bowles, Bart.—Sir Edward Smith—Lady Windham—Sir Goddard Nelthorpe—Isaac Walton, the Angler—"Jack Adams"—Lady Bullock—Her House attacked—Mutton-lane, *alias* Brook-hill—The "Crooked Billet and Shovel"—Vine-street, formerly Mutton-hill—Lamb-court—Lamb and Flag Ragged School. COPPICE-ROW:—The Workhouse—The Soup House. COLD BATH-SQUARE:—The Cold Bath—Its healing virtues—Lines upon it by Sir Richard Steele—Mr. Baynes, its Proprietor—Eustace Budgell—The eccentric Mrs. Lewson.

GREAT BATH STREET.

THIS street was erected about the year 1725, as we learn from a square stone tablet, which is now broken in three pieces, and forms part of the paved floor of the kitchen of the house No. 28, at the north-west corner of the street. The inscription, "Bath-street, 1725," is cut in Roman capitals upon this stone. Many of the houses in this thoroughfare have been rebuilt, and others new fronted. On the sale of the Jervoise estate (of which this street formed a part), in the year 1811, this property sold for £8560.

Topham, "the strong man," whose prodigious feats of muscular strength won the admiration and applause of a past generation, once exhibited in this thoroughfare; the occasion of it was a great naval victory achieved by Admiral Vernon, who had signalised himself by the reduction of Porto Bello, in 1740, and the capture of the seaport of Carthagena, in Spain, on the 1st of April, 1741. The news of this glorious victory, which did not in those days of slow travelling reach the metropolis until the 17th of May, were received with much rejoicing by the people. Topham, who was a shrewd man, took advantage of the popular enthusiasm, and announced, in honour of the victory, a grand trial of strength, which he performed on the 28th of May, 1741. "Three hogsheads of water, together weighing eighteen hundred and thirty-six pounds, were so placed on a timber frame, erected in Bath-street, that he, standing above them, was enabled by means of a stirrup over his

shoulder, fastened to a strong cord which bound and intersected the hogsheads, to lift the cumberous load several inches, amid the plaudits of the spectators." The admiral, in whose honour this surprising feat of strength was performed, was himself present among the great crowd of spectators. The popularity of Topham's exhibitions of prodigious strength was such, that his portrait, displaying one or other of his feats, was painted on various signs in and about the Metropolis. Topham was born in London about the year 1710. At the first exhibition of his extraordinary strength he pulled against a horse, with his feet placed against a low wall. He once rolled up a pewter dish with his fingers, and lifted with his teeth a table six feet long which had a half-hundred weight fastened to the end of it. "He appeared," says William Hutton, "to be nearly five feet ten inches in height. Being a master of music, I heard him sing a solo to the organ of St. Wedburgh Church, Derby; the voice, more terrible than sweet, seemed scarce human. The ostler of the Virgin's Inn having given him some cause of displeasure, he took one of the kitchen spits and bent it round his neck like a handkerchief." One night perceiving a watchman asleep in his box he raised both from the ground, and dropped them over the wall of Bunhill-fields burying ground. When he kept a public house (and he kept several, among others, the Duke's Head, in Islington), he was visited by two very quarrelsome men, who were anxious to fight him; he forebore, but they remaining obstinate, he seized them both by the neck and knocked their heads together until they asked pardon. He died by his own hands, in Hog-lane, Shoreditch, August 10th, 1749, after stabbing his wife, who had proved unfaithful to him; and he was buried in the churchyard of St. Leonard, Shoreditch.



TOPHAM, THE STRONG MAN.

At No. 26, Great Bath-street, near the close of the last century, lived and died that illustrious man, Emanuel Swedenborg, whose irreproachable life and character must ever be regarded with esteem, and whose writings, many of which have a peculiarly mystical character, must withal be appreciated as the productions of a highly gifted and original mind. An apology will scarcely be needed for introducing to our readers a succinct account of this remarkable man, whom we may truly rank among the "Clerkenwell Worthies."

Emanuel Swedenborg was born at Stockholm on the 29th of January, 1688, and was the son of Jesper Swedberg, Bishop of Skara, a voluminous writer on various topics. Of his infancy and youth there is no other record than that his mind was early engaged by religious subjects. "From my fourth to my tenth year," says he in a letter addressed to Dr. Beyer, "my thoughts were constantly engrossed by reflecting on God, salvation, and the spiritual affections of man. From my sixth to my twelfth year it was my greatest delight to converse with the clergy concerning faith, and I often observed to them that charity or love is the life of faith, and that this vivifying charity is no other than the love of one's neighbour." His father bestowed much attention upon his education, which he received chiefly in the great university of the north, Upsala; here he so diligently studied the classical languages, mathematics, and natural philosophy, that at the age of twenty-two he took his degree as Doctor of Philosophy, and published his first essay, the academical dissertation which he had written for the degree. In 1710 Swedberg came to London just at a time when the plague was raging in Sweden, and when all Swedish vessels were commanded by proclamation to keep strict quarantine.[1] He was persuaded to land, and as he did so, probably

[1] This is a regulation by which all communication with individuals, ships, or goods, arriving from places infected with the plague, or other contagious disease, is interdicted for a certain definite period. The term is derived from the Italian *quaranta*, forty, it being generally supposed that if no infectious disease break out within forty days or six weeks, no danger need be apprehended from the free admission of the individuals under quarantine. The notion that the plague was imported from the East into Europe seems to have prevailed in all ages. But it would appear that the Venetians were the first who endeavoured to guard against its introduction

in ignorance of the regulation, he, as he himself has recorded, narrowly escaped being hanged for the offence. He spent some time at Oxford, and lived afterwards for three years abroad, chiefly in Utrecht, Paris, and Griefswalde, returning to Sweden, in 1714, through Stralsand, just as Charles XII. was commencing the siege of that city.

In 1716 Swedberg went, by the invitation of Polhem, a great Swedish engineer, to Lund, to meet Charles XII., who conversed freely with him. The king appointed him Assessor of the Royal Metallic College of Sweden; the diploma conferring the appointment stating, "that the king had a particular regard to the knowledge possessed by Swedberg in the science of mechanics, and that the royal pleasure was that he should accompany and assist Polhem in his mechanical works." The king even proposed a closer union between his two engineers, by recommending Polhem to give his daughter in marriage to Swedberg; but her affections were not so easily disposed of, as she was already betrothed. In 1718, Swedberg, during the memorable siege of Fredrickshall, rendered important service by transporting over mountains and valleys, on rolling machines of his own invention, two galleys, five large boats, and a sloop, from Strömstadt to Iderfjol, a distance of fourteen miles. Under cover of these vessels the king brought his artillery (which it would have been impossible to have conveyed by land) under the very walls of Fredrickshall. In 1719, he was ennobled by Queen Ulrica Eleonora, under the name of Swedenborg. From this time he took his seat with the nobles of the equestrian order, in the triennial assemblies of the States. His new rank conferred upon him no title beyond the change of name, and he was not, as is generally supposed, either a count or a baron. He is always spoken of in his own country as the "Assessor Swedenborg." For a number of years subsequently to this he was actively engaged in scientific and literary pursuits, and he published in rapid succession numerous works on mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, and mineralogy. By these publications, which embodied the results of his own experimental researches in the several departments of science, his reputation was established throughout Europe; foreign *literati* eagerly sought his correspondence, and learned societies elected him into their fellowship. He continued to fulfil the duties appertaining to his office as Assessor to the Board of Mines, until 1747, when he obtained permission to retire from it, and was allowed to enjoy the salary of the office as a pension, and permitted to decline the honorary distinctions which were proffered him on his retirement. For many years after this we do not hear much of Swedenborg, but there is little doubt that he devoted himself to his theological studies, the fruits of which are so plentiful. In August, 1771, Swedenborg came from Amsterdam to London, and took up his abode for the second time with one Shearsmith, a peruke maker, at 26, Great Bath-street, Cold Bath-fields. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he still continued indefatigable with his pen, and, after finishing his "True Christian Religion," he proceeded to the execution of another work. He now renewed his intercourse with his friends in London. Towards the end of the year Dr. Hartley and Mr. Cookworthy visited him at his lodgings in Clerkenwell; the details of the interview are not given, but we gather enough to show his innocence and simplicity, for, on their inviting him to dine with them, he politely excused himself, adding that his dinner was already prepared, which dinner proved to be a meal of bread and milk. On Christmas Eve, 1771, a stroke of apoplexy deprived him for a time of speech. Towards the end of February, 1772, the Rev. John Wesley was in conclave with some of his preachers, when a Latin note was put into his hand. It caused him evident astonishment, for the substance of it was as follows:—

"Great Bath-street, Cold Bath-fields, February, 1772.

"Sir,—I have been informed in the world of spirits that you have a strong desire to converse with me. I shall be happy to see you if you will favour me with a visit.—I am, sir, your humble servant,

"E. Swedenborg."

Wesley frankly acknowledged that he had been strongly impressed with a desire to see him, but

from abroad, by obliging ships and individuals from suspected places to perform quarantine. The regulations upon this subject were, it is most probable, issued for the first time in 1484.—Beckman's *Hist. of Invent.*, vol. ii., art. "Quarantine." They have since been gradually adopted in every other country. Their introduction into England was comparatively late. Various preventive regulations had been previously enacted, but quarantine was not systematically enforced until the alarm occasioned by the dreadful plague at Marseilles, in 1720.—Wharton.

that he had not mentioned that desire to anyone. He wrote an answer that he was then preparing for a six months' journey, but he would wait upon Swedenborg on his return to London. Swedenborg wrote in reply that he should go into the world of spirits on the 29th of the then next month never more to return. The consequence was that these two remarkable persons never met.

About this time a report obtained currency that Swedenborg had changed his theological opinions. M. Ferelius, minister of the Swedish Lutheran Church, London, who visited him near the close of his life, and administered the sacrament to him, asked him if he thought he was going to die; he answered in the affirmative; upon which the minister requested him, inasmuch as many believed that he had invented his new theological system merely to acquire a great name, to take that opportunity of proclaiming the real truth to the world, and to recant either wholly or in part that which he had advanced, especially as his pretensions could then be of no further use to him. Upon this Swedenborg raised himself up in bed, and placing his hand upon his breast, said with earnestness, "Everything that I have written is as true as you now behold me; I might have said much more had it been permitted me. After death you will see all, and then we shall have much to say to each other on this subject." He told the people of the house what day he should die, and, as Shearsmith's servantmaid reported, he was pleased with the anticipation; his pleasure was, according to the maid's comparison, like that which she would have felt if she had been going to have a holiday or going to some merrymaking. His faculties were clear to the last. On Sunday, the 29th of March, 1772, hearing the clock strike, he asked his landlady and her maid, who were both sitting at his bedside, what o'clock it was, and upon being answered, he said, "It is well. I thank you. God bless you," and then in a moment after he gently gave up the ghost. After lying in state for several days at the undertaker's, he was buried on the 5th of April, in the Lutheran Church, Princes'-square, Ratcliff-highway. In 1785 his coffin was side by side with the famous Dr. Solanders, the naturalist, who accompanied Cook in his circumnavigation of the globe.

In person, Swedenborg was about five feet nine inches in height, rather thin, and of brown complexion; his eyes were of a brownish grey, nearly hazel, and rather small; he had always a cheerful smile upon his countenance. His suit, according to Shearsmith, was made after an old fashion; he wore a full-bottomed wig, a pair of long ruffles, and a curious hilted sword; and he carried a gold-headed cane. In diet he was a vegetarian, and he abstained from alcoholic liquors. He paid little attention to times and seasons for sleep, and he often laboured through the night, and sometimes continued in bed for several days together while enjoying his spiritual trances. He desired Shearsmith never to disturb him at such times; an injunction which was necessary, for the look of his face was so peculiar on these occasions that Shearsmith thought he was dead. In money matters Swedenborg was at once saving and liberal. He was not remarkable for almsgiving, for he used to say that "most of those who solicit alms are either lazy or vicious, and if from compassion you give them money it is rather an injury than a benefit." He did not lend money, for "that," said he, "is the way to lose it; besides," he added, "I want the money to pay the expenses of travelling and printing." When his landlord presented his bill, Swedenborg used to send him to his drawer to pay himself; "a careless looking mode," remarks one of his biographers, "but clairvoyant people know of course with whom they have to deal." We have much testimony of the goodness and humility of this truly great man. Dr. Hartley, who more than once visited him, says:—"He affects no honour but declines it; pursues no worldly interest, and s far from the ambition of heading a sect." "From the first day of his coming to reside in my house," says Shearsmith, "till the last day of his death, he had always conducted himself in a most rational, pious, and prudent manner." He was a blessing to the house, and while he stayed in it the folks there had harmony and good business. His labours during sixty years of authorship were of surprising magnitude, and his works collected would make *sixty octavo volumes of five hundred pages each in English*. For an enumeration of these writings and for further particulars concerning Swedenborg, we must refer our readers to Wilkinson's "Swedenborg," to which we are indebted for many of the interesting particulars in the foregoing sketch.[1]

[1] The Editor recommends to the reader's notice the Rev. E. Paxton Hood's work, *Swedenborg: a Biography and an Exposition*, London, 1851, which book contains an eloquent sketch of Swedenborg and his writings.

We think it would be well if the writings of Swedenborg were more generally read than they now are, for they display vast depth of thought, richness of language, and weight of truth. Samuel Taylor Coleridge says, "as a Moralist, Swedenborg is above all praise," and, "as a Naturalist, Psychologist, and Theologian, he has strong and varied claims on the gratitude and admiration of the professional and philosophical faculties."[1] R. W. Emerson says that Swedenborg's "writings would be a sufficient library to a lonely and æsthetic student. Not every man can read them, but they will reward him who can. The grandeur of the topics makes the grandeur of the style." Dr. Stowell, writing of Swedenborg's "Arcana," says, "they abound with beautiful scenes and happy metaphors." We might multiply our extracts from the works of those men of master mind who have written upon Swedenborg, but we have given enough to show that his volumes are literary mines, from which the labourer therein can obtain much mental treasure.

BAYNES ROW.

This row or street was erected about the year 1737, as we are informed by a device executed in brickwork and placed between some houses near the corner of Baynes-row and Warner-street. This memorial, which is beneath a moulded pediment, is curiously wrought in low relief, and ornamented with several devices which are borrowed from the arms of the Tylers' and Bricklayers' Company. On a band in raised letters is their motto, "In God is all our trust;" beneath this, and above a small recessed arch, is the crest of the company, a dexter arm embowed holding in the hand a brick axe, right and left of this are two brick axes palewise, also blazoned in the arms of this company, below these are the initials I. P., probably those of the builder, and the date, 1737. A few feet below this device there is a stone tablet in a raised frame of brickwork, on which is inscribed "Baynes Street 1737." Henry Mayhew, in his "Great World of London," says somewhat jauntily, "Some of the houses hereabouts" (Coldbath-fields) "are sufficiently antiquated—as, for instance, those in Baynes-row—with the words cut in quaint, long spider letters, in the red brick tablet beween the drawing-room windows. Again, in Cobham-row, the heavy white sashes to the casements, the curious iron-work, and the peculiar style of brick-work, strongly indicate the old-fashioned character of the buildings." In the year 1810, Grimaldi, the clown, resided at No. 4, in Baynes-row.[2]

COLDBATH FIELDS PRISON OR THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

"These houses of correction (which were first established, as it would seem, in the reign of Elizabeth) were originally designed for penal confinement (after conviction) of paupers refusing to work, and other persons falling under the legal description of vagrant."[3]

Coldbath Fields Prison is one of the Correctional Prisons for criminals sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, and is distinguished from a Convict Prison, which is intended for criminals who have been sentenced either to penal servitude or transportation.

Convict Prisons are government institutions supported by payments from the civil list. Correctional Prisons are county institutions, under the management of the shire to which they belong, and supported out of the county rates.

At Convict Prisons, criminals are made to work partly with the intention of making them contribute towards their own support, and partly with the view of keeping them industriously employed. At Correctional Prisons, criminals are compelled to labour as a punishment, and for this purpose the work is generally rendered disagreeable to them.

[1] *Literary Remains*, vol. iv., 423.
[2] *Poor's Rate Book*, 1810.
[3] Stephen's *Blackstone*, vol. iii., p. 224.

This gaol, so familiarly known to the reader of the daily journals, and to the criminal statist by his "Blue Book" researches, as the Coldbath Fields Prison, takes its name from the coldbath well, the site of which is now occupied by the treadwheel of the prison.

The original House of Correction was built in the reign of James I. Hepworth Dixon says:—"The increase of vagabondage had become so great about that time, that the City Bridewell no longer served to contain the number of offenders; the judges therefore built this prison, the City authorities giving £500 towards it, for keeping their poor employed."

The present gaol was erected at the expense of the county of Middlesex, in the year 1794. The site originally selected was not at first deemed to be the most favourable for such an erection; it was on the eastern slope of the Fleet, the ground, which was swampy, had long been used as a public laystall, and a huge heap of rubbish had accumulated in consequence Allusion is made to this laystall in a poem entitled "Bagnigge Wells," published in the "Shrubs of Parnassus," in 1760, in which the old Bagnigge Gardens are described as being "bounded on the right"—

> With summit super-eminent, debas'd
> With Dunghill's name inglorious! tho' by some
> Than Pindus' Mount more priz'd, or cloud crown'd head
> Of strong bas'd promontory. For from thence
> Springs richer pasturage, and earth receives
> The stercorareous compost with a smile.

The objections which were made to the proposed site of the prison were, however, overruled, the mountain of rubbish was levelled, piles were driven into the morass, the ground was raised considerably, and massive foundations were laid. The site, which had been previously known as Gardiner's Farm or Field, was purchased of Thomas Clarke Jervoise, Esq., the landholder, the county magistrates paying to him £4350 for the freehold. To carry out the building the sum of £62,000 was raised by a tontine in shares of £100 each, secured on the county rate. The architect was Charles Middleton, Esq., who, in 1788, published in folio "Plans, Elevations, and Sections of the House of Correction to be erected in Coldbath Fields." There was a good deal of shameful jobbery in connection with the building of this chief county prison, which cost no less than £65,656, and that to provide accommodation for only 232 prisoners in separate cells; and great were the impure gains of individuals who were in collusion with the builders. Notwithstanding that the specifications required that the whole structure should be composed of the best materials, and built with the most approved workmanship, a most culpable instance of jobbery was discovered in the year 1833, when the cholera, which had raged so fatally in the preceding year, rendered a close examination of the sewers a matter of necessity. It was then discovered that the arches, which ought to have been turned with cement, had been so loosely constructed that the bricks had fallen in, choked up the outlet for impurities, and stagnant accumulations had unquestionably engendered cholera.

When the prison was opened in 1794, the prisoners confined in the Clerkenwell Bridewell were removed to it. But in a few years this gaol, which was constructed on the plan recommended by that great apostle and martyr to his zeal for prison reformation, the benevolent John Howard, got into shameful disrepute by reason of the abuses then existing within its walls. "Men, women, and boys were indiscriminately herded together in this chief county prison, without employment or wholesome control; while smoking, gaming, singing, and every species of brutalizing conversation, tended to the unlimited advancement of crime and pollution. Meanwhile the Governor of that day walked about, bearing in his hand a knotted rope, and ever and anon he would seize some unlucky wight by the collar or arm, and rope's-end him severely; thus exhibiting a warning example of summary corporeal punishment, calculated to overawe refractory beholders."[1] Many were the discomforts to which the poor prisoners who were confined here were subject. A person who was confined here

[1] Chesterton's *Revelations of Prison Life*, pp. 16, 17.

unjustly published in a pamphlet a few particulars of his incarceration, and thus describes the state of the prison :—"These charitable dungeons, founded for the reformation of the vicious, are composed of bricks and stones, without fire or any furniture but straw, and no other barrier against the weather than iron grates." And that able minister, Pitt, when addressing the House of Commons on a Bill for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, in December, 1799, affirmed that, having visited the prison, he found the prisoners without fire and without candles, denied every kind of society, exposed to the cold and rain, allowed to breathe the air out of their cells only for an hour, denied every comfort, every innocent amusement, excluded from all intercourse with each other, and each night locked up from all the rest of the world. In continuation Pitt ironically expressed his supposition that the reverend gentlemen who were among the magistrates who managed the prison, "kindly subjected their prisoners to so much pain in this world, that less punishment might be inflicted on them in the next." [1]

Coleridge and Southey, in a clever poem entitled the "Devil's Walk," founded upon an assertion of the mad prophet, Richard Brothers, that he had seen the Devil walk leisurely into London one day, make the author of evil to approve of the system pursued at the Bastile, as this prison was once opprobriously called; for,

> As he passed through Coldbath Fields he looked
> At a solitary cell,
> And he was well pleased, for it gave him a hint
> For improving his prisons in hell;
> He saw a turnkey tie a thief's hands,
> With a cordial tug and a jerk:
> "Nimbly," quoth he, "a man's fingers can move
> When his heart is in his work."

Sir Francis Burdett, early in his career, decried the monstrosities of the Coldbath Fields Prison on many occasions with such fervid eloquence, as to excite the popular mind with indignation, and sympathy for the prisoners confined there. The "Governor, Aris (who had been formerly a baker in Clerkenwell), was denounced, and became notorious as a reputed tyrant and torturer." During the agitation that prevailed crowds would assemble without the walls, and the incarcerated, fully acquainted with the public occurrences, would shriek and shout in order to keep alive popular sympathy, until at length stories of cruelties within aroused indignation and invoked redress. The excess of public sympathy engendered a mutinous spirit among the prisoners, who, in the month of July, 1800, became so turbulent that a riot took place, which, it was judged, required the aid of the military to suppress; accordingly a company of the Clerkenwell Volunteers entered the prison with fixed bayonets and supplied with eighteen rounds of ball cartridge. On their way the mob assailed them with stones, and cried, "Down with the Bastile;" but on the appearance of the soldiers in the yards the prisoners yielded without further opposition. On the night of the 14th of August following they were again found mutinous, and indisposed after the usual hours of exercise to be locked up; but at length they consented. They then began to call out and encourage each other by crying "Murder," "Starving," &c.; and by this means a large mob was collected without the walls of the prison. The mob answered those within by loud shouts, and they in turn called to the crowd to force the gates. The Clerkenwell Volunteers again turned out, and it was late at night before they could disperse the populace. Volunteers from the adjacent parishes attended to watch the prison, and the Clerkenwell Cavalry paraded round the outer gates for several nights to keep the mob off. A government commission was afterwards appointed to inquire into the alleged abuses, in order to redress them, and the obnoxious governor, Aris, was dismissed from his office, and ultimately he died in poverty.

In the year 1830, the radical party strenuously opposed the exaction of the stamp duty, and engaged extensively in the sale of unstamped newspapers. For this offence many were here imprisoned, and it was supposed by the authorities that on the occasion of an aggregate demonstration of a number

[1] *Annual Register*, 1799, p. 197.

of the political clubs, known as "Trades Unions," an attack was meditated on the House of Correction, in order to liberate the political martyrs therein incarcerated. The prison was promptly put in a state of defence, and arms and ammunition were supplied by the Board of Ordnance. "We received," says the late governor, Colonel Chesterton, "in addition to what we already possessed, from the Tower, 25 carbines, 2000 rounds of ball cartridge, and 500 hand grenades; an artillery waggon conveyed this supply in the dusk of evening, escorted by a corporal's guard of the artillery." Scaling ladders were manufactured, and the governor's house was fortified.

The appointed day arrived, the prisoners were all securely locked up, the warders were stationed at particular posts, armed with hand grenades, and every defensive precaution that could be suggested was adopted; but these warlike preparations, which had been bruited abroad, served to intimidate the political champions, and the day passed without their venturing to assail this well-defended stronghold.

In July, 1829, Chesterton was appointed governor of Coldbath Fields Prison; and he at once set about reforming the abuses which existed within it. At this time the turnkeys were most corrupt, and the poor prisoners were subject to much tyranny from them, while those who had money to purchase their gaoler's favour were allowed to break all the rules of the prison.

Five years afterwards Chesterton introduced the silent system as a part of the discipline of the prisoners. "On the 29th December, 1834, a population of 914 prisoners was suddenly apprised that all intercommunication by word, gesture, or sign was prohibited." The silent associated system, as it is called, has been continued up to the present time.

The treadwheel was introduced into Coldbath Fields Prison several years prior to the establishment of the silent system there. This apparatus of punishment was first set up at Brixton Prison in 1817, and was the invention of Mr. Cubitt, an engineer, of Lowestoft. At first, 12,000 feet of ascent upon it was the amount of daily labour required at Coldbath Fields Prison from each prisoner under sentence of hard labour, but as that amount proved to be very injurious to the health of those who were required to perform it, it was reduced, and limited to 1200 feet of ascent per diem. Beside the hard labour of the treadwheel, the picking of oakum or coir is enforced as part of the correctional discipline here.

Coldbath Fields Prison "has the thorough aspect of an old English jail." Mr. Mayhew in his "Great World of London," thus gives a description of the periphery of the prison:—

"As few persons in easy worldly circumstances care to reside in the neighbourhood of a prison, it may account for the dingy and distressed appearance of the buildings that surround the jail in Coldbath Fields. The red brick dwellings facing the main entrance have all the appearance of having been at one time 'capital town mansions,' but the daily sight of the prison van driving up, and the dreary look-out from the front windows upon the tall boundary wall and heavily-spiked roofs, has degraded the dwellings down to the rank of old furniture stores, or lodging houses for single men, who care not where they obtain house-shelter provided the rent be low. Some of the houses hereabouts are sufficiently antiquated—as, for instance, those in Baynes-row—with the words cut in quaint, long spider letters, in the red brick tablet between the drawing-room windows. Again, in Cobham-row, the heavy white sashes to the casements, the curious iron-work, and the peculiar style of brick-work, strongly indicate the old-fashioned character of the buildings.

"Clerkenwell is notoriously the hardest-working quarter of London; and as soon as the immediate vicinity of the prison is passed, the industry begins to show itself. In Dorrington-street, a small colony of brass-founders have established themselves, and the grocers' canister-makers have also permanently settled on the spot.

"Turning down Phœnix-place, we see the yards converted into saw-mills, and jets of steam bursting out from the midst of tiled sheds; and we hear, too, the grating, hissing sound of the machinery. One board, over the door of a dingy cottage, tells us that the inmates are 'Fancy Brush-board Makers;' and on a closed-up door, the deep-bordered posters of a cheap undertaker caters for patronage for his 'Genteel Funerals,' at £1 1s.

"At the back, or northern side of the prison wall, lie the enormous yards of Mr. Cubitt, the contractor—some of them filled with paving and flag stones—others bristling with scaffold poles and tapering ladders—and some again occupied by sheds, under and about which are rusting cog-wheels and old machinery, or stone balustrades and pieces of broken sculpture. Here, too, in the waste unpaved ground about the walls, the boys have established their play-ground, and amuse themselves with pitch-in-the-hole, tossing for buttons, and games at marbles, or else they perform their gymnastic exercises on the thick rails and posts, placed across the broad rude pathway to obstruct the passage of cabs and cattle.

"Whether the jail has ruined the neighbourhood or not, we cannot say, but the surrounding locality wears a degraded look, as if it also had put on the prison uniform of dirty gray."

* * * * * * *

"One of the main features of the Coldbath Fields Prison is the tall brick wall, which surrounds the entire of the nine acres upon which the building stands, and gives to the place the idea of a strong fortress. To the foot-passenger, this high wall hides out every view of the enclosed buildings, and, but for a bell heard now and



HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

then ringing within, he might almost imagine the interior to be a burial-ground. It is only at the moment of turning the corner of Phœnix-place, and entering into Dorrington-street, that the first evidence is obtained of the spot being inhabited; for there, at rapidly-recurring intervals, may be seen a black beam darting by, close to the coping-stone of the brick-work, the mystery of which none can fathom but those who have visited the interior of the prison, it being the wings of the fan, or governing machine, which regulates the rapidity of the tread-wheel.[1]

"On one side of the public road, passing along the front of the prison, is an unoccupied piece of ground, about half an acre in extent, which fronts the remaining portion of the wall; here the grass has grown so luxuriantly that it may almost be termed a field, especially as half a dozen sheep are feeding, within the palings, on the long herbage.

"Looking out upon this grass-plot may be seen the back of the governor's house, a narrow, two-storyed dwelling, of an ancient style of structure, with heavy iron gratings before each window, which are closed on the basement story, but are thrown back like French blinds at the upper casements."

Mr. Mayhew thus draws, with the minuteness of a Dutch artist, the gateway of the gaol:—

"The huge prison doorway itself has a curious George the Third air about it, with its inscription of black letters cut into the painted stone, telling one that it is

THE HOUSE OF
CORRECTION
FOR THE
COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX,
1794.

—the writing being similar to that which is seen in old books, and by no means comparable to the well-shaped characters on the sign-boards at the neighbouring public-house. A pair of gigantic knockers, large as pantomime masks, hang low down on the dark green panels of the folding gates, and under them are the letter-box and the

[1] Since Mr. Mayhew wrote, this beam has been removed to the top of the flour-mill.

iron-grated wicket, not larger than a gridiron; whilst, arranged in tassels at the top of each side pillar, are enormous black fetters, big enough to frighten any sinful passer-by back into the paths of rectitude. A *chevaux de frise*, like some giant hundred-bladed penknife, is placed on either side of the doorway, where it towers above the wall, and within reading height are placed black boards, with notices painted white upon them. From these we learn where '*Information respecting the Terms of Imprisonment, and the fines to be paid, may be obtained*,' and are also told that '*No provisions, clothing, or other articles for the use of the prisoners*,' will be permitted to pass the gates; whilst, in another place, the regulations respecting the visits to the prisoners are exposed to view. The county of Middlesex, as if to show its right of ownership, has also placed its crest immediately above the green-painted doors, and the three sabres hang threateningly over the heads of all who enter. This and the large gas-lamp jutting out from the wall form the only ornaments to this peculiarly quaint old prison-entrance."

Large additions have been made to this prison from time to time since the date of the original construction (1794). In 1830 a vagrant's ward, calculated to accommodate 150 prisoners, was added. Shortly afterwards a female ward (now the misdemeanants' prison) was constructed, it being designed to contain 300 persons. The gaol now has proper accommodation for 1517 prisoners. The following table will show the distribution of the accommodation, and the increase thereof since the year 1855:—

	In the year 1862.		In the year 1855.
Cells in old prison	373		357
Misdemeanor prison	405		386
Boys' (formerly vagrant) prison	181		177
	959		920
Berths in the dormitories	558		397
	1517		1317

The prison buildings are in three distinct divisions:—1. The principal, or old building, erected in 1794. 2. The vagrants' ward, completed in 1830. 3. The misdemeanants' ward, completed in 1832.

"The old or main prison stands at a little distance behind the principal entrance, and is of a quadrangular form (with two wings attached), divided by a central passage, which is intersected at right angles by the various yards—four on either side of the passage, and each having the cells ranged along one side.

"The vagrants' ward is on the left of the main entrance, and consists of five radiating wings, proceeding from a semi-circular building, upon the half-wheel principle; and these five wings, with the four intermediate airing courts, constitute four yards, or divisions.

"The misdemeanants' ward, formerly appropriated to the female prisoners, stands at a little distance from the north-eastern corner of the old prison, and constitutes a distinct building, but does not differ much in its plan from the vagrants' ward."

The main or old prison is devoted to the reception of felons; the vagrant ward to those who have been committed as rogues or vagabonds; and that which was formerly the female ward is now occupied by persons who have been convicted of misdemeanors.

Coldbath Fields Prison is now devoted to male prisoners only; the females were removed from it to Westminster Prison in 1850. Formerly Tothill Fields Prison was occupied by females and juvenile offenders of both sexes, but in 1860 the boys were removed from there to Coldbath Fields Gaol.

There are in this prison two chapels, one being for males, and the other was formerly used for females.

At one time there were six distinct treadwheel yards in Coldbath Fields Prison, but now there is only one yard, with treadwheel labour for 160 prisoners at one time. The mill grinds wheat, and from the flour which it yields (about 30 cwt. daily), bread for the three county prisons is made.

This prison is in the jurisdiction of fourteen magistrates, who are appointed at each quarter sessions, of whom four go out quarterly by rotation.

The official staff of the prison consists of the governor, 2 chaplains, 1 surgeon, 1 chief warder, 34 warders, 78 sub-warders, 4 clerks, 1 engineer, 1 storekeeper, 1 miller, 1 baker, and 1 schoolmaster: in all 126 officers.

The following is the Dietary Table for male adult prisoners at the House of Correction, Coldbath Fields :—

DAYS.	First Class. All Prisoners whose terms of Imprisonment exceed two months.								Second Class. All Prisoners whose terms of Imprisonment exceed 14 days and do not exceed two months.								Third Class. Fourteen Days and under.						
	Breakfast.		Dinner.				Supper.		Breakfast.		Dinner.					Supper.	Breakfast.		Dinner.		Supper.		
	Bread.	Cocoa	Bread.	Meat.	Potatoes.	Soup.	Bread.	Gruel.	Bread.	Gruel.	Bread.	Meat.	Potatoes.	Soup.	Gruel.	Bread.	Gruel.	Bread.	Gruel.	Bread.	Gruel.	Bread.	Gruel.
	Oz.	Pint.	Oz	Oz	Oz.	Pint	Oz.	Pint.	Oz.	Pint.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Pint	Pint.	Oz	Pint.	Oz.	Pint.	Oz.	Pint.	Oz.	Pint.
Monday	6⅜	1	6⅜	6	8	..	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	..	..	..	1	6⅜	½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	½
Tuesday	6⅜	1	6⅜	6	8	..	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	6	8	..	..	6⅜	½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	½
Wednesday ..	6⅜	1	6⅜	..	..	1½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	..	..	1	..	6⅜	½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	½
Thursday	6⅜	1	6⅜	6	8	..	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	..	..	..	1	6⅜	½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	½
Friday	6⅜	1	6⅜	..	..	1½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	..	..	..	1	6⅜	½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	½
Saturday	6⅜	1	6⅜	6	8	..	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	6	8	..	..	6⅜	½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	½
Sunday	6⅜	1	6⅜	..	..	1½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	..	..	1	..	6⅜	½	6⅜	1	6⅜	1	6⅜	½
	46⅜	7	46⅜	24	32	4½	46⅜	7	46⅜	7	46⅜	12	16	2	8	46⅜	3½	46⅜	7	46⅜	7	46⅜	3½

The number of prisoners in Coldbath Fields Prison on the 23rd of September, 1794, was 36 ; the number on the 24th of October, 1862, was 1702.

The following table will shew the daily average number of prisoners there in each year, from 1855 to 1862 :—

Years 1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.	1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.
1388 ..	1389 ..	1563 ..	1380 ..	1281 ..	1250 ..	1431 ..	1594

During the year 1861, the total number of prisoners committed here was 6903, and in the same year the highest number of prisoners within the walls on one day was 1558 ; during 1862, 1714.

At Michaelmas, 1862, the following was the proportion of prisoners :—

Felons	912
Misdemeanants	588
Vagrants	211
	1711

The annual ordinary charge per prisoner has been estimated at £21 19s. 4d.

In the Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Inspectors of Prisons for the year 1861, published in 1862, pursuant to the statute 5 and 6 Will. IV., c. 38, we read as follows :—

" While the greater number of the prisons, with reference both to construction and discipline, are in a very satisfactory state, there are nevertheless some instances in which those establishments are inadequate to their required purpose ; and among the latter it is unfortunate that the House of Correction for male prisoners of the county of Middlesex is still conspicuous. During the last few years the reduction which was taking place in the number of inmates of the prison in question, in common with those in other parts of the kingdom, led some of the more sanguine of the magistracy to expect that any additions to the prison might eventually become unnecessary ; while others, less sanguine in this expectation, were induced to suspend their appeals for improvement, in the hope of some arrangement being carried out for removing the prison to a site beyond the suburbs of the town. Of late, however, the prisoners having attained the highest numbers committed

in former years, and the negociation for the removal of the prison having failed, it would be inexcusable that improvement should be longer delayed, and there is every reason to hope, from the sentiments expressed by influential magistrates that the duty of providing more suitably for the county prisoners will occupy the earliest attention of the Quarter Sessions.

"The advance which has been progressively taking place in the substitution of productive labour for that which was merely punitive, has been attended with all the beneficial results anticipated by those who had the best means of forming an opinion on the subject. Besides the general amelioration of character observable in prisoners trained to habits of productive industry to which they had been previously unaccustomed, subordination has been so much better maintained, that corporal punishment for prison offences has almost entirely ceased in prisons on the separate system; except in those in which hard labour crank-mills, grinding nothing, continue to take the place of employments of a useful character. It is instructive to contrast in the returns on corporal punishment, presented to Parliament in the sessions of 1860 and 1861, the 136 floggings inflicted for obstinate resistance to discipline, in the prisons of Salford, Manchester, and Wandsworth, in which unproductive crank labour is resorted to, with the aggregate number of four such punishments which have taken place in those of Liverpool, Wakefield, and Holloway in the same period; the discipline in those last-named being conducted without recourse to any but useful industry. Even in Coldbath-fields Prison, which labours under the great disadvantage of the association of prisoners under the 'silent system,' it has not been necessary to resort to half the number of floggings in proportion to its criminal population that has been required at Wandsworth, a difference in great measure attributable to the beneficial influence of the productive employments more exclusively practised in the former prison."

The same report complains that many of the cells in this prison

"Are manifestly unfit for the detention of prisoners consistently with a due regard for health. The prisoners, amounting sometimes to 700 or 800 in excess of the number of cells, either sleep in large dormitories in hammocks slung close together, to the number of 80 to 100 in a room; or still worse, on the floors of workshops, which have been only a short time emptied of their working inmates, when they are littered down with beds, almost covering the floors for those who cannot be received into the dormitories—a class amounting sometimes even to hundreds. The magistrates are removing a part of this excess of prisoners to the county gaol of Bedford, and the borough prison of Northampton; but although this will give some small relief to the more pressing and urgent symptoms, and render the spread of typhus fever in the prison less probable, the chronic evil will still continue to exist as it has for many years past, and will still imperiously demand a permanent remedy.

"The magistrates are now considering the propriety of acting upon a plan long since approved by the Secretary of State for increasing the accommodation of the present prison, so that it may be hoped that the reproach under which the metropolitan county has so long lain, of being the only one unprovided with sufficient prison room for its criminal population, may shortly be mitigated and ultimately removed.

"The prison is in a good state of general repair, well drained, and supplied with abundance of good water.

"The labour performed by the prisoners consists of oakum-picking, mat-making, shoe-making, tailoring, carpentry, bricklaying, painting, and other handicrafts required for the service of the prison; but the chief hard labour consists of that of the treadwheel, which is used in grinding corn for the county prisons, all the bread for these establishments being made in this prison. The money actually received in the year for the several products of the labour of prisoners has been £1901 3s. 5d., and the estimated value of prisoners' earnings while employed in work for the county, has been £4300 18s. 3d, viz., shoemaking, £985 16s. 6d.; bricklaying and other repairs and works in new building, £1314 14s.; tailoring, £1100 7s. 9d.; washing, needlework, and painting, £900.

"The chaplains perform divine service morning and evening in each of the two chapels every Sunday, Christmas-day, and Good Friday. The Holy Communion is administered monthly. The infirmary, schools, and prisoners under punishment are visited by the chaplains daily, and they also see privately in rotation every prisoner as frequently as circumstances admit. The chaplains also communicate with the friends of every juvenile prisoner to insure his being restored to them on his release. Of the two schoolmasters, one takes all the boys, and the other six classes selected from the adult prisoners daily. Books of religious and secular instruction are abundantly supplied. There is a society for helping prisoners on their discharge. Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters are allowed to see their respective ministers on application. The Middlesex Society grants aid to certain reformatories, in which cases are received, but this chiefly affects institutions for females.

"The health of the prisoners generally during the year was satisfactory, and the prison was visited by no epidemic. Twenty-two deaths occurred. In all these cases verdicts of natural death were returned."

John Hunt was imprisoned in Coldbath Fields Gaol for a libel on George IV. "I sometimes," says Mr. Redding, "beguiled an hour with him at chess. He had a lofty and comfortable, though small

apartment at the top of the prison, where the air was excellent. Townsend, one of the Bow-street officers, was governor of the prison, and an excellent governor he made. John Hunt had the privilege of walking for a couple of hours daily in the governor's garden, for which he was alone indebted to the governor himself."[1]

For further information respecting Coldbath Fields Prison the reader is referred to Chesterton's "Revelations of Prison Life;" Hepworth Dixon's "London Prisons;" Mayhew's "Great World of London;" and the Annual Reports of Inspectors of Prisons.[2]

BOWLING GREEN LANE.

The name of this avenue is indicative of its former pleasant character, and suggestive of that favourite sport of our ancestors—bowling. There were anciently several bowling-greens in the locality. As early as the year 1675, two bowling-greens adjoined each other on the north side of this thoroughfare, near the east corner. In the Poor's Rate Book of 1668, we find Mr. Briscoe, at the Ram, in Smithfield, rated for "a field and bowling alley in this parish," and in 1754, under the denomination of The Bowling Green, several tenements are rated.

Bowling-greens are said to have originated in England, and are very ancient; the turfed greens were narrow slips; if covered with gravel only they were called *Bares*. Strutt thinks that bowling alleys were so called because they were roofed for play when the weather was bad. Flat bowls were best for a close alley; round biassed bowls for open ground of advantage; and bowls round as a ball for green swarths. In "Strutt's Sports," plate 27, two small cones are placed upright at a distance from each other, and the players bowl at each alternately; he won who could lay his bowl nearest to the mark. A small bowl or jack was also used as a mark, and only one bowl for each person, not two or three as at present. There were also ground bowls, which were driven by a baton or mace through an arch.[3]

Among the State Papers of the reign of James I., is the abstract of a patent granted to Sir Thomas Henry Cornwallis, of the office of groom porters, dated the 22nd of January, 1617. They are to license thirty-one bowling alleys, fourteen tennis courts, and forty gaming houses in London and Westminster, and their suburbs, and a bowling alley in every village within two miles of London, each to be kept by a trusty deputy; no cheating allowed, and to be closed on Sabbath days.[4]

In 1675, not more than six houses were built in this lane, and they were on the south side of it, and had large gardens in the rear, and others lying adjacent. At the south-west corner was a "piece of ground for the churchyard of St. James." This burial ground and the adjoining Cherry Tree public-house were leased by the parish in 1775, for a period of ninety-nine years, from the Earl of Northampton, at a rental of £50 per annum, which lease will expire at Christmas, 1874. On part of the ground seven houses are now built, leaving the skittle-ground, sheds, &c., besides a house adjoining the public-house. The dimensions on the lease granted to the parish are greater than those which now appear, a space having been thrown into Bowling Green-lane to widen it. On the 27th of May, 1777, a committee of twelve reported to the vestry that it would be a benefit to the parish and of public utility that the wall for enclosing the ground should not be placed on the old foundation, but within the same, so as to leave a way fifteen feet wide on the east and north sides thereof, and that there should not be a passage to the Cherry Tree on the south side, as there hitherto had been.[5]

The Cherry Tree had formerly attached to it tea-gardens and a bowling-green. The author of "Tavern Anecdotes," writing of this house, in 1825, says:—"It would appear to have taken its name from the number of trees bearing that fruit, growing upon the grounds, which are

[1] *Fifty Years' Recollections*, by Cyrus Redding, vol. i., p. 276.

[2] The Editor begs to thank Colonel Colvill, the governor of Coldbath Fields Prison, for the information relative thereto, which he has kindly given for the purposes of this work.

[3] Fosbrooke's *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*.

[4] *Calendar of State Papers*, 1611-1618, p. 429.

[5] Pascall's *Statements of Charitable Bequests, &c., to Clerkenwell*, 1851, p. 90.

still extensive, although they have been larger; there are still a tree or two of the kind on the grounds, which seems to sanction the idea. There are subscription grounds for the game of nine-pins, knock-'em-downs, &c., and the house, being retired, is much resorted to by Clerkenwellers and others who are fond of a little amusement and exercises."[1]

At the south-west corner of Bowling Green-lane and Coppice-row, in 1675, was a laystall,[2] one of those huge heaps of cinders and other refuse of which there were so many in the suburbs. From Archer's "Vestiges of London," we learn that formerly, opposite to Chads Wells, in Gray's Inn-lane, stood one of the greatest and most famous cinder heaps; this Mount Pleasant, as it was facetiously called, was transported to Moscow, in order to furnish material for the reconstruction of that city, after it had been made a funeral pyre to the overgrown ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte.

At the end of Bowling Green-lane there was once a whipping-post for the flagellation of petty offenders.

Oddly enough this lane was at one time called Feather Bed-lane.

CLERKENWELL CLOSE.

This open thoroughfare originally formed part of the area enclosed by the nunnery cloisters, and hence was called the Close; it was also a part of the glebe of the church of St. James, for we find that two houses in this Close were reserved, when a grant of the church, rectory, &c., was made in 1656 to trustees on behalf of the parishioners. The house now No. 22 in the Close was the rectory or parsonage house at that time. It bears all the evidences of antiquity, and is one of the remnants of Old Clerkenwell.[3] At the south-west corner of the Close stands the Crown Tavern, an ancient hostel, which was rebuilt within the last forty or fifty years. Here there was at one time exhibited a "cat mummy" in a glass-fronted case, with a curtain to draw before it. This curiosity was found by the workmen who were engaged in pulling down the old church of St. James, in a square cavity in the walls, which had seemingly been left on purpose for its reception; from the attitude in which the body was found, exhibiting the contortions of sufferings, we may infer that the animal was buried alive by some unfeeling mason who was engaged on the building of the old church in the reign of Richard I. or John. The body was "a perfect anatomy without any remains of the hair, and entirely of a cadaverous hue." About the year 1806 "the mummy of a rat was fastened on one of the cat's fore legs."[4]

Formerly the south entrance to the Close was extremely narrow and inconvenient. Fronting the Three Kings public-house, sixty years ago, was a butcher's shop, and there was room enough only for a coach to pass between this house and the Crown Tavern. About that time the butcher's tenement was bought by the parish and pulled down.

In Clerkenwell-close, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, lived Thomas Weever, the antiquary, known to posterity by his elaborate work on funeral monuments, which he here compiled, as he dates his prefatory epistle thereto—"From my house in Clerkenwell-close this 28 of May, 1631." Which house, it is said, was the next house northward to that now occupied by Mr. Clare, which is No. 8. Mr. S. Warner, in his "MS. Notes on Clerkenwell," says:—"Was informed by the late Mr. Clare (father of the present Mr. Clare, Feather Bed Warehouse, and on the west side of Clerkenwell-close, he resided in this house the whole of his life, being born in it) that the house adjoining his northward was the one where Weever resided." It is a large double-fronted house, faced with stucco; the rooms are spacious, and the ceilings of the best apartments are adorned with ornamental wreaths in plaster; the staircases are broad, and the balusters are massive. We should suppose from our own observation that the house was erected during the reign of the first James.

Weever's "Ancient Funeral Monuments" is a work of great information; it contains a variety of useful and entertaining matter, which must have cost the author much labour. The following is a

[1] *Tavern Anecdotes*, 1825, p. 71.
[2] Laystall (Saxon), a place for dung or soil.
[3] *Vide* p. 33.
[4] WARNER'S MS. *Notes*.

transcript of the title-page:—"Ancient Funeral Monuments, with the Vnited Monarchie of Great Britaine and Ireland and the Ilands adjacent, with the dissolued monastries therein contained, their founders and what eminent persons have beene in the same interred. As also the Death and buriall of certaine of the bloud Roiale, the Nobilitie and gentry of these kingdoms entombed in forraine nations. Intermixed and illustrated with a variety of Historical obseruations, annotations, and briefe notes extracted out of approued authors, infallible records, Lieger books, Charters, Rolls, old manuscripts, and the collections of judicious antiquaries, etc. Composed by the studie and Travel of John Weever. *Spe labor leuis.* London, printed by Thomas Harper, 1631. And are to be sold by Lawrence Sadler at the signe of the Golden Lion in Little Britaine." Prefixed is an engraved title; the work contains pp. 871. Had the author lived he intended to have published "Modern Monumental Inscriptions," as a companion to his former work. He is supposed to have been the author of a "History of Christ" in verse, noticed in the "Censura Literaria."[1]

To the learned Weever we are indebted for a modicum of information concerning the home of another worthy, for he speaks of there being within the Close "a faire spatious house built of late by Sir Thomas Challoner, Knight, deceased; upon the frontispiece whereof these verses were depensiled, now altogether obliterated: —

"Casta fides superest, velatæ teeta sorores
Ista relegatæ desuruere lieet:
Nam venerandus Hymen hie vota ingalia seruat
Vestalemque foeum mente fouere studet."

Which lines have been thus rendered—

Chaste faith still stays behind, though thenee be flown
Those veiled nuns who here before did nest,
For reverend Marriage wedloek vows doth own,
And sacred flames keep here in loyal breasts.

"The nunnery being opposite this new, brave building, ministred (belike) occasion and matter for the making this said inscription."[2]

We are inclined to think that the house in which the Challoners lived was the one in which Oliver Cromwell is said to have resided, it being, as Weever describes it, opposite the place where the nunnery stood. It was situated formerly in the midst of a large garden, part of which on the south side remained at the close of the last century. It is certainly evident that either Thurloe or Cromwell had a residence at Clerkenwell, but for what length of time can hardly be ascertained at this period. We have seen a letter in Thurloe's handwriting, as follows:—

"Sir,—The goods late belonging to Mr. Townley which are in his House at Haekney, his Highness would have them eonveyed there, Mr. Smithly undertaking to you that they shall be safely preserved there to his Highness' use, until his Highness shall eause them to be sent for. His pleasure likewise is that you take a very exaet Inventory of them. For the rest of his goods his Highness is not willing that they should be brought either hitherto or Set. Jones (St. John's), bnt rather to some more indifferent plaee in London, as Haberdasher's Hall, where they may be kept from being imbezeld.

"Your assured frend and Servt.,

"Whitehall, 11 June. "Jo. Thurloe.

"For Lieut.-Colonel Worsley these."

Sir Thomas Challoner, an inhabitant of Clerkenwell-close, was a brave soldier, an able statesman, and an accomplished writer. He was born in London in the year 1521, being the eldest son of a citizen and mercer. He was a precocious child, and his parents, anxious to promote his acquirement of knowledge, sent him to Cambridge, where he acquitted himself with credit, and in the composition of Latin verse bore away the palm from his contemporaries. On leaving college he was introduced at Court, and by his prime abilities and polite behaviour won the esteem and friendship of many noble

[1] Chalmer's *Biographical Dictionary.*

[2] Weever, p 130.

courtiers. He was sent abroad with Sir Henry Knevet, the custom in the reign of Henry VIII. being, when young men of ability were joined to the suite of an ambassador, to send them on the Continent, that they might improve themselves by travel, and acquire some knowledge of the business of diplomacy. He was well received at the Court of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany, and accompanied that monarch in his journies and in his wars. In the expedition against Algiers, which was a disastrous one, he nearly lost his life. In a violent tempest the emperor's fleet was wrecked on the Barbary coast, many lives were lost, and Challoner, though wearied and exhausted, saved himself by swimming. On his return to England he was made First Clerk of the Council. On the accession of Edward VI. he won the favour and esteem of the Lord Protector Somerset, and at the Battle of Musselburgh displayed such bravery that the duke conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, on the 28th of September, 1547; and on his return to Court he received from the hands of the duchess a magnificent jewel. The disgrace of Somerset and Challoner's attachment to the cause of that nobleman were for a time a bar to his promotion in the service of the State. Under the reign of Mary, he being a zealous Protestant, his life was not the most pleasant, but he escaped



BUILDINGS IN CLERKENWELL CLOSE IN 1791.

the fiery persecutions of that reign. On the accession of Elizabeth he again appeared at Court, and was the first ambassador named by the queen to the Court of Ferdinand I., Emperor of Germany. In this service he acquitted himself worthily, and on his return, the queen, to mark her confidence in his abilities, sent him as her representative to Spain, for which country he embarked in 1561. On his arrival, owing to the animosity of Philip, he was treated with much incivility; his trunks and cabinets were searched; and such was his indignation at this unusual procedure, that he wrote home complaining of the affront, and desiring to be recalled; but Elizabeth replied by telling him that it was the duty of every person who bore a public office to bear it with patience, provided that no personal insult was offered to the sovereign from whom he came. Challoner, although he was not liked by Philip, was a great favourite with the principal persons of the Spanish Court, who admired his talents as a minister, and his bravery as a soldier. It was here, at a time when, as he himself says in the preface, he spent the winter in a stove and the summer in a barn, that he composed his great work "The Right Ordering of the English Republic." The office which he held being distasteful to him, the hostility which he had to contend with being vexatious, and a season of sickness bringing him into a low state of mind, he petitioned the queen that he might return to his

native land; this liberty was granted to him, and he came to London at the close of the year 1564. Whilst residing in Clerkenwell-close he published the first five books of his great work before mentioned, which he dedicated to Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. This was the last production of his able pen, for in the year following he finished his earthly course, and commenced that "longer journey," as he called it, to a "land from whose bourn no traveller returns." The parish register of St. James's thus briefly records his death and burial:—"Sir Thomas Challinger, knt., died Oct. 14, 1565, and was afterwards buried in St. Pawles Church, London." He had a sumptuous funeral, and his illustrious friend, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who composed some elegiac verses to his memory, attended as chief mourner. Three days before his death he made a conveyance of his estate to Sir William Cecil and others in trust. Sir W. Cecil, Lady Challoner, and his son, Sir Thomas, were executors to his will, which was dated the day preceding his decease. His literary productions, which according to the usage of the age were composed in Latin, were numerous. One of these, a poem "In Laudem Henrici octavi Regis Angliæ præstantissimi carmen panegricum," *i.e.*, In praise of Henry VIII., the most worthy King of England, is opposed to the popular estimate of this sovereign. Challoner appears to have been a man of most amiable character, as well as a man of splendid political and literary abilities; he excelled in everything that he undertook. As a soldier he displayed courage, and as a commander talent; in his diplomatic employments he acted with spirit, prudence, and policy; in the management of his private fortune he was discreet yet liberal. He had engraven on his plate this sapient sentence:—"Frugality is the left hand of fortune, Diligence the right."[1]

Sir Thomas Challoner, son of the former, who inherited some of his father's talent and ability, was born in the year 1559, and at the time of his parent's decease was only six years old. His mother marrying again, he had to depend for his education upon the generous kindness of his father's illustrious friend, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who sent him to college, where he acquired considerable reputation by his diligence in learning, and the exercise of his natural abilities; he distinguished himself by many elegant compositions in verse, written in Latin and English. He left college, however, without taking any degree. About the year 1580 he left England on a continental tour, but made the longest stay in Italy, where he sought the society of grave and learned men, and being naturally disposed for study, he agreed so well with the scholars of Italy that they imparted to him a knowledge of their most important discoveries in natural philosophy, for which he had a strong partiality. He studied diligently, and by the acuteness of his perceptions, and the soundness of his judgment, gained a deep insight into the operations of nature. On his return to England, in 1584, he appeared at Court, and enjoyed the favour and esteem of some of those noblemen who shed a lustre on the reign of Elizabeth, and who respected him for his learning and polite deportment. About this time he married his first wife, the daughter of Sir William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, by whom he had issue. In the year 1591 he was knighted. He had the honour of being the first to discover in the realm of England the existence of that useful mineral, alum, which he found on his own estate, near Gisborough, in Yorkshire. "He observed," says Camden, "the leaves of the trees thereabouts more deeply green than elsewhere, the oaks broad spreading but not deep-rooted, with much strength but little sap, the earth clayish, variously coloured, here white, there yellowish, there blue, and the ways therein in a clear night glistering like glass—symptoms which first suggested unto him the presumption of minerals and of alum most properly." No one in England understanding the method of preparing alum, Challoner, it is said, was compelled to engage some of the workmen employed in the Pope's alum works; this proceeding so enraged the sovereign pontiff that he thundered forth the most terrible anathemas against Challoner and the fugitives. At the close of the reign of Elizabeth he journied to Scotland, and so far ingratiated himself with King James, as to be both his friend and confidant. On the decease of Elizabeth he accompanied the king to England, who marked his high estimation of Challoner's learning and abilities, by placing under his tuition, in 1603, "the delight and glory of Britain, his son Prince Henry;" and for his pains in

[1] *Athenæ Cantabrigensis*, i., 236. *Biographia Britannica, Athenæ Oxon*, vol. i., col. 318, ed. Dr. Bliss.

instructing this prince, he appears to have received at different times the sum of four thousand pounds by way of a free gift. He had likewise great interest with Queen Anne, and was employed by her in the settlement of a small estate which she possessed, and in other private affairs. One of his sons, Edward, entered into holy orders, and became principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford. He published several sermons and a treatise on the "Authority, Universality, and Visibility of the Church." Two other sons, Thomas and James, were members of the Long Parliament, and sat as judges on the trial of Charles I., and the signature of Thomas appears on the death warrant of that unhappy monarch, as follows:—"Tho. Challoner," at the end of the sixth column of subscribed names. James Challoner was the author of a "Description of the Isle of Man," and Thomas was the writer of some political pamphlets which appeared during the civil wars. Sir W. Dugdale says:—"The names of both Thomas and James Challoner occur in the list of those persons who constituted the high court of justice for the trial of Charles the First. When Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament it was observed that as they went out of the house he pointed at Harry Martin and Tom Challoner, and said 'Is it fit that such fellows as these should sit to govern? Men of vicious lives, the one a noted whoremaster, and the other a drunkard!' Nay, he boldly upbraided them all with selling the cavaliers' estates by bundles, and said they had kept no faith with them."[1] Of a fourth son there is perhaps no record beyond that contained in the baptismal register of Clerkenwell parish, which is briefly as follows:—"1613. April 24. Frederick, son of Sir Thomas Challoner."

A neighbour of the Challoners was Richard de Burgh, fourth Earl of Clanricarde, who, in 1619, had his town residence in the Close; he was surnamed of Kinsale, a famous seaport in county Cork, Ireland, from the valour he displayed against the rebels there. He was created an English peer on the 3rd of April, 1624, by the titles of Baron of Summerhill, and Viscount Tunbridge, and in 1628 was advanced to the Earldom of St. Alban's. His marriage is a notable one, he having allied himself to Frances, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Francis Walsingham, the widow of the accomplished Sir Philip Sidney, and of that unfortunate and high-spirited nobleman the Earl of Essex, by which lady the Earl of Clanricarde had issue a son and two daughters. Smollet describes him as a very handsome gallant young nobleman, and very much like the Earl of Essex. He erected the venerable mansion called Summerhill House, near Tunbridge, at a vast expense, during the reign of James I. He died in 1635 or 1636.[2]

In 1661 there were in Clerkenwell-close thirty-one houses rated to the poor, and at the same time there were two distinguished residents in it—viz., Sir John Cropley and Dr. Theophilus Garencier. Sir John Cropley was created a baronet on the 7th of May, 1661; he married Elizabeth, the only daughter and heiress of Daniel Hollingworth, of London, gentleman, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Edward Cropley, who married Martha, daughter of Robert Wilson, of London, merchant; and, dying about 1672, was succeeded by his son, Sir John Cropley; at whose decease, unmarried, in December, 1713, the baronetcy expired. Sir John had a sister who was married to Thomas Marsh, Esq., of Coulfoot; but he gave the greatest part of his estate to Thomas Micklethwaite, Esq. The arms of the family are, Argent on a chief gules three owls of the field.[3] Dr. Garencier had been a physician at Caen, but he was a native of Paris; he received his degree before the age of twenty, and afterwards came over to England, where he abjured the Roman Catholic religion. He was incorporated in the University of Oxford on the 10th of March, 1657; and, having settled in London, was appointed physician to the French Ambassador. Whilst living in Clerkenwell he cultivated the acquaintance of Thomas Britton, the musical small-coal man;[4] whom he instructed in some of the secrets of chemistry, and directed how to construct a portable laboratory, by which Britton "performed with little expense and trouble such things as had never been done before." Garencier was unfortunate; he died in some part of Westminster overwhelmed with poverty and distress, occasioned, says Wood, "by the illusage of a certain knight," whose name he does not mention.

[1] *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England.* Sir W. DUGDALE, ed. 1681, fol. Oxon., p. 405.
[2] COLLIN'S *Peerage.* BRAYLEY'S *Beauties of England and Wales.* Kent, p. 1293.
[3] BURKE'S *Extinct Baronetage.*
[4] *Vide* Aylesbury-street, *post.*

Wood does not give the time of Garencier's decease. He wrote several scientific works; they consist of a treatise in English on the nature and properties of the tincture of coral, printed in 1676, in 12mo.,—another, in Latin, entitled "Angliæ Flagellum, seu, Tabes Anglica numeris omnibus absoluta," printed in 1647, in 18mo.—a translation from the French of the "True Propheeies or Prognostics of Michael Nostradamus, Physician to Henry II., Francis II., and Charles IX., Kings of France," printed in 1672, in folio.[1]

In 1668 Dr. Everard Maynwaring resided in the Close; he was of an ancient and honourable family of Cheshire. The wife of Elias Ashmole, the antiquary, was of this family; and in his diary he tells us that his cousin, Everard Maynwaring, probably the doctor's father, died the 22nd of February, 1657. Arthur Maynwaring, a celebrated political writer, was also of the same stock. Whilst in Clerkenwell, the doctor wrote several medical treatises; one of these is in our possession; it bears the motto "Vita Sana & Longa," and is entitled "The Preservation of Health and Prolongation of Life, proposed and proved in the due observance of remarkable precautions," &c., "by E. Maynwaringe, Dr. in Physick, 1670;" subscribed to the preface, after the initials E. M., are the words—"London, from my house in Clarkenwell Close." To a reprint of the "Counterblast to Tobacco," by King James I., was subjoined "A learned discourse," written by Dr. Everard Maynwaring, proving that "tobacco is the producing cause of scurvy;" he also published a tract entitled "Serious cautions against excessive drinking, with several examples of God's severe judgments upon notorious drunkards who have died suddenly."

An old writer, Aubrey, who compiled an amusing volume on the superstitions of his countrymen, when treating of a fatality believed to attach to certain houses, says:—"A handsome brick house on the south side of Clerkenwell Churchyard had been so unlucky for at least forty years, that it was seldom tenanted, and at last nobody would adventure to take it." This was written in 1696.[2]

Here also was once a private madhouse, of which the public was apprised by advertisement, as follows:—"In Clerkenwell Close, where the figures of Mad people are over the gate, liveth one who by the blessing of God Cures all Lunatick, distracted, or mad people; he seldom exceeds three months in the cure of the maddest person that comes in his house; several have been cured in a fortnight, and some in less time; he has cured several from Bedlam, and other Madhouses in and about this city, and has conveniency for people of what quality soever. No cure—No money."[3] Such equitable dealing as this, there can be little doubt, secured for the proprietor of this asylum a fair share of patronage from the friends of the insane.

On the east side of Clerkenwell-close is

NEWCASTLE PLACE.

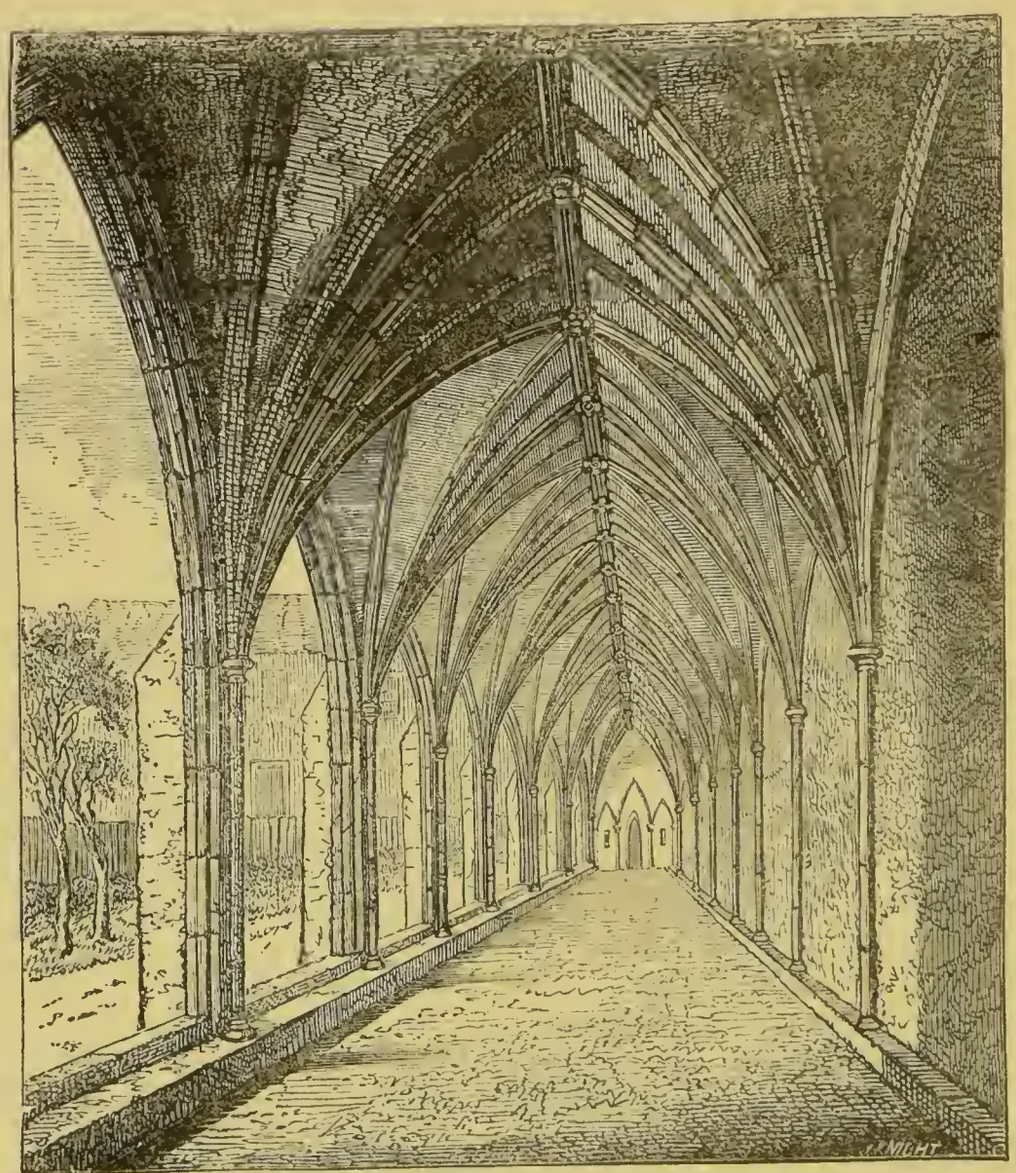
On the site of this handsome row of houses, adjacent to the parish church on its north side, was formerly the suburban residence of the Duke of Newcastle. This noble mansion, the date of the erection of which cannot now be precisely ascertained, was reared upon the ruins of the once magnificent nunnery of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, which, alienated from its original possessors at the dissolution of monastic establishments, became the property of the Cavendish family. But

To what base uses may we not return?

This ducal residence, when Pennant, in his walks through London in 1793, saw it, was in the occupation of a cabinetmaker, and scattered over the garden were the remains of the monuments of Sir William Weston and others, shamefully ruined. These had been removed from the old church; but some of them have since been replaced in the vaults of the present structure.[4] The garden

[1] Chalmer's *Biographical Dictionary*.
[2] Aubrey's *Miscellanies*, ed. 1784, p. 89.
[3] *Postboy*, No. 741, 1700.
[4] *Vide* p. 66.

alluded to extended eastward as far as the present St. James's-walk, and contained at this period the remains of the south side cloister of the ancient nunnery, consisting of six arches. "It had," says a correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," in the year 1785, "an arched door communicating with the church, as appears at the west end of the ambulatory, which is neatly paved with brick, and is three feet below the surface of the garden. The roof is entire, and exhibits a most pleasing specimen of Gothic architecture, much resembling the beautiful roof of Exeter Cathedral. The keystones are carved in the form of French marigolds and other flowers. The ancient superstructure



THE CLOISTER OF ST. MARY'S NUNNERY.

over the arches does not reach high, over which is a spacious warcroom. On the east side of the garden in which this cloister stands was anciently a cemetery belonging to the nunnery."

Noorthouck, who wrote earlier, about 1773, notices another portion of the conventual buildings then standing in the grounds of Newcastle House, the Nuns' Hall, which was situated at the north end of the eastern part of the cloisters destroyed, and was still remaining, though converted to a more useful purpose—that of a workshop. From an original sketch of the Nuns' Hall, taken previously to its demolition, it would appear that the basement story, upon which a double range of workshops was built, was the only portion of the original edifice remaining; two arched window openings bricked up and the hood moulding of a gothic doorway were note-worthy.[1] This interesting

[1] CROWLE'S *Illustrated Pennant*, vol. vii., No. 210.



THE CRYPT OF SAINT JOHN'S CHURCH.

site was purchased by the late Mr. J. Carr, the architect of the present church of St. James, about the year 1793, who erected upon it the handsome dwellings known as Newcastle-place, already adverted to; and at this time every vestige of the old conventual buildings was removed, except a small portion of a wall of great thickness, and the jamb of a Gothic window, which appears to have formed part of the Nuns' Hall, and which composes in part the side-wall of a house at the north end of Newcastle-street, and is, we regret to say, effectually hidden from view by a covering of Roman cement, as if the parish were ashamed to possess so venerable a monument of its antiquity. Newcastle House was razed at the same time. From a drawing of it, made just before its demolition, it appears to have been a very sombre edifice, built of brick, having its upper story adorned with stone pilasters. The east and west wings of the building were advanced, whilst the principal entrance was approached by a courtyard. The mansion appears in its time to have been replete with everything necessary for the residence of a noble family.

The most distinguished residents here were William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and his wife, Margaret Lucas, the youngest daughter of Sir Charles Lucas, of Colchester. The duke was born in



NEWCASTLE HOUSE.

1592, and, owing to his literary accomplishments and abilities as a general, was greatly distinguished by James I., and also by the unfortunate Charles I., whose interests he, as a devoted Royalist, warmly espoused. He commanded in person on several occasions during the civil wars, but quitted the king's service in disgust after the battle of Marston Moor, which was fought against his consent, through the precipitancy of Prince Rupert. After this humiliating defeat he embarked with a few of his principal officers for the Continent, accompanied by his wife, to whom he had been united in 1645; and with many privations, owing to pecuniary embarrassments, suffered an exile of eighteen years, chiefly in Antwerp, in a house which belonged to the widow of Rubens. Such was their extremity that it is related by the duchess, in a memoir of her husband, that they were both forced at one time to pawn their clothes to purchase a dinner. While an exile he beguiled his time by writing a book on "Horsemanship," which was printed in French, at Antwerp, in the year 1658, and again in English, greatly amended, in 1667. Cromwell's Parliament, during the duke's absence, levied enormous sums upon his estate, amounting, it is computed, to £733,579. It is related in "The Life of the

thrice-noble, high, and puissant Prince William Cavendishe, written by the thrice-noble, illustrious and excellent Princess Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, his Wife, in 1667," that "out of his London house, at Clarken-well, there was taken, amongst other goods, suits of linnen, viz. tablecloths, side-board cloths, napkins, &c., where one suit cost £160, they being bought for an entertainment which my Lord made for their Majesties Charles I. and his Queen at Bolsover Castle. And of the 150 suits in all his houses there was not above 10 or 12 saved." On the Restoration he returned to England, was made Chief Justice in Eyre[1] of the counties north of the Trent, and Royal Letters Patent, dated March 16th, 1664, conferred upon him the dignity of Duke of Newcastle. Upon this he retired to his mansion in Clerkenwell, spent the few remaining years of his life in the pursuits of literature, and died in 1676, at the age of eighty-four.

The biography of Margaret Lucas, Duchess of Newcastle, is peculiarly a literary one. It is that of a voluminous and pedantic authoress, whose collected works fill ten printed folios. The whole range of literature seemed to be her province, for there was scarce any kind of composition, in prose or verse, on which at times she did not exercise her pen. For some account of the *personnelle* of this remarkable woman, we are indebted to the copious diaries of her two contemporaries—the gossiping Pepys, and the philosophic Evelyn, the author of "Sylva." "The whole story," writes Pepys, "of this lady is a romance, and all she does is romantic. April 26, 1667.—Met my Lady Newcastle, with her coaches and footmen all in velvet, herself, whom I never saw before, as I have heard her often described, for all the town-talk is now-a-days of her extravagance, with her velvet cap, her hair about her ears, many black patches because of pimples about her mouth, naked necked, without anything about it, and a black *just au-corps*. May 1, 1667.—She was in a black coach, adorned with silver instead of gold, and snow white curtains, and everything black and white. Staid at home reading the ridiculous history of my Lord Newcastle wrote by his wife, which shows her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an asse to suffer her to write what she writes to him and of him." On the 10th of April, 1667, Charles and his Queen came to Clerkenwell on a visit to the duchess. On the 18th, John Evelyn went to make court to the noble pair, who received him with great kindness. Another time he dined at Newcastle House, and was privileged to sit discoursing with her grace in her bedchamber after dinner. Referring to her literary employments, when writing to a friend, she says, "You will find my works like infinite nature, that hath neither beginning nor end, and as confused as the chaos, wherein is neither method nor order, but all mixed together, without separation, like light and darkness." "But what gives one," says Walpole, "the best idea of her passion for scribbling, was her seldom revising the copies of her works, lest it should disturb her following conceptions. Her servant, John, was ordered to lie on a truckle-bed in a closet within her grace's bedchamber, and whenever at any time she gave the summons, by calling out 'John,' I conceive poor John was to get up, and commit to writing the offspring of his mistress's thoughts." To enumerate her works would be a wearying task. Langbane reckons up eight folios of her grace's, which were usually adorned with gilded covers, and had her coat of arms upon them :—

. . . . Stamp'd with arms, Newcastle shines complete.[2]

In 1653, appeared a folio volume of "Pooms and Fancies," by the duchess. In such a volume, which is now in the British Museum, and which originally belonged to her, on the margin of one of the pages, is the following note in her own handwriting :—" Reader, let me intreat you to consider only the fancyes in this my book of poems, and not the language of the numbers, nor rimes, nor fals printing, for if you doe you will be my condeming judg, which will grive me much." Of this book she says, p. 47 :—

When I did write this book I took great paines,
For I did walk, and thinke, and break my braines,
My thoughts run out of breath, then down would lye,
And panting with short wind like those that dye ;

[1] Eyre (*eyre*, French, *iter*, Latin), the court of justices itinerant ; and justices in *eyre* are those only which Bracton in many places calls *justiciarios itinerantes*.

[2] Pope's *Dunciad*, bk. i., line 142 and note.

When time had given ease, and lent them strength,
Then up would get and run another length ;
Sometimes I kept my thought with strict dyet,
And made them fast with ease, rest, and quiet,
That they might run with swifter speed,
And by this course new fancies they could breed ;
But I doe feare they are no so good to please,
But now they're out, my braine is more at ease.

At page 228 occurs this strange fancy :—

Life seums the cream of beauty with Time's spoon,
And draws the claret wine of blushes soon.

And, again, she tells us that—

The brain is like an oven, hot and dry,
Which bakes all sorts of fancies, low and high ;
The thoughts are wood, which motion sets on fire;
The tongue a peele, which draws forth the desire;
But thinking much, the brain too hot will grow,
And burns it up ; if cold, the thoughts are dough.

To a volume of plays, "written by the thrice-noble, illustrious, and excellent princess, the Duchess of Newcastle," there is prefixed a portrait of her grace, and in a couplet written under it we are told that—

Her beauty's found beyond the skill
Of the best paynter to embrace.

The duchess, who had lived a great while abroad, spelt her title without a "t," contrary to the usual practice in England for many years after her death.[1]

There is a story current that the duke, being once, when in a peevish humour, complimented by a friend on the great wisdom of his wife, made answer "Sir, a very wise woman is a very foolish thing."

The duchess died in 1676, and lies buried with her husband in Westminster Abbey, beneath a handsome monumental tomb, having upon it their recumbent effigies. This monument is a stately piece of architecture, and handsomely ornamented. Under a rich canopy of state, lie in a cumbent posture, on a double mat, "the loyal Duke of Newcastle (as the inscription beneath sets forth) and his Dutchess, his second wife, by whom he had no issue; her name was Margaret Lucas, youngest sister to Lord Lucas of Colchester, a noble family ; for all the brothers were valiant, and all the sisters virtuous. This Dutchess was a wise, witty, and learned lady, which her many books do well testify : she was a most virtuous and a loving and careful wife, and was with her lord all the time of his banishment and miseries ; and when he came home, never parted from him in his solitary retirements." So far the English inscription : the Latin shows farther, that he was a Knight of the Bath, and Baron Ogle in right of his mother, Viscount Mansfield, and Baron Cavendish of Bolsover, Earl of Ogle, Earl, Marquis and Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Nottingham and Northumberland, First Lord of the Bedchamber to the King, Guardian to Prince Charles, Privy Counsellor to the King, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter; that for his fidelity to the king he was made Captain General of the forces raised for his service in the North, fought many battles, and generally came off victorious; that when the rebels prevailed (being one of the first designed a sacrifice) he left his estate, and endured a long exile. By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress to William Basset, of Staffordshire, Esq., he had two sons and three daughters—

[1] Geneste *History of the Stage*, vol. i., p. 89.

Charles, who died without issue, and Henry, heir to his honours; Jane married to Charles Cheyney, of Chesham, Bucks, Elizabeth to John, Earl of Bridgewater, and Frances to Oliver, Earl of Bolingbroke. He died 27th of December, 1676.

Henry Cavendish, to whom descended his father's titles, was, at the restoration of Charles II., appointed Master of the Robes, and Lord of the Bedchamber; and in 1677 he was elected a Knight of the Garter. He continued to reside in the family mansion at Clerkenwell. In 1680 his name appears in the Poors' Rate Book; he is not, however, charged a specific sum for the relief of the poor, it being "what his grace pleaseth." He was a devoted adherent to the cause of the Stuarts, and strenuously opposed the settlement of the crown upon William and Mary; and when they were declared, he refused to take the oaths of allegiance. He died on the 26th of July, 1691, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He had issue four sons and five daughters. He left the bulk of his estate, realising about £9000, to the Earl of Clare, who married one of his daughters. This devise was the cause of some family quarrels, which resulted in an appeal to law. The differences about the duke's will provoked a duel, which was fought in Lincoln's Inn-fields, between the Earl of Clare and the Earl of Thanet, who had married the second daughter of the Duke of Newcastle, in which engagement both were wounded, one in the hand and the other in the arm. "In the month of October, 1693, the Lords were occupied for some days in hearing a great cause between the Earls of Clare, Thanet, and Montague, on account of their ladies, daughters of the Duke of Newcastle, who left most of his estate by will to the Countess Clare, so that the others join to set the will aside, alledging his grace to be *non compos.*" The case was dismissed. In 1692 the Earl of Clare is mentioned in the rate book as residing at the "Duke of Newcastle's." This was John Holles, who, in May, 1694, was by William III., for his loyal service to that monarch, created Duke of Newcastle. He enjoyed the favour and esteem of Queen Anne. "The pious and illustrious Duke of Newcastle," wrote one of his contemporaries, "has the distinguishing love of his queen and country, and is arrived in titles next to royal the highest, and is blest with a princely fortune. If we search into his life and character we shall find it a noble pattern of piety, learning, and moderation, and which yet makes him the greater blessing, he is a zealous promoter of the reformation. And if it be not ill manners to follow him so far, let us look into his well-ordered family at Clerkenwell, and there we shall see him exercising that hospitality which, like Astrea,[1] might seem to have left the world, were there not some good houses like his where she is so well entertained as to oblige her continuance amongst us."[2]

Newcastle House, at one period, became the residence of the eldest daughter of William, Duke of Newcastle—Elizabeth, Duchess of Albemarle, the "mad duchess," who was married in the year 1669 to Christopher Monk, Duke of Albemarle (son of the famous General Monk), then only a youth of sixteen, whom her excessive pride drove to the bottle, which brought his life prematurely to an end; he died in Jamaica, where he had large estates, in the year 1688. At his decease this capricious woman was so inflated with vanity by the possession of much wealth, that it caused mental aberration; and the resolve of her weak intellect was, that she would marry none but a sovereign prince. She had many suitors, but she firmly rejected them all, until Ralph, first Duke of Montague, achieved a conquest by courting her as the Emperor of China. Lutteral says:—"Sept. 13, 1692. On Tuesday last the Earl of Montague was married to the Duchess of Albermarle." Having thus triumphed by strategy where so many had failed by honest overtures, he shared the wealth, but not the affections, of his bride; for he afterwards kept her in strict confinement at Montague House, and only by the compulsion of the law did he produce her in open court to satisfy her relatives that she was alive. Lutteral says:—"1708-9, March 24th. The Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Thanet,

[1] Astræa, a daughter of Astræus, King of Arcadia, or, according to others, of Titan, Saturn's brother by Aurora. Some make her daughter of Jupiter and Themis. She was called Justice, of which virtue she was the goddess. She lived upon the earth, as the poets mention, during the golden age; but the wickedness and impiety of mankind drove her to heaven in the brazen and iron ages, and she was placed among the constellations of the Zodiac, under the name of Virgo.—Lempriere's *Clas. Dict.*

[2] *Life and Errors of John Dunton*, vol. i. p. 311, ed. 1818. Reprinted from the first edition, 1705.

having obtained a commission of the Lord Chancellor to inspect the dutchess dowager of Albermarle and Montague for lunacy, met Sir John Bennet with the rest of the commissioners at St. Clement's Vestry; they adjourned till Friday, April 5, and after examining several witnesses found her a lunatick." Richard, Lord Ross, a rejected suitor, piqued at Lord Montague's success, addressed to him on his marriage the following trenchant verses:—

Insulting rival never boast
Thy conquest lately won;
No wonder that her heart was lost—
Her senses first were gone.

For one that's under Bedlam's laws,
What glory can be had?
For love of thee was not the cause—
It proves that she was mad.

The duchess survived her second husband thirty years, and at last died of mere old age at Newcastle House, August 28th, 1734, aged ninety-six. At night, on the 10th of September, her corpse was conveyed to Westminster, and in the Jerusalem Chamber she lay in state during the following day, and at midnight was privately interred in Henry VII.'s Chapel, near the remains of her father-in-law, General Monk. The achievement which was set up over Newcastle House bore this motto, "Fortiter, Fideliter, Feliciter." Until the time of her decease, to humour her characteristic weakness, she was constantly served on the knee as if she had been a sovereign. From her the house was sometimes called Albemarle House.

In 1686 George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, appears either to have resided in Newcastle House, or to have been staying on a visit, for, on the 30th of July in that year, the Earl of Sutherland addressed a letter to him here by the king's command, desiring an estimate of the expense of keeping up the militia for one year within his lieutenancy. "I happened," says Sir John Bramston, "to be present with his grace at Newcastle House when this letter came, and when he had perused it he delivered it to me and bad me take care of the buisnes, adding 'We must not undervalue it.' That day this letter came to the duke I went with his grace to the king."[1]

"Thomas Singleton, who was Usher at Eton College during the early part of the reign of Charles I., but, upon the change of times (the Commonwealth), was removed, kept a private school in Clerkenwell, near the Duke of Albemarle's house, where at one time his school was in so flourishing a state, that he had near 300 scholars under his care. He was a good tempered man, excellently qualified for teaching the classic authors; and at last, becoming distressed in his circumstances, he was much supported by the generosity of Richard Mead, M.D., one of his scholars, and now the great honour and ornament of his faculty. There is a play of his in MS., entitled *Talpæ, sive Conjuratio Papistica, recitat* (apud Hoxton Wells, propè Islington), 7 Feb., 1688-9. The parts of Guy Fawkes by Dr. Mead; King James by Serjeant Pengelly; and Knivet by Mr. James Mead, brother of the Doctor."[2]

CLERKENWELL GREEN.

The name of this familiar locality is pleasantly suggestive of its former state, and in reverting to the long past we picture our forefathers on a summer's evening reclining on the green sward here after the labours of the day, and watching with interest and delight the pastimes of their children,

The young contending as the old surveyed.

Or it may be they were spectators if not participants in some of the athletic sports for which this

[1] *Autobiography of Sir John Bramston.* Camd. Soc. vol. xxxii.

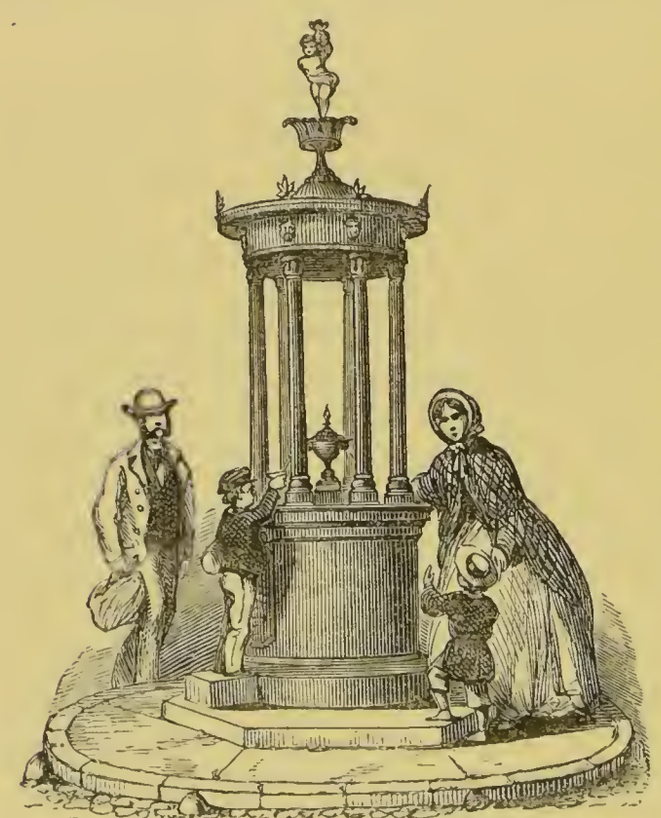
[2] Addit. MS. 4813, p, 260.

parish was renowned in days of yore. For more than two centuries the "Green" has had no verdure upon it:—

———your Green is gray, no spire of grass
For many years being seen of those that pass.[1]

It was in the seventeenth century environed by the mansions of the noble and affluent, who sought and found a comparative seclusion from society in the rural suburb of Clerkenwell; the footpaths in front of the houses were skirted by lofty trees, many of which still flourished at a period within memory. In Rocques' large "Map of London," published in 1747, many of these trees are delineated; at that time several appear to have stood in front of the houses on either side of the Green, and two at the north-east corner of Aylesbury-street. "Many years have not elapsed," says Cromwell, writing in 1828, "since the Green was decorated with rows of trees, chiefly sycamore, ranged before the houses." Of the trees that stood on the north side of the Green the last one was blown down by a high wind on the 1st of July, 1796.

On the western slope of the Green, and near the bottom, formerly stood the Pound.[2] "The nightmare being taken napping the other night as she was going into Maggyland, was committed to the New Pound upon Clerkenwell Green."[3] "Six hundred alley witches were last night mustered on Clerkenwell Green and sent out with Hue and Cryes, after Hannum and a commission of Pluto, to enable them to work mischief in the Netherlands. Ten tunns of devils are sent after them as a reserve."[4] The late John Britton remembered to have seen a man exposed in the Pillory here and pelted. In 1787 a woman, who was placed in the pillory on Clerkenwell Green for perjury, was so severely used by the mob that it was feared she could not recover from the injuries she sustained.[5] A turnstile formerly stood at the entrance of Clerkenwell-close, prior to the houses being taken down to form a better approach to the church. One "John Scott at the Turnstile on Clerkenwell Green" issued a halfpenny token in 1667. A raised circular pavement, with two lampposts in the centre, near the middle of the Green, now marks the spot where the old Watch House stood.



DRINKING FOUNTAIN ON CLERKENWELL GREEN.

Close by is a neat drinking fountain about eight or nine feet in height. It is made of metal, and is round in form; upon the raised base stand six columns, which support a canopy, on the top of which is a golden figure. The water flows from an urn, which stands in the centre of the space enclosed by the columns. The fountain bears this inscription:—"Presented by the Good Samaritan Temperance Society to the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, May, 1862." This fountain was opened in the presence of a large concourse of people. At the hour appointed for the ceremony the bells of St. James's Church rang out a merry peal, and shortly afterwards a procession, led by the committee of the before mentioned society, proceeded from the church to the site of the fountain. The Havelock (48th Middlesex) Rifle Volunteer Corps kept the ground, and on the arrival of the procession presented arms. The proceedings commenced with

[1] "*Falsehood Chastized, or the shepherds vindicated from a late scurrilous libell of some Rotten Sheep about Clerkenwell Green and Mutton Lane,*" 1665. Written on a dispute between the partizans of Dr. Sibbald, a Presbyterian, and the Rev. George Sparke, an Independant.

[2] Ogilby's *Map of London*, 1675.

[3] *Mercurius Fumigosus*, No. 10, 1654.

[4] *Mercurius Fumigosus*, No. 58, 1665.

[5] Old Newspaper.

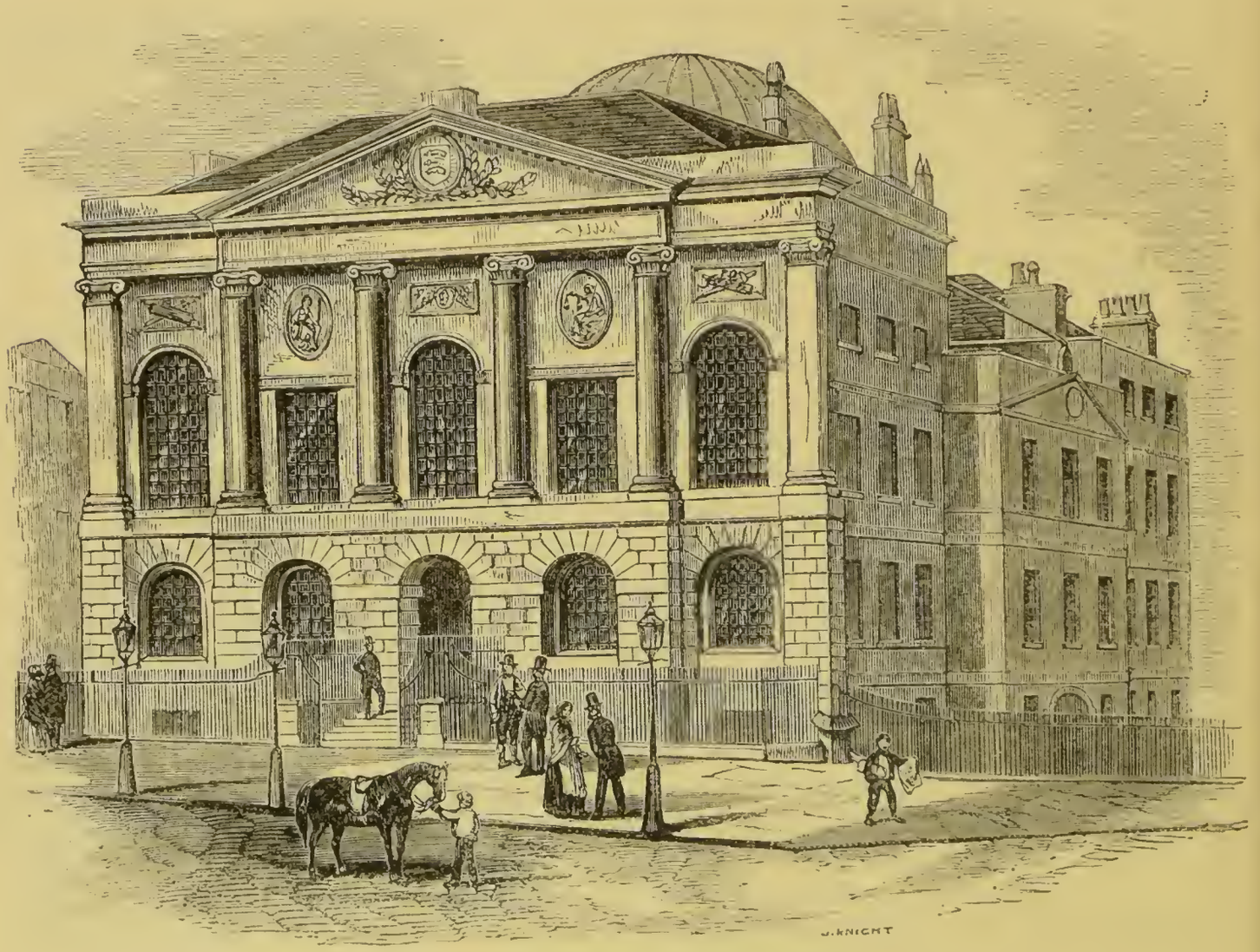
the singing of a hymn by the children of the Band of Hope. Mrs. Maguire, the incumbent's wife, then read an address on behalf of the Good Samaritan Temperance Society. The Rev. Mr. Maguire responded on behalf of the vestry of the parish. After thanks had been given to Mrs. Maguire, the water was turned on and passed round in a silver mug; the children sang another hymn, and the band of the Rifle Corps played. Subsequently, in the evening, a tea festival and public meeting were held in the Good Samaritan Temperance Hall, Little Saffron-hill, under the presidency of Samuel Morley, Esq., when, from a financial statement which was then read, it appeared that the cost of the fountain was £42, of which sum £5 remained to be collected. The required amount was generously subscribed by the chairman and other gentlemen who were present, amongst whom was Mr. Payne, assistant-judge.

On the north side of the Green will be observed a low, brick-built house, consisting of a single story, lighted by three windows in the centre and by one on each side, and surmounted by a pediment. This building, now divided into three shops, and occupied by a dining-room-keeper, a haberdasher, and a coffee-house-keeper, was formerly The Welsh Charity School, the particulars of the foundation of which we gather from a *brochure* published in 1762, entitled, "An Account of the British School on Clerkenwell Green; and of a Natural History now publishing, the profits whereof to be applied towards the support of it."[1] "In the year 1718, a few humane gentlemen of the principality of Wales, observing that numbers of poor children of the distressed part of their countrymen were exposed to every vice which idleness and want of education are productive of, formed themselves into a society for instructing, cloathing, and apprenticing indigent children, born of Welsh parents, in or near London, having no parochial settlement in or near the capital." In a few years, by the increase of subscriptions, the promoters of the society were enabled to bring their scheme nearer to maturity; forty poor children were put on the establishment, and a handsome apartment was hired for their reception until a school could be built. And in the year 1737 a subscription was raised for that end; a piece of ground on Clerkenwell Green was taken on lease for sixty-one years, and the building was erected. In 1771 the trustees of the charity, owing to the liberal patronage of the Prince of Wales, and the support they received from the nobility and gentry, were induced to extend the usefulness of the institution by undertaking the entire maintenance of a certain number of boys and girls. The school-house on Clerkenwell Green not admitting of sufficient enlargement for the purpose contemplated, a freehold site in the Gray's Inn-road was purchased in 1772, and a new building was erected thereon, at a cost, including the purchase of the freehold, of £3695 18s. 11d.[2] The school has since been removed to Ashford, near Windsor. While the school-house on the Green remained in the hands of the society, a niche in the upper centre contained the painted figure of a Welsh charity boy; when this was removed a window was made in the place where it stood. We have before referred to a "Natural History," the profits of which were intended to be applied towards the support of the Welsh School; this book was entitled, "A Natural History of the Birds and Quadrupeds of Great Britain and Ireland, illustrated with 100 copperplates of the most rare animals, on half-sheets of imperial paper, drawn, engraven and coloured from nature by the best hands; 4 parts, 8 guineas." "Mr. Pennant intended," says Lysons, "the profits of his great work on British Zoology for the benefit of this school, but the great expense attendant upon the undertaking frustrated his benevolent design. He afterwards gave the school the sum of £100, which he received from Mr. White for the octavo edition of his work."[3]

The Middlesex Sessions House stands alone on the Green. This noble edifice, of which the first stone was laid by the Duke of Northumberland, on the 29th of August, 1779, was erected during the years 1779-80, from the designs of John Rogers, an eminent architect, at the cost of about £13,000, inclusive of the freehold site, for which the sum of £2000 was paid. A clump of buildings which had occupied the spot from time immemorial was removed when the Sessions House was built. The following account of the laying of the first stone of this building is taken from the "Public

[1] Add. MS. 15,059.
[2] Highmore's *Pietas Lond*, p. 908.
[3] Lyson's *Environs*, vol. iii., p. 381.

Advertiser" of the 31st of August, 1779:—"The earliest honours of the morning are due to the scavenger, who began to clean the streets before three o'clock. At six o'clock a flag with the arms of Great Britain was hoisted on a staff 40 feet high, near the intended building, and a similar flag on Clerkenwell Church. The magistrates of Middlesex began to assemble at Hicks' Hall soon after eleven o'clock, and the duke came about half an hour after twelve; on which a cannon was fired to announce his arrival. At half-past one the procession began to move in the following order:—Constables with staffs and cockades, the Rev. Mr. Sellon, Incumbent of Clerkenwell, the churchwardens of the parish, the principal parishioners, two and two, a man carrying a flag, a band of music, bassoons, hautboys, clarionets, &c., a second train of the parishioners, carpenters, masons, bricklayers,



EXTERIOR OF THE MIDDLESEX SESSIONS HOUSE.

each with the implements of their respective trades, a man carrying the emblem of masonry on a staff, the Ordinary of Newgate, the housekeeper of Hicks' Hall, and the officers of the Court, Mr. Eyles, Clerk of the Arraigns, with a glass urn to deposit the writings, Middlesex Justices, about 80, two and two, High Constable with his mace, the Duke of Northumberland in a chariot with a pair of black horses, four servants behind in the duke's royal livery as Master of the Horse. The procession went up St. John's-lane, through Berkeley-street and Red Lion-street. During the ceremony of depositing the writings and coins the bells rang; and as soon as it was ended, a set of cannon were fired in honour of the Lord Lieutenant of the county, who returned amidst the applauses of the populace." The following is a copy of the writing which was deposited in the urn:—"The first stone of this Sessions House, erected for the use of the county of Middlesex, and for other good and necessary purposes, for the better performance of the king's service in the said county, in pursuance

of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the eighteenth year of the reign of George the Third, was laid by the most noble and puissant Prince, Hugh, Duke and Earl of Northumberland, Custos Rotulorum[1] of the said county, in the presence of the Commissioners appointed for building the said Sessions House, on Friday, the twenty-ninth day of August, MDCCLXXIX." "The company partook of an elegant cold collation at Hicks' Hall, and dined at the Jerusalem Tavern (Red Lion-street). Upon the whole the show was very entertaining, but it seemed to elucidate the observation of the poet, that 'Men are but children of a larger growth.'"

The centre façade, which is of Portland stone, is of an elegant and suitable character. From a rusticated basement rise four central Ionic pillars and two pilasters, to sustain an architrave, frieze and cornice, as also the pediment. The principal entrance, which is approached by a flight of steps, is in the centre of the basement, and on either side are two arched windows. Of the five upper windows three are arched and two are flat. Above these, in ovals, are the effigies of Justice and Mercy, in low relief; over the centre window is a medallion of George III., in whose reign this edifice was reared; the outer windows are surmounted by the emblems of Justice—fasces, swords, &c., executed in low relief by the celebrated Nollekens; in the tympanum are the arms of the county. The entire building measures 110 feet from east to west, and 78 feet from north to south. Early in the year 1860 the building was closed for the purpose of enlarging the interior, so as to afford increased accommodation for the business of the sessions, which of late years has been greatly augmented. The alterations and improvements of this fine edifice were completed by the 19th of July, 1860, when its re-opening was celebrated by a banquet at which the chief of the county magistrates were present. The exterior of the building has been greatly improved, especially at the sides and back; the walls, which were before dingy bricks, have been coated with Portland cement, stone dressings have been set round the windows, and the whole made to harmonize with the principal façade, the stonework of which was thoroughly cleansed, a work which has imparted an appearance of newness to the whole. A new iron palisade surrounding the building was also erected, and a small porch, forming a private entrance for the magistrates, was added to the exterior on the south side. The interior as altered may be described as follows:—On either side of the principal entrance is a room 24 feet by 21 feet. That at the north-east corner is the grand jury room; that on the opposite side is the committee room. The latter was formerly used as a second court. It is here that the oak chimneypiece, taken from the original "Hicks' Hall," is preserved. It is a finely-carved piece of Jacobean work, and bears an inscription recording the gift of it by Sir B. Hicks in 1612, and its removal to its present position in 1780, when the present Sessions House was constructed. A corridor runs between these rooms and the central hall, communicating with the magistrates' staircase and entrance on the south and the jurymen's and counsels' staircase on the north. The central hall, which is about 34 feet square, occupies the middle of the block of buildings. It is gained by a new stone staircase leading from Silver-street on the western front, and by the principal entrance on Clerkenwell Green. It is a good specimen of the internal architecture of the last century, and the modelling of the old plaster ornament deserves the study of modern workmen. It is vastly superior to the new work. Very little alteration has been made by the architect, Mr. Pownall, in this part of the building, but one important improvement is the introduction of a lantern at the summit of the dome, which enables the fine work to be properly seen. The general architectural disposition is old. He has, however, removed the former winding staircase, and substituted a handsome single flight of stone steps, leading direct to the Old Court, and a wide stone balcony conducting to the New Court at the opposite side. This gallery is provided with a handsome iron railing, with the county arms, three scimitars, for a centre pattern. At the corners are massive gas standards. The old composite caps to the pilasters have likewise been removed, and Ionic ones substituted. The old entablature remains. The frieze is a beautiful piece of plaster work. Here are alternately introduced, amidst winding foliage, the caduceus of Mercury and the Roman fasces.

[1] *Custos Rotulorum* (the keeper of the rolls or records of the county). He is the principal justice of the peace within the county, but he is rather an officer or minister than a judge.—WHARTON'S *Law Lexicon*.

Between the pilasters are placed eight statues, modelled from the antique by Mr. Brucciani. They represent Wisdom, Equity, Law, Justice, Truth, Commerce, Innocence, and Mercy. In the spandrels the original medallions representing Equity, Slander, Wisdom, Mercy, &c., are preserved. The dome which covers the hall is decorated with octagonal diminishing panels, with small squares between them. The colouring of the interior is very similar throughout. The lower part of the hall has been splashed in imitation of grey and red granite; above, the walls are coloured stone colour, the mouldings painted white, and the panels grey. The two new doorways to the Old Court are very elegantly designed; on passing through them we find ourselves in a semi-circular apartment, with an open gallery running round the upper portion of it, supported by small columns. This has a very good effect, and it is useful also, for it forms a passage for the upper offices. The New Court is exactly at the opposite side of the hall. It is a rectangular apartment, fitted up in the ordinary way. It was formerly the magistrates' dining-room, but by lowering the ceiling a little, a new hall has been very cleverly introduced over it. This court is still of sufficient height, twenty-one feet, and the ceiling is divided into nine panels, by bands of double guilochè. The centre of each panel is fitted with open ironwork for ventilation. The colour of the walls is stone colour, with grey in the ceiling. On the south side of this court is the judges' retiring room, a lobby and small stairs leading to the bench. The lobby opens on to the landing of the magistrates' staircase. The rooms for the witnesses and female witnesses are on the opposite or north side of the court. The Old Court and hall are surrounded by the magistrates' private room, the office of the chairman of accounts, and the magistrates' retiring-room, which likewise opens on to the magistrates' staircase in face of the doorway to the similar room of the opposite court. The barristers' consulting and robing rooms are conveniently placed on the north side between the two courts. On a mezzanine story over these latter rooms a new magistrates' kitchen, &c., has been contrived, and on the same level on the other side of the hall, a library, an extra flight from which, up the magistrates' stairs, leads to the dining-hall. It is lighted by semi-circular windows at each end. At one end is the waiters' rooms; at the other, the magistrates' dressing-room. Although this new dining-room is really an extra story, it is invisible from the street. A small attic introduced over the pediment effectually masks it. This could not have been done if it had been roofed in the ordinary way, but the architect very wisely ceiled it with curved timbers to gain as much height as possible, and at the same time to avoid great height at the springing. The curved shoulders of the rooms were consequently a structural necessity. The sides of the room are arched, and are composed of Corinthian pilasters. In the spaces between the pilasters portraits are hung of the chief magistrates and lord lieutenants of the county, commencing with an original portrait of Sir B. Hicks, in the costume of the reign of James I., which painting was brought from the dining-room of the old hall in St. John-street, and closing with the present much respected Chairman of the Board. The plaster work of the ceiling has been designed with great taste and originality. The offices of the Clerk of the Peace occupy nearly the whole of the south side. The indictment-office is adjoining the Silver-street entrance. The County Treasurer and his clerks have offices on the immediate left of this entrance. The keeper's office and apartments are on the right hand or north side of the building. The old kitchen of the magistrates on the east side of the plot has been turned into a record office. The centre of the basement has been devoted to cells for different prisoners. These have been considerably augmented and improved. Every accommodation has been provided for them, and provision made by means of horizontal flues leading to the boiler and air drains for their efficient ventilation.[1]

Many distinguished persons have in past ages resided on Clerkenwell Green. In 1619 Sir William Tresham and Sir William Sands abode here. With the City magnates the Green was a favoured spot. Here resided Sir Richard Cheverton, or Chiverton, who was the son of Henry Chiverton, of Trehousy, Cornwall, Esquire; he was knighted by Oliver Cromwell; he was a member of the Skinners' Company of London, was made alderman, chosen sheriff in 1650, and elected Lord Mayor of London in 1657. The Lord Mayor's-day pageant was composed by John Tatham, the eleventh of fourteen "City Poets."

[1] *Building News*, July 27, 1860.

Whilst in office Sir Richard proclaimed Richard Cromwell as the Protector. At a subsequent period he was one of the persons on whom Charles II. proposed to confer the order of the Royal Oak, as being possessed of an income of £3000 a year, derived from estates in London and Middlesex. On the 9th of May, 1650, Alderman Cheverton was formally appointed among others in committee to treat with persons chosen of the "twelve" great City Companies touching the City's interest in the province of Ulster, in Ireland. In 1686 Sir Richard gave to his Company a silver tankard seven and a half inches high, with its arms, motto, and crest engraved thereon; also a silver bowl similarly engraved. He was residing on the Green in 1668, and in 1677 was paying £45 a year for his mansion.[1] In the year 1667 his wife died, and she was buried on the 31st of July in the chancel of the old church of St. James.[2] Of Sir Richard Cheverton it is recorded that "he lived long and was styled the father of the City." He died in Clerkenwell and was buried there. There is a portrait of him extant, in which he is represented seated in an elbow chair.[3] Sir William Bolton, an alderman of London, who was knighted by Charles II. on 11th October, 1663, lived on Clerkenwell Green. He died low in the world, and "I am told," says Peter La Neve, "had a pension from the City."[4] Alderman Hough, in 1670, and Alderman Gibbs, in 1675, resided in this locality; also, in 1668, Sir Gower Barrington; in 1670, Sir William Bowles, Bart., Sir Edward Smith, Lady Windham; and, in 1682, Sir Goddard Nelthorpe.

When searching the old rate books of this parish we were rejoiced to find that good old Izaac Walton, the prince of anglers, once resided here. We unfortunately cannot tell in which house he lived, for the present useful practice of numbering the houses had not been adopted at the early period when he was an inhabitant here; it was not until 1764 that this useful and necessary distinction was made. Izaac Walton, who was the son of Jervis Walton, of St. Mary, Stafford (whose father, it is presumed, was the second son of George Walton, sometime bailiff of Yoxhall), was born in the month of August, 1593; and on the 21st of September following he was baptized in the parish of St. Mary before mentioned. We have little information concerning his education or the period of his first entrance into mercantile life: even the precise nature of his occupation is little better known. We find, however, that he was a citizen of London, and also a member of one of the "twelve" great City Guilds, for in the records of the Ironmongers' Company we read, that on the 12th November, 1618, "Isaak Walton, late apprentice to Thomas Grimsell, admitted and sworne a free brother, paying for admission 13d., and 10d. for enrollment." It appears that he first opened a shop—seven and a half feet long by five wide—in the Royal Burse, the predecessor of the present Royal Exchange, and subsequently, about 1624, removed to Fleet-street. In a deed (dated 1624) he is described as "Izaac Walton, linendraper," and it appears, by the same instrument, that he then occupied, jointly with John Mason, a hosier, a house on the north side of Fleet-street, two doors west of the end of Chancery-lane. On the authority of another "*vetus autographum*," Sir John Hawkins has designated him a sempster or milliner, and so he is styled by Anthony à Wood; but, according to a tradition preserved in his family, his occupation was that of a Hamburgh merchant or wholesale linendraper. From the time of Walton's removal to Fleet-street until about the year 1676 he was in some way or other connected with the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, in which parish his shop stood. He became a vestryman; was in 1636 made constable of the precinct next Temple Bar; was in 1640 elected one of the overseers of the poor; and in 1643 attended the vestry for the last time. He retired from business, and left London soon after, "finding it dangerous for honest men to be there." In 1648 he paid £20 to Mr. Polydor Garman, the senior churchwarden of St. Dunstan's, as a free gift from Mr. Grimsel (or Grimsell), whose executor he was, and who also gave ten shillings to the poor in bread, and ten shillings for a sermon yearly for ever. On 26th December, 1626, Walton married, at St. Mildred's Church, Canterbury, Rachel Floud (a relative of that distinguished prelate, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury), by whom he had several children, all of whom died young; she herself died on the 22nd August, 1640, six weeks after giving

[1] *Vide* p. 11. [2] *Vide* p. 48. [3] GRANGER'S *Bio. Dict.*
[4] *Pedigree of Knights made from Car. II. to Queen Anne.*—Harl. MSS., 5081.

birth to a daughter. About 1646 he again married; his second wife being Anne, the daughter of Thomas Ken, of Furnival's Inn, Holborn, and half-sister of the famous Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

To that painstaking antiquary, Sir Harris Nicolas, is due the merit of having been the first to make any research into the subject of Walton's residence in Clerkenwell; and a summary of all that is known of "Honest Izaack" when living in this parish may be fitly given in the before-mentioned antiquary's own words, taken from his elaborate life of Walton, prefixed to a splendid edition of the "Compleat Angler." On his retirement from business in Chancery-lane, "before the year 1650," says Nicolas, "Walton took a house in the parish of Clerkenwell, where Mrs. Walton gave birth to a son, who was baptized in St. James's Church, by the name of Izaak, on the 10th of February, 1650; but this child lived only a few months, and was buried at Clerkenwell on the 10th of June following. The disappointment which Walton had thrice experienced in not having a son to inherit his good name was happily compensated for in the ensuing year, when his wife was again delivered of a boy, of whose birth the annexed account was given by his father in the family Prayer-book, which agrees with the parish register:—'My last son, Isaak, born the 7th of September, 1651, at half an hour after two o'clock in the afternoon, being Sunday, and so was baptised in the evening by Mr. Thornton, in my house in Clerkenwell. Mr. H. Davison and brother Beauchamp were his godfathers, and Mrs. Row his godmother.'" This child did not live twelve months. In 1653 Walton, having then attained his sixtieth year, published, while yet a resident in Clerkenwell, his immortal work, "The Compleat Angler," which is thus quaintly advertised in an old almanack issued in 1653 for the year ensuing:—"There is published a book, of eighteenpence price, called 'The Compleat Angler; or, Contemplative Man's Recreation,' being a discourse of fish and fishing not unworthy of perusal. Sold by Richard Marriot, in St. Dunstan's Churchyard, Fleet-street." This was a transcript of the title to the first edition of this work—a small foolscap octavo of 246 pages, embellished with copperplate engravings, interspersed with the text. This delightful treatise passed through no fewer than five editions in the lifetime of the author, viz., 1653, 1655, 1661, 1668, and 1676. The whole of these editions were sold in one lot by Messrs. Sotheby on the 5th May, 1862, being probably the finest collection ever offered for sale. The volumes were chastely bound in smooth olive morocco, super extra gilt edges, sides, and backs, and very elegantly tooled by F. Bedford. Walton's first literary work was the "Life of Dr. Donne" (who was vicar of St. Dunstan's from 1624 to 1631), prefixed to a collection of the doctor's sermons, published in 1640. Walton afterwards gave to the world those other "inimitable pieces of biography," the Lives of Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Dr. Robert Sanderson. "Walton," says Nicolas, "seems to have resided in Clerkenwell from 1650 till the return of Charles the Second, and is recorded to have contributed to the poor's-rate in November, 1661, which is the last time the name occurs in the books of the parish." In 1662 Walton and his second wife paid a visit to Dr. Morley, Bishop of Worcester, a peculiar friend of his. Here his wife sickened and died, and his estimate of her worth has been beautifully recorded by his own pen in the following entry, which occurs on the fly-leaf of his family Prayer-book:—

"Ann Walton, senyer, dyed the 17th of April, about one o'clock in that night, and was buried in the Virgin Mary Chappel, in the Cathedrall at Worcester, the 20th day.

"A grave-stone is here laid over, in which this is written—

"'Here lyeth buried so much as could dye of Ann the wife of Isaack Walton—a woman who was of remarkable prudence and of primitive pietie, her great and general knowledge being adorned with such trew humillitie, and blest with so much Christian meekness as made her worthy of a more memorable monument. She dyed. Alas! alas! that she is ded. April 17, 1662.'"

After this, Walton went to reside with his friend, Dr. Morley, at Winchester, on his promotion to that bishopric, and here he passed his time in writing. He died at the house of Dr. William Hawkins, a prebendary of Winchester Cathedral, his son-in-law, during a severe frost, on the 15th of December, 1683, in the 89th year of his age, and lies buried in the chapel of Prior Silksted, in Winchester Cathedral. But though dead, his memory, like

The memory of the just,
Smells sweet, and blossoms in the dust.

By his second wife he left one son, "young Master Izaak Walton," who died, unmarried, in 1716, a Canon of Salisbury, and a daughter, Anne, the wife of Dr. Hawkins. Walton's will, dated 16th August, 1683, describing him as "Izaac Walton the elder, of Winchester," was finally signed and sealed on 24th October in that year. He bequeathed to Dr. Hawkins his right and title in part of a house and shop in Paternoster-row (term fifty years), and another in Chancery-lane (sixteen years); to his son Izaac, his right and title to Norrington Farm, held of the Bishop of Winton, which in 1736 contained 48a. 2r. 27p. But if his son died issueless or unmarried, the property was to be taken by the Corporation of Stafford, by them to be held in trust for the following purposes, viz. :—Of the rent of it, £21 10s., £10 per annum was to be given to apprentice two boys of the town of Stafford; £5 yearly to a servantmaid of long standing in a situation, or a poor man's daughter, either of them of the age of twenty-one, as a marriage portion; 20s. yearly to the Mayor and Corporation for managing the trust; and the remainder to be laid out in coals for the poor, and distributed either the first week in January or February. The Corporation of Stafford still hold this trust. Besides these gifts, Walton gave no less than forty-two rings to his friends, books, and money, including a legacy of £10 to the publisher of his "Angler," Richard Marriot.[1]

By an eminent bookseller, "George Sawbridge, dwelling on Clerkenwell-green in 1670," was published Nicholas Culpeper's "Medicaments for the Poor; or, Physic for the Common People; also Health for the Rich and Poor by Diet without Physic," besides several other books by "Nich. Culpeper, Gent. Student in Physick and Astrology," amongst which were "The English Physitian; being an Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Vulgar Herbs of this Nation; wherein is shewed how to Cure a man's self of most Diseases incident to man's Body, with such things as grow in England, and for Threepence-charge"; and also a translation of an "Anatomical Treatise" by Veslingus, in the address to the reader of which Culpeper says, "as for the Brass Cuts, they are performed very exactly, far exceeding any that ever were printed in the English Tongue, inferior to none in the world." The engravings in this book certainly do reflect great credit upon their artist. Sawbridge published many other works whose titles it would be tedious to mention. He was one of the most flourishing booksellers of his time. There were, at this period, but two or three eminent booksellers in the kingdom, who employed persons to collect for them, and sold their refuse to inferior tradesmen. Sawbridge was one of these, and he amassed a considerable fortune by his transactions, for at his decease he left to each of his four daughters ten thousand pounds. He was succeeded in business by his son. He was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1675, and Treasurer from 1647 to 1679. Elias Ashmole in his diary records the death and burial of Sawbridge with his usual terseness :—"1681, July 1. Mr. Sawbridge the stationer, an old friend of Mr. Lilly's (the astrologer) and mine, died 6th. Mr. Sawbridge was buried in the middle aisle of St. Bridget (Bride's) Church in Fleet-street."

On Clerkenwell Green is reputed to have lived "Jack Adams," a celebrity of a very different order to the before-mentioned, but one who nevertheless has bequeathed a name to posterity—a name which is now mentioned only with derision, or as a byword for folly or extreme simplicity; its common use in the latter sense obtained for it a place in Grose's "Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue," wherein it is thus defined :—"Jack Adams, a fool. Jack Adams' parish, Clerkenwell." Partridge, an old astrologer, who calculated Jack Adams's nativity, affirms that he was born on the 3rd of December, 1625, at eleven o'clock at night, and that he was so great a natural or simpleton as to be obliged to wear long coats, besides other marks of stupidity, and that the parish not only maintained him but allowed a nurse to attend him to preserve him from harm. This appears to be true, for when examining the Poor's Rate Book of 1661, in a list of "pentioners," or persons receiving outdoor relief, which list is at the end of the book, we observed the name of "John Adams," whose pension is there set down at 16s. per month. Allusion is made to this poor simpleton in a satirical ballad,

[1] The Editor is indebted to Mr. T. C. Noble, of the *City Press*, for information relative to some of the celebrities of Clerkenwell Green.

entitled "Falsehood Chastized," &c., published in 1665, the writer of which, in his strictures on a like scurrilous effusion, remarks—

Jack Adams sure was pawet (poet) by the vein.

The compiler of an old work called "The Wits, or Sport upon Sport," published in 1682, in his preface, makes mention of the notorious Jack Adams in connection with his visit to a theatre long since forgotten—the Red Bull Theatre, in Red Bull-yard, now Woodbridge-street[1]:—"I have seen the Red Bull play-house," he says, "which was a large one, so full that as many went back for want of room as had entered; and as meanly as you may think of the drolls, they were acted by the best comedians then and now in being, and I may say by some that exceeded all now living, by name, the incomparable Robert Cox, who was not only the principal actor, but the contriver and author of most of these farces. How I have heard him cryed up for his 'John Swabber,' and 'Simpleton the Smith,' in which latter, he being (*sic*) to appear with a large piece of bread and butter, I have known several of the female spectators and auditors long for it, and once that well-known natural simpleton, Jack Adams of Clerkenwell, seeing him with bread and butter on the stage, and knowing him, cryed out 'Cuz, Cuz, give me some! give me some!' to the great pleasure of the audience."

A poet named Ward thus mentions this celebrity:—

What mortal that has sense or thought,
Would strip Jack Adams of his coat,
Or who would be by friends decoyed
To wear a badge he would avoid?

Dodsley, in his "London," says:—"Although Jack Adams in many instances has furnished laughter to numbers, it is certain he was not held in a contemptuous light by the inhabitants of Clerkenwell, who, in gratitude for a benefit obtained by him from Parliament towards their parish, have named an alley in Turnmill-street after him."

Jack Adams, it has been said, was a conjuror. The following notice of him occurs in the supplement to Granger's "Biographical Dictionary":—"Jack Adams, Professor of the Celestial Sciences at Clerkenwell Green, was a blind buzzard, who pretended to have the eyes of an eagle. He was chiefly employed in horary questions, relative to love and marriage; and knew, upon proper occasions, how to soothe and flatter the expectations of those who consulted him, as a man might have much better fortune from him for five guineas than for the same number of shillings. He affected a singular dress, and cast horoscopes with great solemnity. When he failed in his predictions, he declared that the stars did not absolutely force, but powerfully incline, and threw the blame on wayward and perverse fate. He assumed the character of a learned and cunning man; but was no otherwise cunning than as he knew how to over-reach those credulous mortals who were as willing to be cheated as he was to cheat them, and who relied implicitly upon his art." Mr. Warner says:—"A short time after we removed into the house (No. 7, Clerkenwell Green) two young women applied to have their fortunes told; upon being informed they were under some mistake, one expressed great surprise, and stated that was the place she always came to, and she thought some of Mr. Adams' family always resided there. This was the first time I ever heard anything of Jack Adams. Several similar applications were made by other persons, and we afterwards learnt that it had been occupied by persons of that profession for many years, and they generally went by the name of Adams."[2]

The following is a description of an old print, in which Jack Adams is styled, in barbarous Latin, "Jacko Cunningmanissimo":—"Here's Jack Adams in a fantastic dress, with a tobacco-pipe in his girdle, standing at a table, on which lies a horn book and 'Poor Robin's Almanack.' On one shelf is a single row of books; and on another, several boys' playthings, particularly tops, marbles, and a small drum. Before him is a man genteelly dressed, presenting five pieces; from his mouth proceeds a label thus inscribed, 'Is she a princess?' This is meant for Carleton, who married the

[1] *Vide post.* [2] MS. Notes.

pretended German princess. Behind him is a ragged, slatternly woman, who has also a label in her mouth, with these words, 'Sir, can you tell my fortune?'"

In "Poor Robin's Almanack" for January, 1783, are the following lines:—

Now should I choose t' invoke a Muse,
Muses are fickle madams;
Else I could go my poem through
Ere you could say *Jack Adams*.

On Clerkenwell Green resided Lady Bullock, whose house was on the 22nd of March, 1644, attacked by a party of soldiers; they robbed it of fifty pieces of gold, and tore five rich rings from her ladyship's fingers. Dr. Sibbald, then the incumbent of Clerkenwell, who resided near her, remonstrated with the soldiers from his window. They fired at him three times, but missed him. A servant of Lady Bullock's was wounded.[1]

In Lamb-court, Clerkenwell Green, was first established, in the year 1844, the Lamb and Flag Ragged School for the free education of the children of the poor. Since that period much good has been effected by the institution, and its operations have been greatly extended. There are attached to the establishment day-schools for boys, girls, and infants; also a week night-school; a Sunday-school for both sexes of children, and a Sunday evening-school for adults. There are a clothing fund and a maternity society connected with this valuable institution, which is entirely dependent upon voluntary aid.

MUTTON LANE,

Situate at the bottom of Clerkenwell Green, on the west side of Ray-street, was a steep declivity, down which it is probable in former times ran the overflowings of the Clerks' Well into the Fleet, which flowed at the bottom of the valley. This well-remembered thoroughfare, of which almost every trace is obliterated, was of some antiquity. It is mentioned in a ballad published in 1665, entitled "Falsehood Chastized, or the Shepherds vindicated from a late scurrilous libel of some rotten sheep about Clerkenwell Green and Mutton-lane." In 1668 one John Gardiner lived in it, at the sign of the "Crooked Billet and Shovel," and like other traders at this time, when there was a deficiency of small coin, he issued a halfpenny token, which bore on its obverse and reverse the following:—"John Gardiner at the (a crooked billet and shovel). In Muttine-lane. 1668. His Halfepeny." In 1822, at the request of the inhabitants, the old name of this thoroughfare was changed by the St. James's Commissioners of Paving, &c., to that of Brook-hill. In 1856, in order to promote the Clerkenwell improvements, the houses were razed, and the hollow was filled up to the level of the present cross street. Until the very latest period of its existence this thoroughfare was famous for brokers and fixture dealers. The street now called Vine-street, which is situated at this spot, was formerly called Mutton-hill.[2] Probably the names Mutton-lane and Mutton-hill were derived from the word meeting, or, as it was anciently spoken, moteing, in reference to the Clerks' Mote (Saxon), or meeting place by the well.

COLD BATH SQUARE.

The substantial dwelling houses on the north-east and south-west sides of this square were erected at the commencement of the last century. This square owes its name and fame to a cold bath, "the most noted and first about London," it having been in use for upwards of 160 years.

The spring by which the famous Cold Bath is supplied was discovered in the year 1697,[3] by Walter Baynes, Esq., who had then recently obtained by purchase the freehold of much of the

[1] Malcolm. [2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1811, vol. lxxxi., part 2, p. 238. [3] *New View of London*, 1708.

adjacent land. He turned his discovery to good account, by converting the cold spring into a bath, and erecting a bath-house, in which he resided and managed the bathing business himself. He invited customers by advertisements in the daily journals, the earliest of which occurs in the "Postman" of May 19th, 1698, in which the cold bath is stated to be "of the nature of St. Magnus's in the north, and St. Winifred's in Wales, and famed for the curing of the most nerval disorders." In the spring of the year 1700, Mr. Baynes, who seems to have had an eye to business, circulated through the medium of the press the following pompous announcement of the curative virtues of the bath, which, according to the advertisement, seems to have been a sovereign remedy for almost every ill the flesh is heir to.

"These are to give notice that the Cold Bath in Sir John Oldcastle's field near the north end of Gray's Inn Lane, London, in all seasons of the year especially in the spring and summer, has been found by experience to be the best remedy in these following distempers, viz. Dissiness, Drowsiness, and heavyness of the head, Lethargies, Palsies, Convulsions, all Hectical creeping Fevers, heats and flushings, Inflamations and ebullitions of the blood and spirits, all vapours, and disorders of the spleen and womb, also stiffness of the limbs and Rheumatick pains, also shortness of breath, weakness of the joints, as Rickets, &c., sore eyes, redness of the face, and all impurities of the skin, also deafness, ruptures, dropsies and jaundice. It both prevents and cures colds, creates appetites, and helps digestion, and makes hardy the tenderest constitution. The Coach way is by Hockley in the Hole."[1]

The hours for bathing were from five o'clock in the morning until one in the afternoon, and the charge was half-a-crown[2] to persons who were so debilitated as to need the use of "the chair," which was a seat suspended from the ceiling in such a manner that it could be lowered into the water and drawn up again in the same way; but for such as did not need this help the payment was two shillings.

On the Cold Bath at Oldcastle's.

Hail sacred Spring! Thou ever living Stream,
Ears to the Deaf, Supporters to the Lame,
Where fair Hygienia ev'ry morn attends,
And with kind Waves her gentle Succour lends.
While in the Cristal Fountain we behold
The trembling Limbs, Enervate, Pale and Cold;
A Rosy Hue she on the face bestows,
And Nature in the chilling fluid glows,
The Eyes shoot Fire, first kindled in the Brain;
As beds of Lime smoke after showers of Rain,
The fiery Particles concentred there,
Break ope' their Prison Doors and rage in Air;
Hail then thou pow'rful Goddess that presides
O'er these cold Baths as Neptune o'er his Tides,
Receive what Tribute a poor Muse can pay
For Health that makes the Senses Brisk and Gay,
The fairest Offspring of the heavenly Ray.[3]

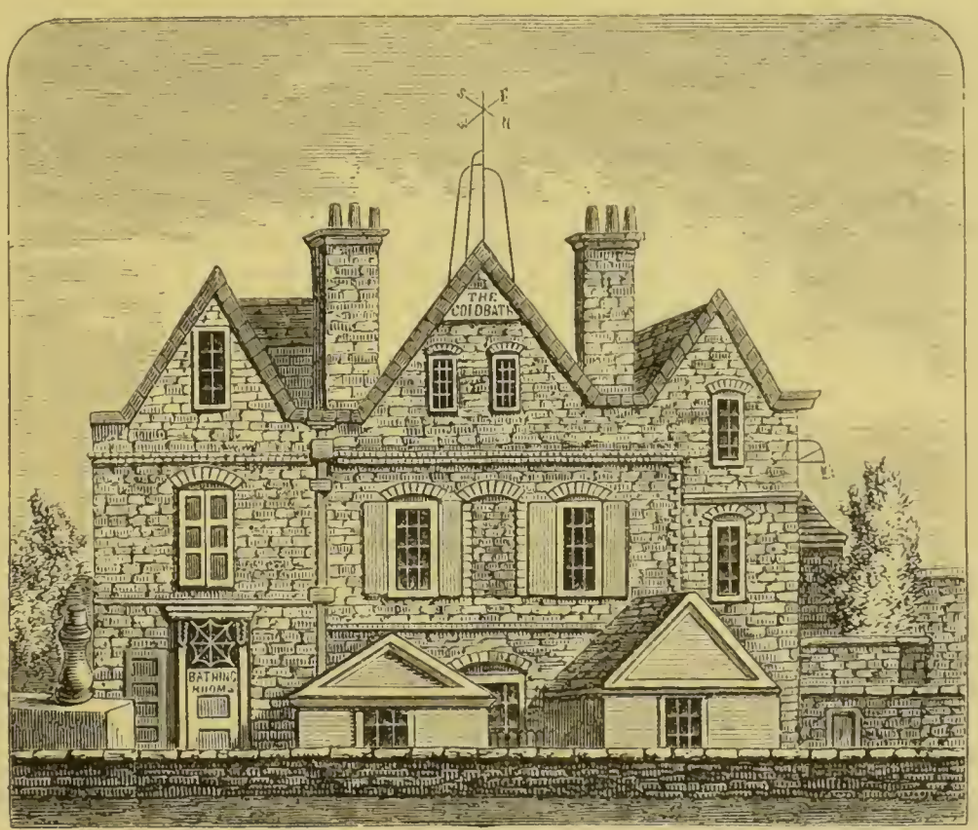
Mr. Baynes, the enterprising proprietor of the bath, it is very probable, continued to reside in the bath-house until the time of his decease, in 1745, as he was buried in the old church of St. James, where, on the south wall of the nave, his son placed a marble tablet in memory of him, bearing an inscription, which recorded the fact that there lay "interred the body of Walter Baynes, of Middle Temple, Gent., who departed this life the 8th day of March, 1745." He was one of the original promoters of the charity school in this parish, and its first treasurer, which office he retained for fifteen years.

The original bath-house was an antique building; it had three pointed gables, the centre one of which was surmounted by a vane, and legibly inscribed on its tympanum were the words "The Cold Bath." The edifice stood in the midst of a spacious garden, comprising an area of one hundred and three feet by sixty, and enclosed by a brick wall, with a summer house, resembling a little tower, at each angle.

[1] *Post Boy*, March 28th, 1700. [2] *New View of London*, 1708. [3] Sir Richard Steele, 1715.

In the year 1811, when the surrounding estate was sold by auction, this freehold, being divided into three lots, was bought for £3830 by the trustees of the London Fever Hospital in the Liverpool-road, who intended to have built their hospital on the site; the interference of the county magistrates, instigated by the alarmed inhabitants of the neighbourhood, compelled the trustees to abandon this design, and they therefore let the garden ground on building leases. The whole of it is now covered with houses, the original bath remaining in their midst.

In Cold Bath-square, "near the Cold Bath," in 1733-36, resided Eustace Budgell, an intelligent writer, the relative and friend of Addison, for whom he wrote the articles in the first seven volumes of the "Spectator" which have the initial X. appended to them. He was born about the year 1685; his father was Gilbert Budgell, D.D., of St. Thomas's, near Exeter, who gave his son a good education, intending that he should be a lawyer. The close application to study which was necessary as a preparation for the legal profession was irksome in the extreme to Eustace Budgell, who had a



SOUTH VIEW OF THE COLD BATHS, COLD BATH FIELDS.

vivacious disposition; he therefore chose to devote himself to polite literature, for which he had the essential qualities—quickness of perception and liveliness of imagination. Addison, who was first cousin to Budgell's mother, on being appointed secretary to Lord Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, offered Budgell a clerkship, which he accepted; and he afterwards became under-secretary to Addison, and chief secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland, and was soon afterwards chosen member of the Irish Parliament. In 1717, when Addison became principal Secretary of State in England, he procured Budgell the office of Accomptant and Comptroller General of the Revenue in Ireland; but this post he lost by an imprudent exercise of his wit in a lampoon upon the Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1718. In 1720, the year of the South Sea Bubble, he lost £20,000 by that affair. He subsequently tried for a seat in Parliament, and spent above £5000 in unsuccessful attempts, which completed his ruin; and he became continually involved in quarrels and law suits. In 1730 he joined a band of writers against the administration. Towards the close of 1732 he commenced a weekly magazine called "The Bee," which extended to one hundred numbers and was very popular. During the progress of this work, which was much occupied with his own

disputes and concerns, Dr. Matthew Tindal died, by whose will Budgell had £2000 left him, although he bore the testator no relationship whatever. Budgell is supposed to have had something to do with the publication of Tindal's "Christianity as Old as the Creation," and the doctor in his will charged him to give to the world the second part of this infamous work. Suspicion was, however, excited as to the validity of the doctor's will, which it was presumed Budgell had assisted in making, and in the end it was set aside. The imputation of his having made the will in favour of himself exposed him to the satire of his contemporary, Pope:—

> Let Budgell charge low Grub-street on my quill,
> And write what 'ere he please except my will.

The disgrace of this affair, and his own embarrassed circumstances, weighed so heavily upon his mind, that he resolved to commit suicide. On the 4th of May, 1737, he set out from his home in Cold Bath-square with this intention, at the same time inviting his daughter, a girl eleven years old, to accompany him, which she declined to do. He took a boat at Somerset Stairs, after filling his pocket with stones, and ordered the waterman to "shoot the bridge;" and whilst he was doing so Budgell threw himself into the river, where he perished. On his bureau was found a slip of paper, on which was written these words in justification of his rash deed:—"What Cato did, and Addison approved, cannot be wrong;" which assertion, so far as it relates to Addison's approval, was a mere delusion of the writer's brain. Budgell never married, but he had a natural daughter, who survived him, took her father's name, and afterwards became an actress. Budgell wrote much, and his style is considered to be a very happy imitation of that of his friend Addison. He wrote the following terse epitaph to the memory of a young lady:—

> She was, she is, what can there more be said?
> On earth the first, in heaven the second maid.

Also this epigram on a company of bad dancers to good music:—

> But ill the motion with the music suits,
> So Orpheus fiddled, and so danced the brutes.[1]

In Cold Bath-square, for the space of ninety years, lived Mrs. Lewson, commonly called Lady Lewson, from her very eccentric manner of dress. She was born in the year 1700, in the reign of William and Mary, in Essex-street, Strand, of reputable parents of the name of Vaughan, and she was married at an early age to Mr. Lewson, a wealthy gentleman, then living in Cold Bath-square, in the house in which she subsequently died. She became a widow at the age of twenty-six, having only one daughter living at the time. Having been left by her husband in affluent circumstances, she preferred to continue single, and remained so, although she had many suitors. When her daughter married, Mrs. Lewson was left alone, and being fond of retirement she rarely went out or permitted the visits of any person. During the last thirty years of her life she kept only one servant, an old female, who died after a servitude of twenty years, and was succeeded by her granddaughter, who, marrying, was replaced by an old man who attended the different houses in the square to go of errands, clean shoes, &c. "Lady Lewson" took this man into her house, and he acted as her steward, butler, cook, and housemaid, and, with the exception of two old lap-dogs and a cat, was her only companion. The house in which she lived was large and elegantly furnished; the beds were kept constantly made, although they had not been slept in for about thirty years. Her apartment being only occasionally swept out, but never washed, the windows were so crusted with dirt that they hardly admitted a ray of light. She used to tell her acquaintances that if the rooms were wetted it might be the occasion of her catching cold; and as to cleaning the windows, that many accidents happened through that ridiculous practice, the glass might be broken, the person who cleaned it

[1] Kippis' *Bio. Brit.*; Gorton's *Bio. Dict.*, vol. i.; Allibone's *Dict. of English Literature*, 1859.

might be wounded, and the expense would fall upon her. A large garden in the rear of the house was the only thing she paid attention to; this was always kept in good order, and here, when the weather permitted, she enjoyed the air, or sometimes sat and read, she being particularly fond of reading, or else chatted of times past with any of her few remaining acquaintances whose visits she permitted. She seldom visited, except at the house of a grocer in the square, with whom she dealt. She had survived many years every relative. She was so partial to the fashions that had prevailed in her youthful days that she never changed the manner of her dress from that worn in the time of George I., being always decorated

With ruffs and cuffs and fardingales.

She always wore powder, with a large *tache*, made of horsehair, upon her head, over which the hair was turned up, and a cap was placed, which was tied under her chin, and three or four curls hung down her neck. She generally wore silk gowns, with the train long, a deep flounce all round, and a very long waist; her gown was very tightly laced up to her neck, round which was a kind of ruff or frill. The sleeves came down below the elbows, and to each of them four or five large cuffs were attached; a large bonnet quite flat, high-heeled shoes, a large black silk cloak trimmed round with lace, and a gold-headed cane completed her everyday costume for the last eighty years; in which dress she walked round the square. She never washed herself, because she thought those people who did so were always taking cold, or laying the foundation of some dreadful disorder; her method was to besmear her face and neck all over with hog's lard, because that was soft and lubricating, and then, because she wanted a little colour on her cheeks, she bedaubed them with rose pink. Her manner of living was so methodical that she would not drink tea out of any other than a favourite cup. At breakfast she arranged in a particular way the paraphernalia of the tea-table, and dinner the same; she observed a general rule, and always sat in her favourite chair. She enjoyed good health, and entertained the greatest aversion to medicine. At the age of eighty-seven she cut two new teeth, and she was never troubled with the toothache. She lived in five reigns, and was supposed to have been the most faithful living historian of her time, events of the year 1715 being fresh in her recollection. The sudden death of an old lady, who was a near neighbour, made a deep impression on Mrs. Lewson; believing her own time had come, she became weak, took to her bed, refused medical aid, and on Tuesday, the 28th of May, 1816, died at her house in Cold Bath-square, at the advanced age of 116; she was buried in Bunhill-fields burying-ground.[1] "At her death," says Mr. Warner, "I went over the house, and was struck with astonishment at the number of bars, bolts, &c., to the whole of the doors and windows. The ceilings of the upper floor were completely lined with strong boards, braced together with iron bars, to prevent anyone getting into the house from the roof. The cinder ashes had not been removed for many years; they were very neatly piled up, as if formed into beds for some particular purpose, around the yard. Her furniture, &c., was sold by auction, and persons were permitted to view by producing a catalogue, which was sold at sixpence, which would admit any number of persons at one time."[2]

In "Notes and Queries," 3rd s. ii., p. 284, will be found the following memorandum about Mrs. Lewson:—

"Longevity.—In connection with the stories of longevity which have recently appeared in 'N. & Q.' note may be taken of an extraordinary instance of a newspaper 'stock paragraph' which was unblushingly refurbished and reproduced some five-and-twenty years ago. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1816, at p. 633 of the first half-yearly volume, will be found an account of Mrs. Jane Lewson, stated to have died on the 28th of May in that year in Cold Bath Square, at the very advanced age of 116 years, having been born in the year 1700 in Essex Street, Strand. The biography of this lady was republished in the newspapers of 1837, artfully varied. To give greater apparent truth to the tale, it was thus commenced, 'On Thursday afternoon was buried in the church of St. Margaret's [?], Pentonville, Mrs. Margaret Lawson,' for the name was changed, whilst the details of the story were retained: the age was altered to 112; instead of cutting two new teeth at 87, she cut them at 85; instead of remembering the events of 1715, she remembered those of 1715, and so forth. It is one of many proofs that these marvellous tales are to be received with suspicion. "J. G. N."

[1] Wilson's *Wonderful Characters*, vol. ii., p. 184.

[2] MS. Notes on Clerkenwell.

COPPICE ROW.

In maps of London of the seventeenth century this highway is described as Town's End Lane, or Codpiece Row. The former name, there can be no doubt, when first applied, was a literal one, and here the town ended and its suburbs commenced; the latter appellation, of which Coppice is a corruption, was a word formerly in vulgar use. It is not improbable that a copse or coppice of trees once grew upon this elevated ground, and gave to the thoroughfare the name of Coppice Row; but we have no authority to justify us in stating that such was the fact. On the western side of this thoroughfare stands the Workhouse, a dingy brick building, having a frontage of considerable extent. The central portion of the building, which is a little advanced, is surmounted by a pediment. The house contains three stories besides the ground-floor; the third story is lighted by a range of sixteen windows. There is a large detached building in the rear of that which fronts the street. This



CLERKENWELL WORKHOUSE.

gloomy pile of brickwork was made to assume its present form in the year 1790, when it was considerably enlarged, at a cost of £4000, an expenditure which at the time occasioned some murmuring, on account of the lease of the site having only forty years to run. The interior, which is characteristically plain, presents nothing of particular interest. It possesses all the conveniences which are usually to be found in all large establishments for the maintenance of the poor. There is a large board-room on the first floor of the central part of the building, in which the overseers and guardians of the poor hold their weekly meetings. In this apartment is a portrait of Mr. Edward Seargill,[1] the present clerk to the guardians, which was placed there by a subscription of the members of that board; and upon the walls hang several local maps and plans, particularly we would mention Horner's map of the parish in 1807.

[1] The Editor begs to tender his thanks to Mr. Seargill and Mr. Albert Thompson, the Master of the Workhouse, for the information which they have kindly furnished him with, and enabled him to get, for the purposes of this History.

In 1798 a Soup House was established near the workhouse, for supplying the poor of the parish and parts adjacent with good nutritious meat-soup at one penny per quart. The design was carried out in imitation of a similar establishment opened by the Society of Friends in Spitalfields. This mode of relief, by the sale of the article, prevented any carelessness or waste, and rendered the application less humiliating. The first distribution of soup commenced on the 3rd of March, 1798, and continued until the 19th of May following, when it closed for the season; up to that period 66,867 quarts were sold to no fewer than 2900 families, including about 12,300 individuals, by which a seasonable relief was afforded to a large class of industrious artificers and others, among whom was a considerable number of journeymen clock and watch makers, who were, by a temporary suspension of their trade at that time, reduced to extreme indigence. In the same year the soup-house was again opened from the 28th of November to the 27th of April, 1799, during which period 113,244 quarts were sold.[1]

We may here give, perhaps advantageously to the poor, a list of the ingredients from which 130 gallons (ale measure) of good soup were made:—

	£	s.	d.
Beef clods and sticking pieces, 19 stones (of 8 lbs.) at 2s. 2d.	2	1	2
Beef, legs and shins, 10 stones (of 8 lbs.) at 1s. 4d.	0	13	4
White Peas, split, 43 lbs.	0	11	3
Barley, out of the husk, 37 lbs.	0	8	7
Onions, 31 lbs.	0	2	0½
Salt, 8 lbs., at 3d.	0	2	0
Black Pepper, ground, 8 oz., at 2s. 3d. per lb.	0	1	1½
For fire, labour, wear and tear, &c., about	0	13	6
Water sufficient, with other ingredients, to fill up the boiler.			
	£1	13	0

The cost of 130 gallons being little more than twopence per quart.

Another striking instance of the advantage to the poor of Clerkenwell of a Soup Kitchen occurred at the commencement of the year 1861, when a frost which had not been equalled in intensity since the year 1814, at which time the winter was most severe, happened. The winters of the years 1820, 1823, 1839, and 1845 were very inclement, but that of 1860-61 was even more so. On the 15th of January, 1861, at a meeting of the guardians of the poor of Clerkenwell, Mr. Thomas Glover suggested that a Soup Kitchen would be of essential service to the indigent of the parish, and he with laudable liberality guaranteed to give the sum of £20 towards the expences of such an establishment if his suggestion should be carried out. Mr. ex-Churchwarden Blogg consented to become the treasurer of the fund, and offered the free use of his premises (the Union Brewery, Cobham-row), with copper and fuel, for the manufacture and distribution of the soup and bread; Mr. J. C. Menee accepted the honorary secretaryship; and Mr. A. Thompson, the master of the workhouse, undertook to superintend the kitchen, and supply the necessary cooks from the workhouse. In thirty-six hours after the proposal had been made all was arranged, and on the morning of the 17th of January 500 quarts of good leg of beef soup, and 500 loaves were distributed. This distribution was continued daily. The appeal which was made to the benevolent was singularly successful, for in the space of fifty-four hours after the commencement of the movement the sum subscribed was £110, and further contributions were readily promised by the people of Clerkenwell, who upon this occasion, as upon others, proved themselves to be moved by warm and active sympathy for their poor neighbours in the time of pressing need. The guardians, overseers, and vestrymen vied with each other in seeking to obtain subscriptions; and during the first three days they were enabled to distribute freely to the poor 1800 quarts of soup and 3200 lbs. of bread. By the 26th January, 4500 quarts of soup and 19,176 lbs. of bread had been supplied to no less than 8500 persons. The

[1] *A Brief Account of the Soup Society instituted in Clerkenwell.* 12mo., 1799.

remaining funds at the disposal of the committee were distributed in four-pound loaves; and on the last two days of the kitchen being open 1600 loaves were distributed by tickets. The singular precision with which the funds were disbursed may be seen from the following balance-sheet :—

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Treasurer's receipts from all sources ..	233	8	1	25,757 lbs. of bread	179	1	2¾
				1620 lbs. of meat	28	4	11
				Split peas, vegetables, rice, &c.	11	0	0
				Printing, advertisements, stationery, &c.	8	9	11
				Labour, &c.	6	12	0
				Balance in Treasurer's hands	0	0	0¼
	£233	8	1		£233	8	1

Thus ended one of the greatest temporal benefits that the poor of Clerkenwell had experienced for many years. The committee retired with the blessings of many resting on them, not in debt, but with a balance of one farthing in the hands of the treasurer as a nucleus for a fund to assist their poor neighbours on any other trying occasion.

CHAPTER V.

THE DISTRICT OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, CLERKENWELL—Continued.

Cobham Row:—Origin of the Name—A Row of Trees planted there—An old Horse-chestnut Tree—The Cobham's Head—The Residence of Sir John Oldcastle—The Sir John Oldcastle Inn—Amusements there formerly—The first Small-pox Hospital in London built on the Site of the Sir John Oldcastle—Public Prejudice against the Hospital—The Jervoise and Cobham-row Estates. Corporation-lane:—Called Cut-throat-lane—The Corporation Workhouse—The Second Regiment of the Line quartered there in 1680—A general Nursery established there—Was made a Quaker's Workhouse—The Mulberry Garden, and its varied Attractions—The old Clerkenwell Volunteers—Their Depôt and Exercising Ground—The new Clerkenwell Volunteers—The Finsbury Rifle Corps. Crawford's-passage, *alias* Pickled Egg-walk:—A Cockpit there. Dorrington-street:—The Apple Tree Public-house. Exmouth-street:—Spa Field's Chapel—Formerly the Pantheon, a place of amusement—The Ducking-pond House—The Ducking-pond—Accident there—The Building of the Pantheon—Its Sale by Auction—Taken for a Chapel—Opened as Northampton Chapel—The Rev. Mr. Sellon's Opposition to Ministers of the Establishment preaching in it—The Chapel Closed—Purchased by the Countess of Huntingdon and Re-opened as Spa Field's Chapel—Narrow Escape of Destruction in the Riots of 1780—Excellency of the Music and Singing—Shrubsole, Organist, Composer of the Music to "All hail the power of Jesu's name"—Royal Visitors formerly—First stated Minister chosen—Expiration of the Chapel Lease—Its Renewal—The general Exterior of the Building—Its Interior—Sitting Accommodation—Spa Field's Schools—The Countess of Huntingdon's House adjoining the Chapel—Some account of her Ladyship—Spa Field's Burial-ground—Revolting Practices there—Spa Fields—Amusements there in former days—Robberies frequent.

COBHAM ROW.

This place was named in honour of the first English Protestant martyr, Sir John Oldcastle, "the good Lord Cobham," who is reputed to have had a residence near here. The fine range of houses on the south side of the row are erections of the first quarter of the last century; they then commanded a lovely prospect of the rural villages of Highgate and Hampstead, with their pleasant acclivities. In front of the houses extended a fine row of horse-chestnut trees;[1] one of these not long since stood at the corner of Coldbath-square; it had been for many years in a thriving condition, and summer after summer there was a goodly show of blossoms upon it—a cheering sight to those "in a populous city pent." About twenty years ago a fine bough that hung low was lopped off, and the amputated part was covered with a sheath of lead to prevent a renewal of its growth. The old tree, which stood full sixty feet in height, and was in girth little less than seven feet, subsequently showed symptoms of decline, and lost its vitality; many seasons passed their wonted rounds, and no green leaves appeared upon its branches. A few years ago the bark was peeled from this venerable tree, and the smooth surface thus exposed was occupied by the bill-stickers. In 1856 it was sawn down within six feet of the ground; the remainder served the base use of an area gate post.

The Cobham's Head has been for upwards of 120 years a house of public entertainment. In 1742 it was described as a handsome house with good accommodation, and pleasantly situated, having a large garden, a handsome grove of trees, and gravel walks finely illuminated, and in

[1] Rocques' *Map of London*, 1747.

repute for selling "the finest, strongest, and most pleasant" beer in London, at threepence the tankard. A letter, of which in part the following is a copy, appeared in the "Daily Advertiser" of the 10th of August, 1742:—

"Sir,—Coming to my lodging in Islington, I called at the Lord Cobham's in Cold Bath Square to drink some of their beer, which I had often heard to be the finest, strongest, and most pleasant in London. I afterwards walked in the garden, where I was greatly surprised to find a very handsome grove of trees, with gravel walks, and finely illuminated, to please the company that should honour them with drinking a tankard of beer, which is 3 pence. There will be good attendance, and music of all sorts, both vocal and instrumental."

In a few years after this the Cobham's Head became a very select place of entertainment, in comparison with other places of amusement in its vicinity. In 1744, in the principal room of the house an organ was erected, which was esteemed "by the judicious to be one of the finest for its beautiful tone and variety of stop;" and for the better regulation of the company printed orders were put up in all the public rooms by the host, one Robert Leeming. Together with these advantages, "a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental music" was announced; the vocal parts by Mr. Blogg and others, who were to sing several favourite songs out of the oratorios of "Saul" and "Samson," a solo on the violin by Master Ward, a concerto on the organ by Master Strologer, &c., to conclude with the "Coronation Anthem," set by Mr. Handel. After the concert was a ball. The tickets of admission for two persons were 2s. 6d. each, including ball and concert. In the "Daily Advertiser" for the 20th of July, 1744, it is noticed that "the benefit of a reduced citizen at the Lord Cobham's Head, Cold Bath Fields, will consist of a concert of musick by the best masters, and likewise will be added a curious set of fireworks by several gentlemen lovers of that curious art—Rockets, Line ditto, Katherine Wheels, and many other things; likewise will be shewn the manner of Prince Charles's distressing the French after he passed the Rhine." This last was a reference to Prince Charles of Lorrain, who, in effecting a passage over the Rhine in sight of the French army, and entering Alsace, after taking possession of the important pass of Lauterburg, astonished all Europe, his victory being looked upon as next to impossible; but the activity of the prince, and the perseverance of his troops, surmounted every difficulty. Marshal Coigni, who commanded the French army on the Rhine, saw, with astonishment, the Austrians in possession of Alsace, and the whole province of Lorrain laid open to Prince Charles. He saw no other means left but that of cutting his way through the enemy, which he attempted, and a bloody battle ensued; but the French were defeated, and obliged to return to their former station.

There is an old tradition that Sir John Oldcastle, "the good Lord Cobham," who, in the reign of Henry V., suffered a cruel martyrdom by being hanged for his adherence to the principles of the old Reformer, Wycliffe, and the Lollards,[1] of whose sect he was considered as the chief, and who, notwithstanding all the severities that had been exercised against them, were every day increasing in the kingdom, and not only appeared extremely dangerous to the church, but even formidable to the civil power, resided on the spot of which we are writing. We have endeavoured to trace the origin of the story, to see if any historical truth could be found in it; but our researches have been unsuccessful. We have found that when Sir John Oldcastle was a fugitive he took refuge in the house of one William, a parchment maker, in Turnmill-street, which at least brings him into Clerkenwell.

In an old and very scarce play published in 1600, entitled "The true and honorable history of the life of Sir John Oldcastle, the good Lord Cobham," and attributed by Langbaine to Shakspeare, but written by Thomas Heywood, are some allusions to a wayside inn at this spot, frequented by carriers, for it lay near one of the northern roads. This inn the playwright has identified with the fallen

[1] Lollardy was an opprobrious name for the Protestant religion. It was so called according to some from *lolium* or tares (an etymology which was afterwards devised in order to justify the burning of them, see Matth. xiii. 30), and according to others from one Walter Lolhard, a German reformer, A.D. 1315. (*Mod. Un. Hist.* xxvi. 13; *Spelm. Gloss.*, 371). But Dr. Mosheim has endeavoured to show that it was not derived from that surname. (WHARTON'S *Law Lexicon.*) Some hold that the Lollards were so called from *Lollen*, to sing, in reference to their psalm singing. (D'AUBIGNÉ *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. v. p. 130.)



CLAREMONT CHAPEL, PENTONVILLE.

fortunes of the unhappy nobleman, who on escaping from the Tower is directed by his servant to get "away hard under Islington"—a speech which appears to point to this locality. Meanwhile, after diligent search has been made for Sir John Oldcastle by the officers of the law without success, a constable goes to the mayor, and tells him, "We have not left a house unsearcht that uses to lodge."

"*Maior.*—What think you best to do?

"*Con.*—Faith, Mr. Maior, here's a few straggling houses beyond the bridge (qy., Holborn-bridge) and a little inne where carriers use to lodge; although I thinke surely he would nere lodge there, but wee'l go search."

Lord Cobham and his lady, apprised of the coming of the constable, exchange suits with a carrier and his daughter, who are sleeping in the house, and make their escape.

Sir John Oldcastle was the fourth husband of Joan, Lady Cobham, of whose estate he assumed the title of lord, in right of his wife, who died on the day of St. Hilary, the bishop, 1433, as appears from the inscription on her tomb in Cobham Church, Kent. He was a person of great parts, invincible courage, and eminently distinguished for his experience in military affairs—virtues which greatly recommended him to Henry V. Sir John was the unfortunate victim of a jest upon Archbishop Arundel, by whom he was accused of heresy. But he was too great a favourite with the king for the archbishop to proceed without his leave. He therefore waited upon Henry, and requested permission to proceed against Sir John Oldcastle. The king, who was no friend to ecclesiastical severity, represented to the primate that reason and persuasion were the best means of supporting truth, and correcting error; that every gentle method should be used in order to bring back the deluded people to the bosom of the church, and that he himself would endeavour to reconcile Sir John Oldcastle to the Catholic faith. Henry, however, found that all his arguments were in vain; Oldcastle, though greatly attached to him, refused to sacrifice truth to conciliate the favour of majesty; and the king gave the primate leave to proceed against him to the utmost severity of the laws. He sought refuge in Cowling Castle, Kent, and refused to admit the archbishop's messenger or apparitor, who had been sent to serve on him a citation of appearance. The violence of ecclesiastical authority was now exerted, and the primate, assisted by his three suffragans, the Bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned Oldcastle to the flames; he was arrested, but he made his escape from the Tower before the day arrived which was appointed for his execution. He was no sooner at liberty than he formed a design of seeking revenge on his enemies. He assembled his partisans and began an open rebellion against the Government; but the vigilance of Henry prevented any serious consequences. Great numbers of the Lollards were seized, several of them executed, and the whole conspiracy rendered totally abortive. Oldcastle escaped, nor was he brought to justice until four years afterwards, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body was burnt on the gibbet, conformably to the sentence pronounced against him as an heretic. He is said to have died in expectation of rising on the third day. He was exposed as a buffoon character in an old play, entitled "The famous victories of Henry V.," in which the scene opens with Prince Henry and the robbers. Sir John Oldcastle is mentioned as one of the gang. As Shakspeare borrowed some hints from this play, it gave occasion to the mistake that Sir John Oldcastle was the original droll of Henry IV., and that the poet changed the name to Falstaff. Howell in one of his "Letters" (7th October, 1624) alludes to Sir John Oldcastle as associated with the idea of a drink of good ale; for, writing of the wines and drinks of foreign nations, he says:—"But since beer hath *hopped* in amongst us, ale is thought to be much adulterated, and nothing is so good as Sir John Oldcastle, that Smug the Smith was used to drink."

The ground plan of the old inn before referred to, which at a subsequent period bore the sign of "Sir John Oldcastle," is described in the oldest maps of London. By an indenture dated the 5th of November, 1723, it appears to have been the property of Walter Baynes, of the Middle Temple, gentleman, and Robert Warner, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., who let to Oliver Humphreys, clothier, "all that messuage or tenement commonly called and knowne by the name or signe of Sir John Oldcastle, together with the gardens and grounds thereunto belonging," on lease, to expire at Christmas, 1784.

There is still in existence a scarce print by Lempriere, 1731, representing a south view of "Sir John Oldcastle's." The gardens in the rear of the house were very extensive, well planted with trees, and disposed in neat walks lighted with lamps. They were open in 1744 from five until nine in the evening, and again in the summer of 1745, for *al fresco* amusements. The charge for admission was sixpence, including a refreshment ticket. The following letter appeared in the "Daily Advertisement" of the 27th of July, 1743 :—

"Sir,—A few days ago I was invited by the calmness and serenity to make a little excursion into the fields ; as I was returning home, being in a gay humour, I stayed at a booth near 'Sir John Oldcastle's,' to hear the rhetoric of Mr. Andrew. He used much eloquence to persuade his auditors to walk in, that I, with many others, went to see the entertainment he mentioned, and I assure you, Sir, I was never more agreeably amused than with the performances of three men who call themselves Bath Morriss Dancers. They showed so many astonishing feats of strength and activity, and so many amazing transformations, that it is impossible for the most lively imagination to form an adequate idea thereof."

In the same newspaper, of the 4th of August, 1744, was the following announcement :— "Sir John Oldcastle's near Cold Bath Fields.—The gardens are greatly enlarged, the liquors of all kinds the best. The musick begins at 5, the lamps are lighted at 7, and the whole concludes at 9. The gardens will be free during the time of the fair." The same periodical, on the 3rd of June, 1745, advertised as follows :—"Sir John Oldcastle's Gardens, Cold Bath Fields.—This evening's entertainment will continue the Summer Season. The Band consists of the best masters. Sixpence for admission, for which they have a ticket, which ticket will be taken as sixpence in their reckoning. Particular care will be taken that the provisions shall be the very best in their separate kinds; likewise to keep a just decorum in the gardens. Note. Several ladies and gentlemen that come to the gardens give the drawers their tickets, which is no benefit to the proprietor; therefore it's humbly desired that if any gentlemen or ladies don't chuse to have the value of their tickets in liquor or eating, they will be so kind as to leave them at the bar." In the "General Advertiser" for the 17th of July, 1746, it was announced that at the "Sir John Oldcastle's Cold Bath Fields," every evening would be performed "a concert of vocal and instrumental musick. The vocal parts, with the following songs by Mr. Blogg, viz., 'Come Rosalind,' 'Observe the fragrant blushing rose,' 'The happy pair;' and, by desire, a song set in praise of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, set to musick by Mr. Handel. To conclude with several new additions of fireworks never exhibited in any garden, particularly the Ship and Castle."

In the "British Journal" of the 24th of July, 1724, we read that "On Tuesday evening, two gentlemen of Gray's Inn fought a duel near 'Sir John Oldcastle's,' but no further mischief was done than wounding one of them in the hand."

In 1676, the Oldcastle estate was the freehold of Robert Harvey, Esq. By an indenture dated the 5th of November, 1723, it was leased by Walter Baynes, of the Middle Temple, gentleman, and Robert Warner, of Lincoln's Inn, Esquire, to Oliver Humphreys, clothier, for a term which would expire at Christmas, 1784. Robert Warner afterwards purchased the moiety of Walter Baynes; and on the 1st of July, 1754, Humphreys, the lessee, assigned over the premises, including an additional tenement which he had built, for £120 paid down, and at a yearly rent of £45, for the then remaining period of his lease, to the trustees of an excellent charity instituted for the relief of poor persons suffering with the small pox.

This admirable charity was the first of its kind in Europe; and was instituted chiefly through the exertions of Dr. Poole, who, about the year 1740, rented a house in Lower-street, Islington, for the purpose of inoculation, and, in 1746, procured the patronage and subscriptions of many of the nobility and gentry towards erecting an hospital for the completion of his benevolent designs. The institution consisted of three houses; one in Old-street, for preparing patients for inoculation; that in Islington, for receiving them when the disease appeared; and the one under notice, in what were then called Cold Bath Fields, for the treatment of persons who had become subjects of the disease by infection. This institution had to contend with the prejudices of the populace, who regarded it as a source of dangerous infection to the neighbourhood in which it was established, and insulted patients in the

grossest manner after their dismissal. An application was even made to the Lord Chancellor to have it suppressed. Lord Hardwicke declined to grant the injunction applied for by the churchwardens of St. James, Clerkenwell, alleging that this was a charity likely to prove of great advantage to mankind. But, although the Lord Chancellor had secured the governors in the progress of their charity in this place, he had not moved the popular fears and prejudices which prevailed; the patients themselves who had been sufferers were, upon leaving the hospital, insulted and abused in the streets, so that it became necessary to detain them until the dusk of the evening.[1] So great was the dread of taking the small pox by infection, we are informed, that persons whose business brought them into the vicinity of the hospital used to make a considerable *detour* in order not to pass too close. The building of the hospital did not commence until 1753, when the trustees of "the Middlesex County Hospital for Small Pox" pulled down the house of Oliver Humphreys, and erected their hospital immediately adjacent, leaving the old mansion called Sir John Oldcastle's still standing. Patients who took the disorder in the natural way (for whose reception this hospital was especially designed) deposited on going in one pound and sixpence, to defray the expenses of burial in case of death. "At a committee of the governors of the Small Pox Hospital, at their house in Cold Bath Fields, on Thursday, May 6, 1756, Fifty patients returned thanks for their cure."[2] The aggregate number of patients received into the house who had taken the small pox by infection, or in the natural way as it was called, from 1746 to 1770, amounted to 7946.

On the 14th of September, 1761, Robert Warner, Esq., granted the trustees an extension of the term of Oliver Humphreys, making in all sixty-one years from the Christmas then ensuing, at an increased rental of £10, being in all £55 per annum. In the indenture then made it is agreed by all the parties, "that the messuage or tenement commonly called Sir John Oldcastle's, being in a very ruinous condition, may be pulled down, and such other erections built thereon, or on any part of the premises as the said Trustees shall think fit;" and in the same indenture the premises specified as demised are the before-recited messuage or tenement, "called or known by the name or sign of Sir John Oldcastle," and "all that new erection and building commonly called by the name of the Small Pox Hospital." The old mansion styled Sir John's was finally removed in 1762, and the trustees at the same period completed the hospital. Noothouck, who saw it in 1772, describes it as a very plain, neat structure, and observes that on the top of an angular pediment is placed a vase upon a small pedestal. In 1791 the hospital building was found to require a general repair, the cost of which was estimated at £800; this sum was considered by the trustees too large a sum to expend on a leasehold estate, of which only a term of thirty-one years remained, at a large annual ground-rent, especially as they had freehold ground at St. Pancras on which the Inoculation Hospital stood. The ground was therefore surveyed, and the estimate for a new building was given at £5350. The first stone was laid on the 2nd of May, 1793, by the Duke of Leeds, and in June, 1794, the new hospital being finished, the patients were removed thither from Cold Bath-fields.[3] The old building was converted into a distillery. Latterly it became a crape factory, the centre portion of the building being in the occupation of a glass bender. The site of the building at King's-cross being afterwards required for the Great Northern Railway, the Small Pox Hospital was removed to a salubrious spot at the foot of Highgate-hill, the Fever Hospital, formerly connected with it, having a separate establishment in a commodious building erected for the purpose in the Liverpool-road, Islington.

On the death of Robert Warner, the freehold of the Oldcastle estate passed to Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, and formed part of the large estate, principally in this parish, known as the "Jervoise Estate." His eldest son, Thomas Clarke Jervoise, succeeded, by whose executors, together with the Rev. Samuel Clarke Jervoise (brother-in-law to the testator), it was conveyed on the 13th of June, 1813, for £3060, to James Oldham Oldham, who immediately presented it to the trustees of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion (of whom he was one), he having bought it for that especial purpose, his

[1] Highmore's *Pietas Lond.*, p. 282. [2] *Public Advertiser*, May 8, 1756.
[3] Highmore's *Pietas Lond*, p. 293.

intention being to provide another site for Spa-fields Chapel in the event of the trustees being unable to obtain a renewal of the lease of that building. The trustees, in pursuance of the intentions of the donor of the Cobham-row estate, let a portion of the ground on building leases; and in 1823-4 the ten houses called Oldham-place were built, and afterwards a double row of cottages was erected in their rear, and called Oldham-gardens. Mr. Oldham died in 1823, having been an active and useful member of Lady Huntingdon's Trust for more than thirty years. This estate, which he bestowed in his lifetime upon the connexion, now produces a large sum per annum. A sixth part of the rental is appropriated to the Spa-fields Chapel Free School.

THE JERVOISE ESTATE.

It will be in place here to give some account of the Jervoise estate already referred to. It was sold by public auction at the Mart, by order of the Rev. S. Clarke Jervoise and the trustees of the will of Thomas Clarke Jervoise, deceased, in the months of October and December, 1811. The first division, in fifty-six lots, comprised the Cold Bath House, and the spacious garden in Cold Bath-square; parts of Coppice-row, Baynes', Baker's, and Bath Rows, and Courts; Little Warner-street, Great and Little Bath Streets, Crawford-passage, Ray and Dorrington Streets, Mount Pleasant, including the Phœnix Iron Foundry, and the Red Lion carriage and stable yard. The lots comprised above 120 brick-built houses. It was stated that the greater part were in substantial repair, and in the occupation of good tenants, and that the rental of this part of the estate exceeded £1230 per annum, in low ground rents, or moderate rents on repairing leases.

The second division of this extensive property, which was sold on the 2nd of December, 1811, and the following days, is described as comprising above 130 houses, situated in Cold Bath-square; on each side Cobham-row; the distiller's, with a large garden behind, valuable as building ground, let to Messrs. Marsh and Davis; Coppice-row, including Clerkenwell Poor House, Mr. Austen's Japan manufactory and residence adjoining; very extensive premises No. 2, Warner-street, with a garden and roomy shops behind; the neat, uniform range of buildings forming North-place, Gray's Inn-lane; modern, handsome residences in John-street, King's-road, and Robert-street adjoining. On the 13th of December, "Ten Freehold Public-houses on the estate were sold at the Mart—viz., the Cobham's Head, in Cobham-row, long known as a respectable house, substantially brick-built, very roomy, with a large yard behind; the Golden Anchor, in Coppice-row; the Red Lion and the Rose and Crown in Great Warner-street; the Apple Tree, Dorrington-street, with building adjoining; the Horseshoe and Magpye, Queen's Head, and Ben Jonson, in Bath-street; Pickled Egg, in Crawford-passage; and the Coach and Horses, in Ray-street, with a carriage yard and roomy stabling adjoining." The produce of the entire sale, consisting of 110 lots, was £76,970.

Robert Harvey, Esq., by will dated the 17th of May, 1676, gave to his wife "all his messuages, lands, and tenements" in Clerkenwell, being this estate, during her life, and after her decease, successively to his sons John and Robert. In 1696, Robert Harvey the younger sold it to John Henley and Walter Baynes for £1650. At this period it comprised ten messuages, thirty-eight cottages, and nineteen acres of pasture; and was otherwise divided into two closes, formerly parcel of a field called Windmill Hill, but then styled Sir John Oldcastle's Field, with its grounds and appurtenances; a large field called Gardiners' Farm, or Field; and a parcel of ground, situate on the west side of Coppice-row. John Henley afterwards disposed of his moiety to John Warner, who, in 1721, devised all his real estates to his eldest son, Robert. In 1736, Robert Warner purchased the other moiety of Walter Baynes for £1900 16s.; but died intestate as to the same moiety, as appears by his will, dated the 8th of May, 1764. But leaving an only child named Kitty, then married to Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, Esq., this gentleman, by the courtesy of England, became tenant of the entirety of the premises on the birth of his eldest son, Thomas Clarke Jervoise, Esq., who died in December, 1809, at his seat, West Bromwich Hall, Staffordshire. By his will, dated the 15th of

January, 1808, he devised all his estates, "situate in the several counties of Hants, Stafford, Worcester, Middlesex, Surrey, or elsewhere," to his executors, George Silk, Esq., and the Rev. Joseph Territt, upon trust that they should make sale and absolutely dispose of all the manors, &c., either by public auction or private contract; transferring the proceeds, after deduction of some minor bequests, and upon certain conditions, to the child or children of the Rev. Samuel Clarke, who afterwards took the name of Jervoise. [1]

CORPORATION LANE.

This lane was formerly called Cut-throat-lane, probably from the murder of some lone passenger there when it was a rural avenue. It continued to be so denominated until about the year 1774, when the name was changed to the present one. At the north-west corner of Rosoman-street and Corporation-lane there was formerly a large bowling-green; and at the opposite corner, on part of the site now included by the northern and eastern boundary walls of the House of Detention, at the same period (*circa* 1675) was a building, the ground plan of which formed three sides of a quadrangle, and which is denominated in Ogilby's map of London, "The New Corporation." This was the "Corporation Workhouse," a large building near the fields, erected at the expense of the metropolitan parishes, at a cost of about £5000, for the reception of their poor. The site chosen was a salutary one, and it is apparent, from a contemporary map, that it stood so near the fields as to have no connected buildings north of it for many miles. This scheme of an union workhouse originated with the parish of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, the representatives of which interested other metropolitan parishes in the project and applied to Parliament for power to construct an edifice, and first collected money for the purpose. [2] This was in the year 1662, when an "Act for the better reliefe of the poore of this kingdom," was passed, ordaining "That from henceforth there be and shall be one or more Corporation or Corporation Workhouse or Workhouses within the Cities of London and Westminster, and within the Burroughs, Towns, and places of the County of Middlesex and Surrey, scituate and lying and being within the weekly bills of mortality." [3] We find in the accounts of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields the following entry:—"1662. Paid and expended ageing to Hixes Hall (Hick's Hall) for to petition for the corporation and workhouse, 8s." The following vestry minute of the parish of St. Mary, Islington, refers to this "Corporation" structure:—

"1668, June 3.—Ordered that an agreement be made according to the Poor's book, for raising £67 5s. within this parish, for the use of the new workhouse in St. James's Clerkenwell, in pursuance of a warrant from certain justices of the peace, to be collected by the overseers of the poor for this parish."

In 1680 eight companies of a regiment recruited for men about London, to be sent out of England for the defence of Tangier, then an English possession. They were, by a warrant of King Charles II., addressed to the infamous Colonel Kirke, ordered to be kept in Clerkenwell Workhouse; and the governor was ordered to admit the levies in town to be lodged there. This regiment, which consisted of sixteen companies, was called the Second Queen's Own, and is now the second regiment of the line. The following were the descriptions of the warrants before referred to:—"1680. Warrant of K. Ch. II. to Lt. Col. Percey Kirke for keeping in the workhouse at Clarkinwell the 8 Companies raised about towne for Tangeir." "Warrant to the Govr. of Clarkinwell to admit of the levyes in town to be lodged there." [4]

In a small tract entitled "An Account of the Fire at the New Prison," 1697, it is stated that "the prison is generally burnt down but the *Corporation*, or house called New Bridewell, adjoyning thereunto, was preserved safe and without damage."

In 1686, some portion of the "Corporation" was appropriated as an industrial school or "Colledg

[1] Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 305.
[2] Parton's *History of St. Giles's*, p. 214.
[3] 14 Car II. c. 12, *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. v. p. 401.
[4] S. P. O. *Dom. Var.* 676, 6 b.

of Infants," for pauper children and others, who were sent here from their respective parishes to be provided for, educated, and taught some business. This institution, by reason of its novelty, brought together at its first opening "a great confluence of people," who were permitted to view its internal economy. It was much approved by all who saw it, and the churchwardens of the several parishes of London pronounced it to be "not only a very great convenience, but a great advantage to a poor child."

By "An Account of the General Nursery or Colledg of Infants, set up by the Justices of Peace for the County of Middlesex, Licensed Oct. 13, 1686, R. L'Estrange. London, printed by R. Roberts, 1686," we are informed that,

"There is a large house at Clerkenwell, built near the fields, which cost the several parishes within this County of Middlesex, at least £5000 building, which house is by the justices of the peace set apart for the Reception and breeding up of poor fatherless and motherless Infants, left to the parish care, and for the instructing them in Religion and Virtue, and making them capable of getting an honest livelihood by their Labour.

"1. There is a Governour, one of his majesties justices of the peace for the County of Middlesex, to whose care the said Justices have committed the General Nursery.

"2. There is a Minister residing constantly in the place, who reads Prayers twice a day, before dinner and supper; he catechises on Sundays and sometimes preaches in the afternoon: he sees that the schoolmaster and all the inferior servants do their several duties, and that all the children are well provided for, and instructed in true religion and virtue.

"3. There is a Physitian, an Apothecary, and Chyrugion, who attend weekly every Thursday, in their several ways, to take care of and provide for the Children.

"4. There is an excellent Writing Master, to teach all the children to write, who also registers the names of all children admitted and disposed of, and keeps all the Accounts of the House.

"5. There is a Schoolmaster, who teaches all the Boys to read, say their prayers and catechism. There are several other persons of several trades, to teach the children several sorts of work, and to bring them up therein.

"6. There is a Porter who looks to all the children at play, attends the door, and rings the bell to Prayer, Dinner, and Supper.

"7. There is a Matron or Housekeeper, who takes care for the provision to be brought into the house, and the dressing thereof for the family.

"8. There is an Assistant to the Matron, who takes care of all the children's cloaths, and of the beds and sheets, that all be mended and kept in good order.

"9. There is a School Mistress for the girls, to teach them to read, say their prayers and catechism.

"10. There is a Semstress, who teacheth all the girls to work, and make all the linen used in the house.

"11. There is a Cook to dress all provisions according to the Matron's order.

"12. There is a Laundress belonging to the house.

"13. There is an old Nurse to take care of all sick and weak children; this nurse hath her assistants if need requires.

"14. There are several Women to look after the chambers, to wash and keep clean all the lodgings, make beds, and do other necessary work there.

"15. The books are constantly made up every first Thursday in every month, and all Officers and Tradesmen and others who are concerned in the house are cleared off.

"16. There is also a Register Book kept to Register the names of all worthy persons who shall be benefactors to this good work, and the same laid by for a time, to put the children out with to trades, as they grow fit; and the Justices of the Peace, once every year, at the Quarter Sessions next after the feast of the birth of our Lord yearly have constantly an account thereof."

The following is a copy of an order made by the justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex on the subject of this Infant Nursery:—

"*Middl.ss.* Ad Generalem Sessionem Pacis. Dom. Registent. pro. Com. Midd. apud Hick's Hall, in St. John Street in Com. præd' die Lunæ scil. Vicesimo secundo die Februarii Anno Regni Regis Jacobi Secundi nunc Angliæ &c secundo.

"The Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, having observed great inconveniences for the loose way of breeding up parish children, whereby very few of them come to good; for the remedying whereof they have ordered a great part of the *Corporation Workhouse*, at Clerkenwell, to be fitted up for that purpose, and excellent Rules and Methods are taken for their education in true religion and virtue; and the care thereof is committed to Sir Thomas Rowe, knight, one of his Majesties' Justices of the Peace for the same County. And

that the benefits and advantages thereby may be seen and found, for the putting the same in Practice (having considered the extent and condition of the several parishes), they do hereby order the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor in the several parishes here undermentioned, on or before the 18th of March next ensuing, to send the proportion of children hereafter specified, out of such parish children as they now have in their respective parishes.

" St. Giles-in-the-Fields,	five.	" St. Clement Danes,	five.
St. Andrew, Holborn,	,,	St. Mary le Savoy,	three.
St. James', Westminster,	,,	Roles Liberty,	two.
St. Margaret's, Westminster,	,,	St. James, Clerkenwell,	five.
St. Martin-in-the-Fields,	six.	St. Giles, Cripplegate,	,,
St. Paul, Covent-garden,	four.		

" *Per Cur*, Smith."

The large building to which we have referred afterwards became the Quakers' Workhouse, an institution founded about the year 1692, for poor decayed members of the Society of Friends, who were here provided for the remainder of their days with all the necessaries of life. Under the same roof was a charity-school for forty boys and twenty girls, who were clothed and instructed in the common rudiments of knowledge; and to inure them to early labour, they were taught to spin, sew, knit, and make thrum-mops, &c. The boys, when of proper age, were apprenticed, a premium of £5 being given with each. Attached to this workhouse was a Friends' Meetinghouse.[1] The minutes of the St. James's Paving Board, for October, 1774, show that part of the building by that period had begun to be let in tenements; four of which it appears produced £8 a year each, and a fifth £11. The institution was removed to a more eligible site between Goswell and St. John-street Roads, in 1786; from which time the original workhouse fell rapidly to decay, and when Malcolm wrote was partly in ruins (having been much damaged by fire), and the rest was let to poor occupants at very low rents. About two years afterwards—*i.e.*, in 1805, the whole was taken down; and a portion of the site was next year given up by the magistrates to the paving commissioners for widening Corporation-lane and Bridewell-walk.

THE MULBERRY GARDEN.

Adjoining the old workhouse on the east, on a site now included by the House of Detention, was an extensive pleasure garden tastefully laid out in gravelled walks, and planted with trees. The Mulberry Garden, as it was called, was first opened in 1742, and in Rocque's "Map of London," published in 1747, it is exhibited as intersected by avenues of trees. The following was the public announcement of the opening of the garden:—

" W. Body gives notice that at six o'clock in the evening will be opened and continue open every evening during the summer season,

THE MULBERRY GARDEN,

Near the New Wells by the London Spaw, where Gentlemen and Ladies will be entertained with a complete Band of Music, composed of excellent performers, in a Grand Orchestra exquisitely erected by Art and Nature for that purpose, and also accommodated with the best provisions for eating and drinking, and waited on in the most genteel manner.

Note.—Nothing to be paid for Admittance, no more charged for anything called for than usual in all Taverns and other public Houses in London, in opposition to Ranelagh, Vauxhall, Marybone, and Cuper's Gardens.

But which the world is so amus'd,
Come here and honestly you're used."[2]

In an old engraving of the "Swells at the Mulberry Garden, Clerkenwell," a party of fashionably-dressed fops are represented playing a game of nine-pins under the spreading foliage of a huge

[1] DODSLEY'S *London*, vol. v., p. 236.

[2] *Daily Advertiser*, June 21, 1742.

mulberry tree, the trunk of which, as appears from another picture, was surrounded by a wooden fence. Under the delightful shade of this noble tree seats were arranged for such as desired a lounge in view of the skittle alley, which was immediately before it. These pictures are preserved in the Guildhall Library; they are without date, but from the style of the engraving, and the costumes of the persons represented, they are certainly contemporary sketches. The mulberry tree drawn in the before-mentioned engravings, it is probable, was coeval with the general introduction of mulberry trees into England, early in the reign of James I., who expended £935 in planting them near his palace, and by royal edict, about the year 1605, to encourage the cultivation of silkworms for the promotion of silk manufacture in this country, offered packets of mulberry seeds to all who would sow them. This rendered the tree so popular, that there is scarce an old garden or gentleman's seat, which can be traced back to the seventeenth century, in which a mulberry tree is not to be found. In 1609, Sieur de la Foret, who had in France a nursery of 500,000 plants, travelled over the midland and



SWELLS AT THE MULBERRY GARDEN CLERKENWELL.

eastern counties of England, for the sale of mulberry trees, and distributed no less than 100,000 trees.[1] The common or black mulberry tree was first brought into England in 1548, when some trees were planted at Syon; one at least of which is still in existence. The tree is mentioned by Tusser and Gerard as being cultivated in their time.

The proprietor of the Mulberry pleasure garden, who was an enterprising man, used to banter his competitors a good deal, and in advertisements not less meretricious than theirs, would declaim in strong terms against the puffery of their occasional announcements.

After the Mulberry Garden had been opened about a month, a public notice as follows was issued:—"The Proprietor desires to return hearty thanks to the publick for the kind encouragement given to his undertaking, and begs leave to assure them of his best endeavours to merit their future favours, having made considerable additions to his Band of Musick, Illuminations, and Fireworks, which he continues to perform gratis." To this announcement a note was supplemented, in which the proprietor vaunts his own success by making some amusing comparisons with other popular places of amusement, and observes, "As this undertaking was first calculated for the public good, to prevent Extravagance in diversions, the effects are visible. Rockhoutt[2] has found one day and night's

[1] *Calendar of State Papers*, James I.

[2] Rockhoutt House, Essex.

Al Fresco in the week to be inconvenient. Ranelagh House, supported by a giant whose legs will scarcely support him.[1] Mary le Bon Gardens, down on their marrowbones. New Wells[2] at low water. At Cuper's[3] the fire almost out."[4] This enterprising proprietor suffered scarcely a month to elapse before he boasted that—

"The Musical Entertainment and Fireworks at this place have gain'd so general an applause, that a splenetick, envious temper has lately prompted one or two of the neighbouring publicans to attempt the like amusements, but falling short of any resemblance, by their weak endeavours, one Tom Freeman, in last Wednesday's D—y Ad—s—r, appeared an advocate for muzzy strong beer at Ld. Cobham's;[5] and as he has mimicked the footsteps of Mr. Orator H—nl—y (who upon the first rebuke quitted the stage), it is to be hoped, for the sake of poor Tommy, the following lines will induce him to copy the orator's example, and not expose himself any more for the future, but *verbum sapienti solo sufficit*:—

The Orator at last being struck quite Dumbo,
He to the Mulberry Garden sighed Succumbo;
Tom Freeman meanly imitates his vulgar stile,
But he mistakes, poor man! he's laughed at all the while.

N.B.—The Proprietor being in a great hurry, occasioned by his preparations for Welch Fair, cannot at present observe upon Vauxhall's expenses exceeding the fortune of the first subject in England."[6]

A few days after this rodomontade, the proprietor "returns his sincere and grateful thanks to the Nobility and Gentry who have been pleased to honour him with their company; and informs them, as the evenings begin to grow cool, and consequently not so agreeable for Gentlemen and Ladies to sit in the air, he intends finishing his Musical entertainment under his grand Saloon, but has prepared a most commodious long room for the entertainment of Company during the Winter Season, where the best Wind and String Musick will be performed every evening till the Spring, and Fireworks will be constantly exhibited when the weather permits. He likewise intends, in gratitude for the favours conferred, not only every evening, but more particularly on Thursday and Monday next, to exhibit and add greater curiosities to his Fireworks than usual, having the conveniency of a large pond for that purpose. N.B.—The intention of the Proprietor's desiring to be excused continuing this undertaking any longer is in Charity to his weak brethren in the neighbourhood, and in hopes that they may be able to defray their expenses by their late rash attempts."[7] On Thursday, the 2nd of September, 1742, "the proprietor hopes to be excused exhibiting his fireworks, as it is the doleful commemoration of the fire of London," and again tauntingly expresses the hope that "the encouragement he has received will not occasion any farther melancholick frenzy in his neighbourhood."

The proprietor of these gardens appears to have resolved to encourage English talent alone; for, on the 6th of April, 1743, addressing by advertisement "The Nobility, Gentry, & others," after condemning the encouragement bestowed upon foreign singers and musicians, he maintains "that the manly vigour of our own native music is more suitable to the ear and heart of a Briton than the effeminate softness of the Italian." For these reasons he adds that no foreign performer would be engaged at his establishment. Amusements of a similar character to the foregoing continued to be announced at intervals during several seasons; thus, in the summer of 1744, it is advertised that "Gentlemen and Ladies will be accommodated with breakfasting in the morning, and Coffee and Tea in the afternoon, with bread and butter, at fourpence per head, and without at threepence per head." It was advertised that on the evening of the 9th of August, 1744, there would be at the Mulberry Garden "the most curious fireworks ever seen in England. There is likewise to be seen a large rocket that weighs fifty pounds; also the celebrated Mr. Bennet's vocal and instrumental musick; and honest Jo Baker, well known to the Nobility and Gentry, will beat a Trevally on his side drum, as he did before the Great Duke of Marlborough, when he beat the French at the Battle of Malplaquet." 1600 persons were present in the gardens on this occasion, and nearly 500 went away for want of

[1] Sir Thomas Robinson, the proprietor of Ranelagh, commonly called "Long Sir Thomas."
[2] New Wells, Rosoman-row.
[3] Cuper's Gardens, Chelsea.
[4] *Daily Post*, July 28, 1742.
[5] *Vide* page 120.
[6] *Daily Post*, Aug. 23, 1742.
[7] *Daily Post*, Aug. 31, 1742.

room. Finding these exhibitions of fireworks to pay, the proprietor advertised a grand display for Monday, August 25th, but to prevent overcrowding of the gardens he appends a note to his advertisement that "Each person must pay 2d. on coming in." The following note to one of his puffs may have been a mere lure:—"The drawer of No. 25 found a gold snuff box with some diamonds in it, supposed to belong to a lady in a green silk gown; if the lady will call for them she may have them free of cost."[1] An advertisement which followed complained that "The amusements that generally entertain the town, not being so agreeable to them as the proprietor of the Mulberry Garden could wish, he has endeavoured to exceed them, and therefore has provided an extraordinary band of musick and several songs, which he hopes will animate the British spirits to give them the proper cheers, that they who venture their lives abroad may properly divert themselves at home; though he is far from that part of the town where the British thunder roars, yet he will supply its lightnings with fireworks, July 3."[2]

Some days of unfavourable weather ensued, but on the appearance of a change, the proprietor, aroused to poetic vigour by the smiles of sunshine and fortune, thus magniloquently addresses the patronizing public:—

"Mulberry Garden, Clerkenwell, July 8, 1715.

"The gloomy clouds that obscured the season, it is to be hoped, are vanished, and nature once more shines with a benign and cheerful influence. The proprietor, therefore, has exerted his utmost skill and endeavour to entertain those who will do him the favour to pay him a visit; and charmed by your smiles, equally as by the serenity of the weather, invites all those whose business will not permit them to partake of any other farther out of town, to share of his diversions, the most innocent and genuine of themselves. Come, then, ye honest sons of trade and industry, after the fatigues of a well-spent day, and taste our rural pleasures. Ye sons of care, here throw aside your burden. Ye jolly Bacchanalians, here regale, and toast your rosy god beneath the verdant branches. Ye gentle lovers, here to the soft sounds of harmony, breathe out sighs till the cruel fair one listens to the voice of love. Ye who delight in feats of war, and are anxious for our heroes abroad, in mimic fires here see their ardour displayed. The pleasing variety will afford some diversion to persons of every kind. *Note.*—The proprietor being informed that it is a general complaint against others who offer like entertainment, that if the gentle zephyrs blow ever so little, the company are in danger of having their viands fanned away through the thinness of their consistency,[3] promises that his shall be of such solidity as to resist the air."[4]

Of the latter history of these gardens we can learn nothing. At one period the site was an exercising ground for

THE CLERKENWELL VOLUNTEERS.

This loyal association was one of the many volunteer regiments which originated at the time of our war with France, at the close of the last century, when Napoleon Bonaparte and his myrmidons threatened England with an invasion, which, conjoined with other circumstances, rendered it politic to increase the military force in every part of the kingdom. The volunteer corps were chiefly embodied in the years 1798 and 1803. The Clerkenwell Association was formed in May, 1797. At first only respectable housekeepers, or such persons whose character could be vouched for by resident householders, were received into these military companies, which consisted of cavalry and infantry. By law it was ordained that a troop of cavalry should not consist of less than forty, nor more than eighty, who were to be armed with swords and pistols. The infantry was to consist of companies of from sixty to one hundred men, armed with firelocks and pikes, and commanded by resident officers. A depôt for arms was formed in each district, and the respective corps were trained for six hours once a week, in some open area in the locality, which, in case of invasion, they were pledged to defend. Every man who thought proper to claim it was at first allowed by Government 1s. per day. A military enthusiasm fired the minds of the civilians in general, so that almost every parish and public

[1] *Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 9, 1744. This was no doubt a sarcastic allusion to the slices of Vauxhall ham, the tenuity of which was almost proverbial.

[2] *Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1715.

[3] [4] *Daily Advertiser*, July 8, 1715.

office had its distinct meeting, and thousands of brave-hearted Englishmen enrolled themselves as volunteers to maintain the independence of the country; and the squares, gardens, and even churchyards of London and its vicinity, became places of training for the newly banded corps.

The Clerkenwell Association was composed of respectable tradesmen and honest workmen. The cavalry troop (about fifty in number) wore red coats ornamented with gold lace in front, leathern breeches and boots, and a bear-skin helmet-cap plumed with a white feather; and were armed with swords. In front of the helmet, embossed in brass, was "Clerkenwell Cavalry;" on the right side were a garter and a crown. The breast-plate was plain, but on the buttons were the initials C.W.L.C. in cypher. The infantry, nearly 900 strong, wore red coats with blue facings and epaulettes, a kind of helmet-cap crested with a black plume, pantaloons, and half-gaiters. On the front of the helmet



CLERKENWELL VOLUNTEER (CAVALRY), 1799



CLERKENWELL VOLUNTEER (INFANTRY), 1799.

was embossed "Loyal Clerkenwell Association;" on the breast-plate, which was oval, "Clerkenwell Association;" the buttons were plain; on the cartouche was a star with the initials "C. A." as a cypher in the centre.[1] The captain-commandant of both companies was Marmaduke Sellon, Esq. The exercising ground and depôt for arms were on the south side of Corporation-lane, and on that spot now enclosed by the walls of the House of Detention. The depository of arms was a building which had been the residence of the keeper of the Clerkenwell Bridewell. On one occasion, when the volunteers were required to be all night on duty, it was used as a barrack, and sloping boards were fitted up for the men to sleep upon.

On field days the Clerkenwell volunteer corps exercised in a meadow belonging to the New River Company, known as Tub Field, the area of which, now covered by houses, forms the west side of Claremont-square and Amwell-street. On the 4th of June, 1800, the King's birthday, there was a grand review in Hyde-park of the volunteer regiments of London and its vicinity, who, by six o'clock

[1] Loyal Volunteers of London and its environs, Infantry and Cavalry, in their respective uniforms, representing the whole of the Manual, Platoon, and Funeral exercise, in 87 plates, designed and etched by T. Rowlandson, 1799. London, Ackermann, 4to.

in the morning were under arms, and by eight o'clock mustered 12,000 strong in the park. George III., the Prince of Wales, and most of the nobility were present. The review lasted from nine until two o'clock. The various orders of the day were executed with precision, and the firing was excellent. It poured a torrent of rain the whole time, to which the king was equally exposed with his subjects, without even a great coat on for protection. At the close of the day's evolutions, the different corps filed off, after enduring a soaking rain for upwards of eight hours. There are some aged persons now living in Clerkenwell who saw this grand military spectacle in Hyde-park, and who remember well the drenching which the Clerkenwell Volunteers got by so long exposure to the pitiless torrents of rain which then fell. On the 23rd October, 1803, there was another grand muster of the volunteer corps of London in Hyde-park, which was honoured by the presence of the king. So great was the anxiety to be ready manifested in some corps, that the majority of the men belonging to them never laid down all the preceding night. The morning was dark and foggy, but, the gloom clearing off, the day became splendidly fine, and soon all London seemed to be abroad to see the show; and a multitude beyond conception, particularly females, thronged the park, in which upwards of 27,000 volunteers were assembled in martial array. On this occasion, 46 of the Clerkenwell cavalry and 701 of the infantry were present.

At this time, the volunteers in the City of London exceeded, in number, 35,000, and the several corps in its vicinity 11,000. The great increase of volunteers was owing to an Act of Parliament passed the 6th of July, 1803, entitled "An Act for enabling his Majesty more effectually to raise an additional military force for the better defence and security of the United Kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war," &c. This empowering the authorities to embody an army of reserve, and to require from each parish a quota of men to serve therein, gave rise to a general enrolment of volunteers to prevent their being levied on to serve in the army of reserve.

The volunteers between 1798 and 1804, when this force was in greatest amount, numbered 410,000, of which 70,000 were Irish. The English volunteers were 341,600 in number, according to official statements, on the 1st of January, 1804. They were a great expense to the nation. In 1798 the sum of £500,000 was voted "For the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry." And in 1806, it was stated in the House of Commons that in three years and a half the volunteer system had cost the Government five millions, and that as much more had been expended by private individuals.

In 1814 the country had arrived at a period when it could look forward to a lasting peace, after the long and draining wars which had just ended with the fall of Napoleon. It was then resolved that the fine force of volunteers should be disbanded; and on the 17th of June in that year, seventeen days after the treaty of peace was signed, Lord Sidmouth, in a letter praising "this valuable description of defensive force," commanded the lord-lieutenants of the different counties to notify that the corps of volunteers would, after the 24th of June, "be released from their military engagements." On the 20th of that month a grand final review of the Middlesex regiments was held before the allied sovereigns in Hyde-park, when the volunteers, in consequence of their many years' training, acquitted themselves as good soldiers. On the 24th of June the Clerkenwell Volunteers met as a body of civilian soldiers for the last time, and marched to the parish church, where they deposited their colours. The following is the address[1] which the commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Magniac, gave on that occasion:—

"Gentlemen,—

"The duty I have to perform this day is of a mingled nature. Upon some of the topics which I have to notice to you, I shall dwell with great satisfaction; but there is one upon which I cannot touch without pain and regret. You have all been informed that it is the purpose of this day to close our military engagements, and to pronounce the termination of that connexion between us.

"I do not come to this meeting prepared to address you in a speech previously studied and composed: I well

[1] This address, which was printed with a discharge for the volunteers, was kindly lent for the purposes of this History by Mr. W. Harling, a corporal in the present regiment raised in this neighbourhood, and nephew of Mr. William Stock, whose discharge as a sergeant from the old regiment it was.

know that I have no pretensions to eloquence ; and I trust to the inspiration of the moment for the expression of those sentiments that are excited in my mind on this occasion. As my heart glows with kindness and regard towards you all, I cannot think that its unpremeditated effusions can have in them anything unpleasing to you.

" I am persuaded you heartily participate with me in the sincere satisfaction I feel, at the conclusion of the peace signed on the 30th of May last. That peace has terminated a war, the longest in duration, the most extended, and most arduous, that our country has ever been engaged in. It has been persevered in to preserve the independence of England, and to maintain her rank in the scale of nations. High as the national character stood before this period, the enterprise, the heroism, the exalted bravery, displayed by our gallant countrymen, in every part of the world, by land and by sea, together with the fortitude of its government at home, have added fresh lustre to the English name ; and this empire has ascended to a still more exalted rank amongst the kingdoms of Europe.

" Notwithstanding the menaces and boastings of a furious and malignant enemy, his continued hostility against this country has ended in his downfall : he has been precipitated from the throne on which he had placed himself, and he is now, though certainly under a magnificent designation, confined to a small island, a kind of state prisoner ; from whence, we may venture to conclude, he never will be allowed to emerge, to disturb that peace which has been so happily established amongst the European nations.

" In the negotiations that preceded the conclusion of the peace, England displayed herself a beneficent power—proudly restoring conquests, possessions, and colonies, of inestimable value, which she had conquered from her enemy by the gallantry of her soldiers and her sailors ! They were unnecessary to her greatness, and she has given them up that Europe may again be placed in a state of permanent tranquillity and happiness, after the long-sufferings of its unfortunate inhabitants.

" From the arduous circumstances of the war arose our military existence ; which is brought, naturally, to a period by the conclusion of a peace. The menaces of invasion, from a turbulent and ambitious foe, induced our monarch to call around him the brave high-spirited population of his empire : the enemy, notwithstanding his boasted preparations for invasion, shrunk confounded from the attempt ; he saw it was in vain to invade an armed nation ; that a descent had no chance of success against a country bristling with bayonets.

" The voluntary force of the country was organised by his Majesty's Government : of that force we have, for eleven years, formed a part. I have witnessed, during that period, with admiration, the patient endurance, the perseverance, and zealous application, which has marked your conduct. In the first instance we assembled here to acquire a knowledge of the use of arms, and military discipline ; and, subsequently, for the purpose of perfecting and keeping up that knowledge which had been thus acquired. We have not been called upon to leave our post, for invasion has not been attempted : never has the foot of an armed enemy trod the happy soil of England. Had we been called on to march, I should have proceeded at your head, perfectly confident in your steadiness and discipline, and with a full reliance upon your bravery.

" It is fit I should acknowledge, on this interesting occasion, the zeal and perseverance you have displayed in the service of your country during the last eleven years. Accept my warmest thanks for your military conduct during that important period. The respectful attention, and continually renewed proofs of attachment which you have shown to me, are deeply impressed on my heart, from whence the remembrance of them will never be erased while that heart continues to beat. The termination of our military existence separates us, and gives us wholly to the purposes of civil life. We shall now have full leisure to cultivate the arts of peace, and to enjoy the blessings of a state of tranquillity. The military character has been well supported ; let us now be distinguished in the characters of fathers, sons, husbands, brothers, friends, and neighbours—may health, long life, and happiness attend you all.

" When I meet, in the private paths of life, with any one of you, my friends, and see cheerfulness and content shining in your countenance, as I hope always to do, I shall hail the sight of a brother soldier with joy and exultation.

" Having thus assured you of the sensibility of my heart, and my gratitude and thanks for your continued attention to me, I shall, before I conclude, have the gratification to read to you some papers which I have received, containing thanks and acknowledgments of your services, before which mine lose all value, and shrink into nothing. The approbation of the Prince Regent, administering the government of the country, so ably and so fortunately, in the name of that revered monarch for whom our early exertions were ardently offered ; also the grateful acknowledgments of some of the high constituted authorities of the country ; and to-morrow his Majesty's ministers will go down to the two Houses of Parliament, and propose the high honour of the thanks of Parliament to you for what you have done. These several documents shall be printed, that each of you may possess a copy of what cannot fail to be highly gratifying.

" Having thus spoken to the whole of the regiment, it might be thought unnecessary to proceed further ; all the smaller parts being included in a general address to the whole. But I confess, I should not have satisfied my feelings, were I to conclude without addressing myself to that meritorious part of the regiment, the non-commissioned officers. We have been employed sufficiently long in military duties to be able, all of us, to appreciate the importance to a regiment of a body of sergeants, competently acquainted with the duties of their

station. Till the sergeants of this regiment had attained that acquaintance with their duty, I never could consider the regiment as completely disciplined. It afforded me, therefore, the greatest satisfaction to observe the zeal, application, and perseverance which you—for to the sergeants I now address myself—manifested for the attainment of a perfect knowledge of your duty, as well as the regularity and steadiness with which you subsequently performed it. I offer you, upon this occasion, my warmest thanks for your able, active, intelligent exertions in the cause of your country; and they will, I am sure, entitle you to the increased consideration of your countrymen. Your friends and neighbours, now you are entirely returned to your civil duties, will receive you with respect and gratitude for the meritorious exertions you have made in the general cause. Gentlemen, this is an honest testimony which I bear to your merits; it has been honourably earned, and if a renewal of it, in any manner, should, at a future time, be either desirable or useful to you, I shall always be found ready to renew it.

"Though I have endeavoured, upon all occasions, to mark my sensibility and gratitude for the admirable conduct of the body of officers with whom I have had the honour to act in this regiment, yet I should think I had ill discharged the obligation I feel to them if I were to separate from them, this day, without a distinct and public avowal of the sincere and lively esteem and regard I must ever entertain for them. Never was the commander of a regiment more fortunate than I have been in the character of those officers, with whom I have terminated my military career. The proofs they have given me of their esteem and regard, attachment and confidence, have been continued and innumerable. The highest gratification that can remain with me after this day, will be the flattering persuasion that I carry into retirement with me, that esteem and regard which they have never allowed me to doubt whilst I had the honour to continue their brother officer. It may appear invidious, that where merit has been equal, I should particularise two officers by name, as having had more opportunities, by the prominent situations they occupied, of showing how fully they partook of the general feeling of what I may truly call this band of brothers; but the whole of the officers will, I am certain, participate in my wish to do justice to the eminent merit of Captain Humphrys, who was so kind as voluntarily to take on himself the office of secretary to the regiment, and to execute it with that zeal and assiduity that have so eminently characterised the discharge of his military duties. And likewise to Major Smith, whose intelligent mind, high and gentlemanly spirit, joined to the most persevering activity, has rendered my task so very light. Had I been so fortunate as to have received his assistance, in the rank he now holds, from an earlier period, the little merit I can pretend to had been still less. I request that Major Smith and Captain Humphrys will accept my hand before the assembled regiment as a token of the friendship assured to them by my heart for the rest of my life.

"Gentlemen, I will now state to you the last act of military duty which I have to require of the regiment. It is my opinion and desire that the colours, under which we have assembled for eleven years, should be deposited in the parish church of the district from which this regiment has been formed. In this opinion my brother officers have concurred with me, and I now desire you to march and deposit them in that church. There I trust they will remain a monument of the patriotism and zealous devotion to their country's cause, of the individuals that constituted this regiment. Should there be, in the womb of time, a crisis to arise as arduous as that which the country has now so gloriously surmounted, may these colours animate the population of that day to exertions equal to yours![1] For my own part, I desire no other memorial to be preserved of me, than that I have had the distinguished honour to be placed at your head during the last eleven years. And now, gentlemen, in the character of your commanding officer, I gratefully and affectionately bid you farewell."

On the 5th of July following, the House of Lords, *Nemine Dissentiente*, and on the 6th of July the House of Commons, *Nemine Contradicente*, passed votes of thanks to the volunteers "for the seasonable and eminent services" they had "rendered to their king and country;" and that great patriotic force faded away quicker than will their illustrious memory.

THE PRESENT VOLUNTEERS—THE FINSBURY RIFLES.

For many years previous to 1859 the public opinion that England was ill prepared for defence against foreign invasion had been gaining ground. This opinion was considerably strengthened when the elected President of France, by a sudden stroke, seized upon the crown, and converted a free republic into a despotic empire. And in 1859 the knowledge of the insecurity of England was brought vividly before the public mind by the insult which was levelled at this country in

[1] That prayer has, within the last few years, received its fulfilment.

addresses that were presented to Louis Napoleon by officers of the French army, asking to be allowed to drag from England certain refugees who lived under English protection. In different parts of the country suggestions to form volunteer associations were made; and an impetus was given to this patriotic movement by a circular being issued to the lord-lieutenants of the different counties authorising them to accept the services of all volunteers. The Government, on being pressed, agreed to supply rifles and bayonets; but at that time it did not promise to do more. In Middlesex meetings were held for the formation of district volunteer corps, and on November the 24th, 1859, a meeting was held in the Amwell-street School-rooms, for the purpose of forming a regiment under the name of Clerkenwell. Resolutions were passed at this meeting pledging those present to come forward on a future occasion, when another meeting would be called. This took place on the 23rd of December, in the same rooms in which the previous one had been held; and among the gentlemen present were—the Revs. R. Maguire and S. Herbert, H. Pownall, Esq., the Chairman of the Middlesex Magistrates and Deputy-Lieutenant of the County; Captain Colvill, Governor of the House of Correction; Dr. Steet, Mr. Hislop, Mr. Willis, and many of the gentlemen connected with the parochial bodies of the parish. Mr. Blogg, churchwarden, presided; and the principal speakers were the incumbent, Mr. Glover, Mr. Pownall, Captain Colvill, Mr. Flear, and Mr. Hammon. It was resolved at this meeting that a corps should be formed, and the first money supporters of it were Sir S. Morton Peto, who gave a donation of £10, and Messrs. Nicholson, who gave £25. The magistrates of the county also assisted the formation of a corps by granting the use of a vacant piece of ground in Coldbath-square, adjoining the House of Correction, for the purposes of drill. It was resolved at this meeting that a corps should be formed, and that the subscription should be 10s. 6d. a year for effective members. On January 10th, 1860, the first drill was given to the first recruits, thirty-five in number, of the Clerkenwell Rifle Volunteer Corps. Within three days the number in the corps had doubled, and drill was given twice a week under the superintendence of Captain Colvill, who had served in the 71st regiment, and who exerted his whole influence in support of the movement. The first company was soon filled, and a second started.



FINSBURY RIFLEMAN.



BADGE OF THE FINSBURY RIFLES

The services of this body were accepted on the 6th of March of that year by the Lord-Lieutenant of the County under the title of the 39th Middlesex Rifle Volunteer Corps. Captain Colvill was nominated as the captain-commandant, and a dark green dress with scarlet facings, and Spanish leather belts, was approved as the uniform. A shako with green feather plume was subsequently added for full dress parades. The county arms, encircled with a wreath of evergreens surmounted by the crown, and bearing the motto *Pro Aris et Focis*, were adopted as the badge. While the second company was filling, the employés of the firm of Virtue and Son, the printers, in the City-road, formed themselves into a company, and with the senior Mr. Virtue as captain,

the junior Mr. Virtue as lieutenant, and Mr. Ridgway as ensign, joined the 39th as the third company. The first year of the regiment commenced in April, 1860.

On the 19th of June of the same year the ceremony of swearing in its members was gone through. On that day the first public assemblage was made in uniform, and the corps marched under the command of Captain Colvill, first to St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, where the chaplain, Robert Maguire (the incumbent of the parish), delivered a spirit-stirring address on the passage, "The Lord is a Man of War." After the service the members of the regiment formed in double lines in the churchyard, and Mr. Maguire brought forth the colours of the old volunteers of Clerkenwell, and which, after remaining in the belfry of that church for many years uncared for, had been sought out and made to adorn the pulpit during the delivery of the address the volunteers had just heard. The rev. gentleman handed the colours to Ensign Willis (now promoted to be captain), and made the following remarks: "Gentlemen,—It is my privilege, and at the same time my pleasure, to deliver to you this flag of the old volunteers of Clerkenwell, which has been held in trust, in the tower of our parish church, to be used by our corps as long as it may be needed; and I rejoice to know that this flag will wave over as brave a body of men, and be the rallying point to as noble-hearted a brigade, as that which honoured the days of our forefathers." The corps then marched to Amwell-street School-rooms, and the members were sworn in before the assistant-judge, Mr. Bodkin, who had been ensign in the old volunteer corps of Clerkenwell. The venerable judge, in an after part of the meeting, spoke of the cordial feelings he bore to this regiment, and the members were strengthened in their resolve to hold by the movement no less by the welcome they received from the public, than by the declaration of the commanding officer, that every man who was not a sworn-in defender of his country would in the hour of danger "be carted to the rear with the women and children." The regiment then returned to the head-quarters, followed by an immense concourse of people, who loudly cheered the volunteers at different points, and on the following day it marched to Victoria-park for the purpose of having battalion drill with the 40th Middlesex (the Central London Rifles), in order to be fitted for the review which was to take place on the following Saturday before the Queen. Of that review it is unnecessary to say anything more than that the 39th was represented by upwards of 200 effective members. The martial feeling of the district was now thoroughly aroused, and a trading citizen of London, residing in Barnsbury, named William Blankley, Esq., offered to raise a company, allowing those who joined to pay the cost of their uniforms and the subscription to the corps (then altogether over £4, now considerably less) by instalments, in the same manner as members of building societies pay for houses. In about a fortnight the company[1] was filled with most respectable young men, and the number might have been easily obtained twice over. The gentleman who raised the company was commissioned as its captain, a post which he now (1863) holds.

The commandant of the corps was now gazetted as major-commandant, and the 40th, then numbering nearly three companies, was joined with the 39th as an administrative battalion, to which Major Edgell, of the 53rd Bengal Native Infantry, and who had been military secretary to Sir John Lawrence during the mutiny, was appointed adjutant. An instructor from the School of Musketry at Hythe was appointed, and the members were taught all the movements preliminary to shooting. A range was hired at Child's-hill, Hampstead, and in the autumn of the same year (1860) some of the members had practice at ball firing, and though but comparatively few of the corps attended this necessary branch of their duties at this early date, yet a fair proportion of those who fired were able to pass out of the third and second classes. The butts rented by the corps did not extend beyond 600 yards, which is the maximum range of the second class, so that no first class marksmen could qualify that year.

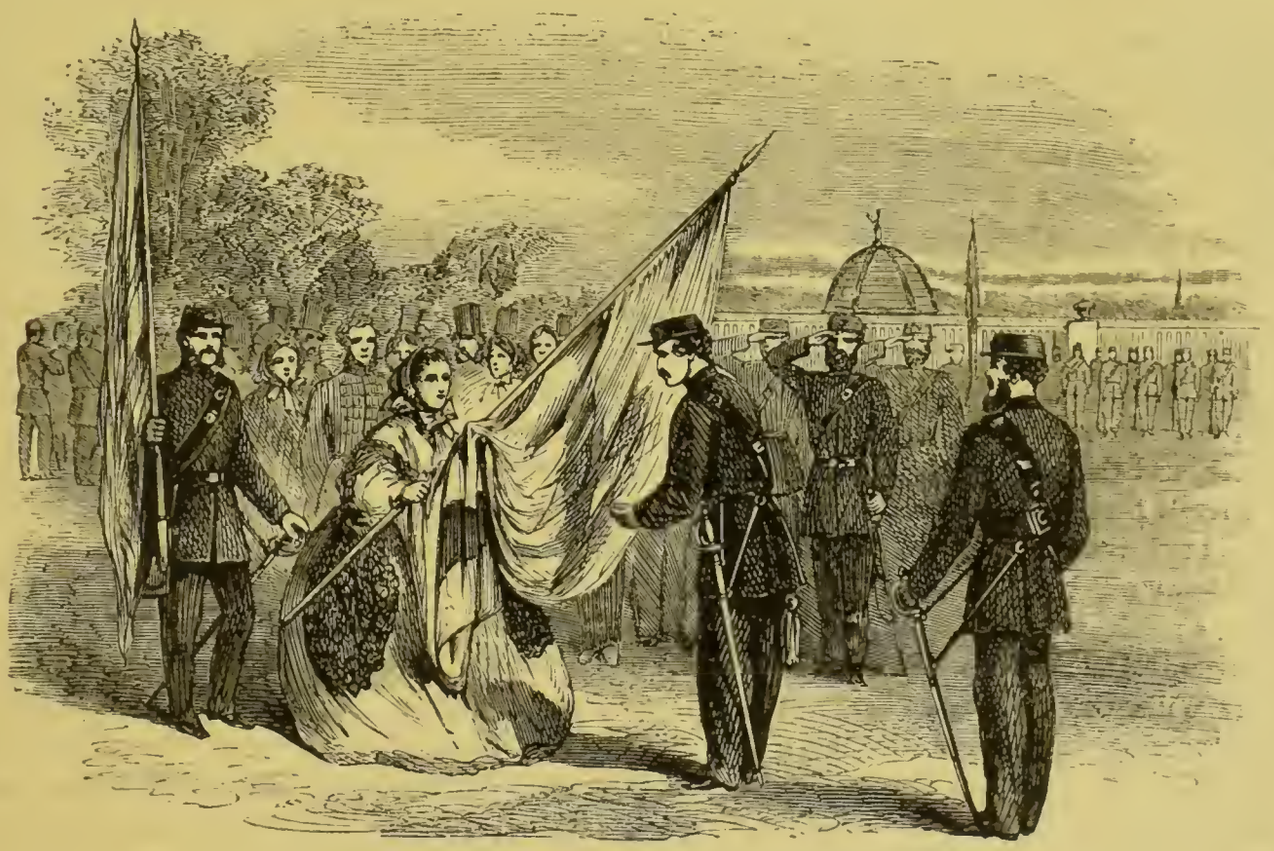
Towards the close of 1860, J. Berdoe, Esq., a retired citizen of London, living in Canonbury, offered to raise a company on the same principles as those under which the fifth had been raised

[1] The minimum number of a company is 60 men, and the maximum 100, with captain, lieutenant and ensign, five sergeants and four corporals.

by Captain Blankley. This was sanctioned by the commanding officer, and was quickly carried out. Mr. Berdoe was commissioned as the captain, his son as the ensign, and Mr. Hislop, F.R.S.R. (late of the Victoria Rifles), as the lieutenant.

Before the end of the year 1860, the workmen employed by Messrs. Pontifex, a well-known firm in Shoe-lane, Holborn, formed themselves, by the patronage of their employers, into the seventh company, with two gentlemen holding the name of the firm as officers. Almost at the same time, Mr. Edmonds, a gentleman living near Hornsey, raised the eighth company, and received the captaincy of it. Major Colvill was then gazetted as lieutenant-colonel commanding, and the regiment was gazetted as a battalion by itself.

This rapid increase of the regiment is attributable to many causes; among others, its comparative lowness of cost, and the patriotism of some of its officers; but to none more than its steady perseverance at drill. Still, it was astonishing that it should have grown so rapidly, for in the immediate neighbourhood there were many other regiments. So large was the corps now, that it



PRESENTATION OF COLOURS TO THE FINSBURY RIFLE CORPS.

was suggested the regiment should take a wider title, and this the council gave the corps by calling it "The Finsbury Rifles." This title the regiment was afterwards known by; but it was not until 1862 that it was confirmed, when it received the Queen's sanction at the request of Colonel Penton, the then commanding officer, and was notified in the *London Gazette* of that year. The corps received an invitation to go for a field day to Barnet on the day before Christmas, 1860. The snow was very thick on the ground, but nevertheless the regiment went, and had some excellent drill as riflemen acting as skirmishers. On this day the first prizes presented by the council of the corps were shot for, and the first second-class "marksman" was qualified, namely, Mr. Lawrence.

During 1861, the corps attended all the field days held, as that at Brighton, under Lord Ranelagh, that at Wimbledon, under the Duke of Cambridge, as well as sundry others. Eight members also represented the corps at the National Rifle Association's contest at Wimbledon, and one member, Mr. Soller, won a silver cup at a contest at Wormwood Scrubbs. In the autumn of the year prizes

were presented by Mr. Henry Holland, Mr. Henry Flear, Mr. Trewinnard, and Mr. North, and the close of the year found that the corps had made a great advance in shooting, for it had five first-class "marksmen" (members who had shot successfully up to 900 yards), and twelve "first-class" men.

On Whit Monday, 1861, a grand presentation was made to the regiment at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, of a beautiful pair of colours, at the cost of Captain Berdoe. The colours, which were presented by Miss Berdoe, were of stout silk, beautifully embroidered in gold and silk with the numerals of the corps; and were mounted on mahogany poles, and surmounted with golden spear heads. On the same occasion, Ensign Berdoe presented the corps with a set of silken flags, which are used as "points" or "battalion-aides." In the autumn of the year the ladies of Clerkenwell, at the Floral Hall, Covent-garden, presented the regiment with a handsome silver bugle. On that occasion Sir Samuel Morton Peto, the Member for Finsbury, was offered the honorary colonelcy of the regiment, which he accepted; but the Lord-Lieutenant refused to sanction the appointment, on the ground that the honorary colonelcy of a regiment could be given only to a member of the Royal Family, or to officers of the army who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country.

In the autumn of the year a challenge was sent to the 40th Middlesex (Central London Rifles), to shoot a match for a sum to be agreed upon. The match was made for £10 a side, for eighteen men of each corps to contend with the Government rifle and ammunition at 200, 500, and 700 yards' ranges, five shots each man at each range. The match was settled to be shot on the 13th of October; and it was shot that day on Plumstead Marshes. While the match was in progress a fearful thunderstorm with a hurricane of wind passed over the ground, and the match had to be stopped when the 500 yards had been shot. The "Finsbury" men were eleven points behind their opponents at the short range; but at the second one this loss was not only surmounted but they gained twelve points above the 40th. The match was concluded on the 1st of November in favour of the Finsbury, who won by seven points. Another match for a five pound note, which had been presented by a friend, was shot at 900 yards between Private Strugnell (of the 39th) and Private Blissett (of the 40th), and resulted in the victory of the Finsbury's man. The following were the representatives of the 39th, and the points made at the three ranges:—Colour-Sergeant Smith, 14; Corporal Northfield, 13; Private Strugnell, 13; Private Lawrence, 12; Sergeant While, 11; Private Soller, 11; Private Guy, 11; Private Kitchen, 10; Lieutenant Hislop, 9; Colour-Sergeant Douglas, 9; Corporal Shallcross, 9; Private Lizars, 8; Private Vokes, 8; Sergeant Sandon, 7; Sergeant Sans, 5; Private Larner, 4; Private Walsh, 3; Private Murray, 3. The last-named gentleman did not fire throughout the ranges. Amongst the best shots on the part of the 40th were Corporal Barber, Private Gunston, Private Wills, Captain Woods, Sergeant Roach, and Private Gardner. It must be explained that the style of scoring, in the year after this match, was altered. Thus up to 300 yards the points used to be scored, one for an outer, two for a centre, and three for a bull's-eye; and over that range, one for an outer and two for a centre. This is called the Hythe system. The Wimbledon system is an advance of one; thus an outer is scored two, a centre three, and a bull's-eye four; and while in the Hythe system there are no bull's-eyes over 300 yards, in the Wimbledon plan bull's-eyes are allowed throughout, so that the scoring by the latter system gives the shooter the appearance of having a larger score than by the other plan. It is necessary to state thus much as persons making a comparison must bear not only this fact in mind but also that both corps were young shooters, and that their matches took place under the most disadvantageous circumstances of being shot in storms of wind, rain, and thunder.

During the next year, 1862, the corps attended at Brighton on the great field day, when Lord Clyde, the Colin Campbell of India and the Crimea, commanded. It also attended at the Wimbledon review, which was held under the inspection of the Duke of Cambridge, and also at a review held in Lord Cowper's park, at Penshanger, in Hertfordshire, under Lord Ranelagh. In the autumn of this year the inhabitants of the district presented many prizes, and in consequence thereof the shooting of the members received a great impetus. The prize donors were H. Gardner, Esq., E. J. Thompson, Esq., Lieut.-Colonel Colvill, Captain Blankley, H. Holland, Esq., E. D. Johnson, Esq., C. Wright, Esq., Captains Edmonds, Pontifex, Virtue, Lieutenants Tidd, Hislop, Pontifex, and other

officers and private gentlemen. The ladies who had in the previous year presented the corps with the bugle, now gave a large and handsome silver vase as a challenge cup, which was won the first time by an inhabitant of Clerkenwell, Mr. Smith, who held the rank of colour-sergeant The shooting this year had greatly improved over that of the previous one, for at the conclusion of the season it was found that sixteen members had qualified as marksmen, nineteen as first-class men, sixty-nine as second class men, and that 146 had fired in class altogether. The shooting was carried out under the superintendence of Lieutenant Hislop, who was appointed officer instructor of musketry.

The regiment had, early in 1862, the misfortune to lose its commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Colvill. A Mr. Wood, a Middlesex magistrate, and who was lieutenant-colonel of a small corps in the suburbs, proposed a motion at a court of the magistrates, that the command of a rifle corps and the duties of governor of the House of Correction were incompatible. Lord Enfield, Lord Ranelagh, and other volunteer commanding officers, came forward to oppose the motion; but Colonel Colvill had placed an offer to resign the command of the corps in the hands of the visiting justices, and this offer the court, by 31 against 21, agreed to accept.

The regiment regretted deeply the loss of its soldierly commandant, and the time following the resignation was one of deep anxiety to the friends of the 39th. Several gentlemen were suggested to the corps, but as no election was allowed a great difficulty was experienced in mooting the matter. A very decided expression of opinion was given when it became known that a nobleman who was connected with several corps wanted to command the Finsbury. The name was withdrawn only when a firm resolution was expressed by the majority to resign if that nobleman were gazetted; but all danger was not felt to be passed until it was publicly announced that Major Penton, of the Queen's Own (Royal Westminster) Militia, a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Middlesex, and aide-de-camp to the Queen, would receive the sanction of the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Salisbury. The name of Major Penton gratified all parties, and he was felt to be, as it were, the rightful commander of the Finsbury Volunteer Corps, being connected by name and property with the borough—the Pentonville property, the next largest estate to that of the Marquis of Northampton, owning him as its freeholder. The major refused to take the command unless the members *unanimously* approved of his appointment, and as there was not a single word raised against him, he was shortly afterwards gazetted as lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and there is every reason to believe that the Finsbury Rifles and Colonel Penton are in every way pleased with each other, for the colonel has shown himself to be well fitted for the command, and the regiment can appreciate his endeavours to keep it in importance and efficiency, and to raise it in strength.

The last event of 1862 was the presentation, on the 22nd December, at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, of the prizes to those who had won them, as well as the presentation to Colonel Colvill of a handsome silver *epergne*, above two feet in height, and valued at about fifty guineas, as a testimonial from the corps which he had before commanded. The prizes presented to the best shots and the best attendants at drill amounted in value to about £120, and the hearty interest taken by the locality of Clerkenwell in this movement is proved by the fact that nearly all the donors were residents in this parish.

The ex-commandant of the corps, many of the influential inhabitants of this parish, as well as some of the Vestrymen of St. Luke's, are enrolled as non-effective or honorary members of the 39th, and amongst other names are those of G. W. King, Esq. (ex-churchwarden of St. Luke's), John Parson, Esq., the Managing Director of the Metropolitan Railway, and Sir S. Morton Peto.

The regiment now (February, 1863) has eight companies, with a staff composed of lieutenant-colonel, a major (Major Woodhead, an officer of the Queen's Own Militia, and who is a well-known author, holds this position), eight captains, and as many lieutenants and ensigns. The captains now are Poley, Willis, Virtue, Turney, Blankley, Berdoe, Pontifex, and Edmonds. The numerical strength of the regiment was lately 625, but it has been as high as 750. There was a falling off at one time; but within the last few months the companies have been greatly strengthened through the efforts made by the officers, who have used their best exertions to this end; and an impetus has been given by the Government grant to lessen the volunteers' expenses. The House of Commons, upon the

recommendation of a Royal Commission, and at the instance of the Government, has (1863) voted a sum to cover the cost of the head-quarters, rifle ranges, drill grounds, and other expenses of volunteer regiments. The effective volunteers of the 39th Middlesex will be benefitted by this grant, for whereas formerly the privates were called upon to pay 12s. 6d. annually for general and band expenses, and had also to pay their railway fares to the range when class firing was gone through, they are now called upon to pay only 5s. annually, to cover all outgoings, and will besides have free railway tickets when they go class firing. All non-effectives will have to pay the full sum. The present volunteers will not (as did the volunteers of 1804) touch the money of Government in any way, and each corps will receive a share of the grant in proportion to the number of effective men it can show—for each effective man twenty shillings, and for each first-class man thirty shillings per annum. The surplus of the money granted to the 39th will, in equitable proportions, go to cheapen the cloth to effective members who desire to renew their uniforms. The Government grant, although fairly earned, is allowed only to pay for certain things, and must not be applied for bands and other things required by the volunteers; so that there will always be some small expenses, which the reduced subscriptions of effective members, the full subscriptions of non-effectives, and the contributions of honorary members and inhabitants are expected to cover. It is probable that now a still greater increase will take place in the 39th regiment, by some of the patriotic inhabitants of adjacent parishes stepping forward to undertake the command of companies. Several adjoining parishes are not identified with this movement as they ought to be, and therefore it is likely that now greater facilities are offered for joining it, the desire of doing so may arise, in which case the Islington[1] and other companies will be attached to the battalion which commenced in Clerkenwell, and which, although known by a wider title, will always be honourably associated with the parish.

CRAWFORD'S PASSAGE, OR PICKLED EGG WALK.

This is a narrow thoroughfare leading from Baker's-row into Ray-street, and was, until the opening of Victoria-street, the most direct route to the City from Clerkenwell. On the east side of this declivity, next the workhouse, formerly stood the premises of a large sugar refiner; and adjacent on the south side a range of humble dwelling houses. These, with the sugar bakery, were pulled down during the year 1856, and the ground was cleared for the furtherance of the long talked of Clerkenwell improvements. At the top of the ascent, about the middle of the passage, stands a small public-house, known as the Pickled Egg, so called from its original proprietor—who was perhaps a native of Dorset or Hants, where in some parts this singular pickle is still prepared—selling such a novelty to his customers.[2] Obviously the sign to which we have referred was the occasion of so singular a name as Pickled Egg-walk being given to this avenue. It is said that King Charles halted at this hostel during one of his suburban journeys, and partook of a pickled egg.

"At the pit in Pickled Egg-walk," in the year 1775, there were frequent exhibitions of the brutal diversion of cockfighting; and of this cruel and disgusting sport the following notices, couched in the language of the fancy, appeared in the "Daily Advertiser" for June, 1775:—

"Cocking.—To be fought this and the two following days, at the Pit, Pickled Egg-walk, a main of cocks, for four guineas a battle, and twenty the odd, between the gentlemen of London and Essex. To begin fighting each day at half-past five." (Tuesday, June 20th.)

[1] Islington had two corps, the 4th and 7th Middlesex. The latter, in consequence of a quarrel with the commander of the battalion, is erased from the list of Middlesex corps, and the former musters so poorly, that it is more often absent from, than present at, volunteer displays.

[2] The following recipe for making this pickle may seem somewhat irrelevant, but we hope to be excused for introducing it, since to many of our readers the pickling of eggs may be a novelty:—Boil some dozens of eggs in a capacious saucepan until they become quite hard; then carefully remove the shells and lay the eggs in large-mouthed jars; pour over them scalding vinegar well seasoned with allspice, a few pieces of ginger, and a few cloves; when cold they must be bunged down close, and in a month they will be fit for use. It is recommended as a good accompaniment to cold meat.

"Cocking.—To be fought, a main of cocks, at the Pit, Pickled Egg-walk, next Tuesday, and continue all the week, for five guineas a battle and fifty the odd, between the gentlemen of Middlesex and Wiltshire; and a pair of shakebags[1] to fight each day, for ten pounds a battle." (Saturday, June 21.)

There were two kinds of cockfighting formerly practised—the *battle royal* and the *Welsh main*. In the former a certain number of cocks were let loose to fight, and when one had destroyed the other the survivor was accounted the victor, and obtained the prize. In the latter kind of battle—the main referred to in the foregoing notices—a certain number of cocks were pitted against each other, and the conquerors were made to fight again and again, until it was left for the two last victors to terminate the murderous game, amid the noisy exultations of the spectators. Cockfighting is now forbidden, and is punishable by the law of the land.

In Defoe's "Journey through England" (1724) we read:—

"A cockpit is the very model of an amphitheatre of the ancients. The cocks fight in the area as the beasts did formerly among the Romans; and round the circle above sit the spectators in their several rows. It's wonderful to see the courage of these little creatures, who always hold fighting on till one of them drops, and dies on the spot. I was at several of these matches and never saw a cock run away; however, I must own it to be a remnant of the barbarous customs of this island, and too cruel for my entertainment. There is always a continued noise amongst the spectators in laying wagers upon every blow each cock gives; who, by the way, I must tell you, wear steel spurs (called, I think, gaffects) for their surer execution. And this noise runs, fluctuating backwards and forwards, during each battle, which is a great amusement, and I believe abundance of people get money by taking and laying odds on each stroke, and find their account in the end of the battle; but these are people that must nicely understand it. If an Italian, a German, or a Frenchman should by chance come into these cockpits, without knowing beforehand what is meant by this clamour, he would certainly conclude the assembly to be all mad, by their continued outcries of 'six to four, five to one, ten pounds to a crown,' which is always repeated here, and with great earnestness, every spectator taking part with his favourite cock as if it were a party cause."

DORRINGTON STREET.

This street was erected in the year 1720, as we learn from an inscribed stone tablet enclosed by a raised frame of brickwork, placed between the houses Nos. 6 and 7. Its builder was one Thomas Dorrington, citizen and bricklayer of London, to whom Messrs. Baynes and Warner demised the ground for building "The Apple Tree" public house at the south-east corner. This long-established house was newly fronted and modernised about six or seven years ago. The old house was much resorted to by the discharged prisoners from the neighbouring House of Correction, and their friends. "Perhaps the only waggery in public-house customs," writes J. T. Smith, in his "Vagabondia," "now remaining is in the tap-room of the Apple Tree, opposite Cold Bath Fields Prison. There are a pair of handcuffs fastened to the wires as bell-pulls, and the orders given by some of the company when they wish their friends to ring, are 'agitate the conductors.'" This house was at one time kept by Topham, "the strong man," whose astonishing feats of strength we have already enlarged upon.[2]

EXMOUTH STREET.

On the south side of this thoroughfare is Spa Fields Chapel. This place, which, as a chapel of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, has been consecrated for nearly eighty years to divine worship, was originally built for, and opened as a place of public amusement, in the year 1770. The Pantheon, as it was then called, soon became a place of infamous resort, and entirely lost its character

[1] *Shakebag.*—When a main of cocks was fought, so many on each side, sometimes as many as thirty, each cock was brought in a bag and shaken into the cockpit. The cock of the greatest promise, the best cock, was called by the owner his shakebag.—*Notes and Queries*, vol. iii., 2nd s., p. 235.

[2] *Vide* page 77.

for order and propriety, despite the professed exertions of its proprietor to keep the place select. In the "Public Advertiser" of the 22nd of August, 1770, appeared the following announcement:—"Spaw Field, Islington. Deeply sensible of the many favours he has received from the public since the opening of the Pantheon, Mr. Craven, the proprietor, embraces this early opportunity of returning his most grateful thanks to those Ladies and Gentlemen who have honoured him with their company, begging leave to assure them he will always have the best assortment of Tea, Coffee, Wines, &c., for their accommodation, flattering himself that the rule he has established for the strict maintenance of order, by selling nothing after 10 o'clock in the evening, will be fortunate enough to merit their approbation."

This place, which was an humble imitation of a more costly structure of the same name which had then just been erected for the amusement of the aristocracy in Oxford-street, is intelligently described in a publication of the period, entitled "The Sunday Ramble." "The Pantheon in Spa Fields," says the anonymous writer of this interesting little *brochure*, "is a large round building with a statue of Fame on the top. The inside consists of two galleries, reaching entirely round the whole, for company to sit in, and a proportionate number of seats at the bottom. In the middle is a curious stove, with fireplaces all round, constructed in such a manner as to carry off the smoke without any chimney or the least inconvenience to the company, and at the same time warm the whole building in the severest weather. Besides this there is a beautiful garden well disposed into fancy walks, and ornamented with a great variety of shrubs and fruit trees. On one side of the garden is a large pond, at the extremity of which is a statue of Hercules with his club on a high pedestal; at the other end a small genteel building for company, up a handsome flight of stone steps. One side of the pond, and that end which contains the Herculean statue, are likewise bordered with neat boxes for company, and there are a great number of seats dispersed in different parts of the garden, together with several genteel tea-rooms in the dwelling-house adjoining." So popular was the Pantheon at one time, that the company was so numerous that there was hardly a place to sit down, although the establishment was very spacious. The writer already quoted, who visited the place on a Sunday, describes the rotunda as being then so crowded that the noise of the people's feet, together with the shape of the building, rendered it no bad similitude to that to which it was compared by a countryman then present, who, staring with great seeming astonishment at the multitude of people in the spacious galleries, declared that it was the largest beehive he had ever beheld. The author before quoted then proceeds to describe the company—"consisting of some hundreds of persons of both sexes, the greater part of which, notwithstanding their gay appearance, were evidently neither more nor less than journeyman taylors, hairdressers, and other such genteel people, attended by their proper companions—milliners, mantua makers, and servant maids. There was likewise those who had thrown off even the mask of virtue, and were come to this place to barter their artificial charms for sterling beauty. Some of the company were drinking tea, coffee, negus, and such like female liquors, while others of a different cast chose to regale themselves with a stronger beverage, and were swallowing down such plentiful draughts of punch, red port, &c., as must unavoidably sooner make the place go round with them in appearance, than they round it in reality."

We find the following letter published in the "St. James's Chronicle:"—

"To the Printer of the 'St. James's Chronicle.'

"Sir,—Happening to dine last Sunday with a friend in the City, after coming from church, the weather being very inviting, we took a walk as far as Islington. In our return home towards Cold Bath Fields we stepped in to view the Pantheon there; but such a scene of disorder, riot, and confusion presented itself to me on my entrance, that I was just turning on my heel in order to quit it, when my friend observed that we might as well have something for our money (for the doorkeeper obliged each of us to deposit a *testar* before he granted us admission). I acquiesced in his proposal, and became one of the giddy multitude. I soon, however, repented my choice; for, besides having our sides almost squeezed together, we were in danger every minute of being scalded with the boiling water which the officious Mercuries were circulating with the utmost expedition through their respective districts. We therefore began to look out for some place to sit down in, which with the greatest difficulty we at length procured, and producing our tickets were served with twelvepennyworth of punch.

Being seated towards the front of one of the galleries, I had now a better opportunity of viewing this dissipated scene. The male part of the company seemed to consist of City apprentices, and the lower class of tradesmen. The ladies, who constituted by far the greater part of the assembly, seemed most of them to be pupils of the Cyprian goddess, and I was sometimes accosted with 'Pray, sir, will you treat me with a dish of tea?' Of all the Tea houses in the environs of London the most exceptionable that I have had occasion to be in is the Pantheon.

I am, sir, your constant reader,

"Chiswick, May 5, 1772." "SPECULATOR.

On Sabbath day who has not seen,
In colours of the rainbow dizened,
The 'prentice beaux and belles I ween,
Fatigued with heat with dust half poisoned,
To Dobney's strolling or Pantheon,
Their tea to sip or else regale,
As on the way they shall agree on,
With syllabubs or bottled ale.[1]

The Pantheon was preceded by an humble wayside inn, which bore the name of the "Ducking Pond House." From the front of this house projected a transverse beam, one end of which was socketed in the wall, and its opposite extremity supported by an upright; from this beam, which extended across the road, was suspended a swing signboard; it may have been to let the wayfarer know that the host of the inn provided "Good entertainment for man and beast."[2] In the rear of the house was a railed pond, of oblong shape—the Ducking Pond, as it was called, by reason of a cruel pastime much in vogue with our ancestors, viz., that of ducking, or duck hunting, which amusement consisted of setting a dog upon a duck, and then watching the flutterings and struggles of the wretched bird to escape its tormentors. At this Ducking Pond "a sad mischance once happened, viz., on the 19th of January, 1683, six pretty young lads going to sport themselves upon the ice, when it was frozen over, the ice broke and they all fell in and lost their lives, to the great grief of many that saw them dying, and many more that saw them dead, as well as to their parents."[3]

The Ducking Pond premises were taken by Mr. Rosoman, and by him the grounds were converted into pleasure gardens, as before described. He subsequently leased the whole of the circumjacent land of the Marquis of Northampton, and afterwards sub-let a portion of it to a Mr. Craven, on condition of his erecting thereon a rotunda, and laying out the ground in gardens. The wife of the lessee, visiting the building just before it was finished, was so overcome by the gloomy thoughts that troubled her mind, that she gave vent to tears, and remarked to a friend who accompanied her, "It is very pretty, but I foresee that it will be the ruin of us, and one day or other be turned into a Methodist Meeting House." These gloomy anticipations were realised in the bankruptcy of her husband, and the sale of his effects, as appears from the following advertisement:—

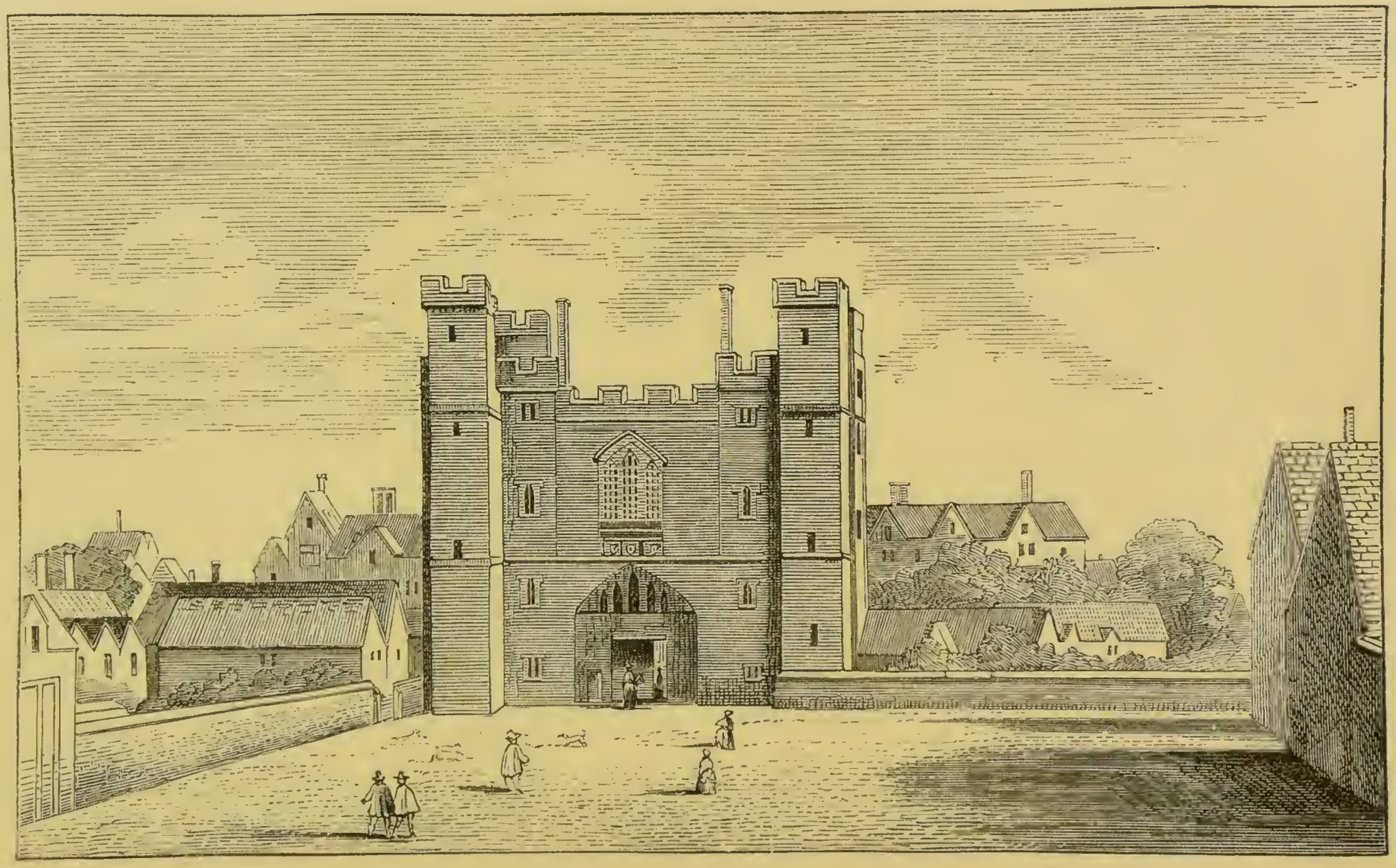
"To be sold by auction, by Thomas Ridgeway, on the premises, on Monday, the 21st instant, beginning at 12 o'clock, by order of the Assignees under a commission of Bankruptcy, awarded against Mr. William Craven, Vintner, that large and elegant dome building, the New Pantheon, in Clerkenwell, near Bagnigge Wells. Together with the spacious tavern, extensive gardens and premises thereunto belonging, commanding a pleasing view of Hampstead, Highgate, and the adjacent country. No place of the like nature is so well adapted for the entertainment of genteel companies, and upwards of one thousand persons have at one time been accommodated in the Rotunda. The gardens consist of about four acres, laid out in the most agreeable and improved taste, refreshed with a canal, abounding with carp, tench, &c., at the west end of which is an elegant summer house, and opposite a statue of Hercules, near which are large alcoves, seats, and suitable receptions for company in the summer months. The whole buildings are finished in a masterly manner; upwards of £6000 have been expended to complete the same. It is now in full trade, and the returns almost incredible. The premises are held by lease for 42 years from Michaelmas, 1769, subjected to the small annual rent of £90 for the three first years, £100 per annum for the next four years, and £110 for the remainder of the said term."[4]

[1] *London Evening Post*, Aug., 1776.
[2] *A New and Exact Prospect of the North Side of the City of London*, 1730.
[3] STRYPE'S *Stow*, ed. 1720, vol. i, p. 64.
[4] *London Evening Post and Advertiser*, March 10th, 1774.

The Pantheon, failing to be successful, was finally closed as a place of amusement in the year 1776. About the end of that year the attention of the pious Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, was first directed to this place as suitable for a chapel; the countess cordially entertained the proposition, and consulted Toplady on the subject; he, in a letter addressed to her ladyship, expressed his opinion that the expenses of fitting up the Pantheon as a chapel would be too great, as it would cost not less than £400. "With regard to the place where the Pantheon stands, I am humbly of opinion that the situation is much to its disadvantage. It seems too large for a place of worship to be well attended, unless it stood more in town. The ways to it are none of the best, especially in winter. Consider also the constant supply of able ministers such a chapel would require. Where are they to be had?" Discouraged by this cautious advice of Toplady, the countess declined to undertake the Pantheon. But it was immediately afterwards taken by a company of gentlemen, who incurred considerable expense in fitting up and embellishing the interior, and engaged the Rev. H. Jones, chaplain to the Misericordia Hospital, and the Rev. W. Taylor, domestic chaplain to the Earl of Marchmont, both clergymen of the establishment, and of known evangelical principles, to carry on religious worship. The chapel was first opened as Northampton Chapel, on Saturday, the 5th of July, 1777, by the Rev. John Ryland, senior, of Northampton. On the next Sunday morning, July 6th, Mr. Jones preached a judicious sermon from Gen. xxviii. 19, "And he (Jacob) called the name of the place Bethel; but the name of that city was called Luz at first." This sermon was published with the title of "Aulim Luz," and in it the reverend gentleman, taking for granted that every place of public amusement was dedicated as a matter of course to improper purposes, appeals to the knowledge of his congregation that "this had indeed been a place of profaneness." He calls it "a colonnade of profaneness," and consecrates it at once a Bethel, "wherein is to be preached the doctrines of Christ as contained in the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England."[1]

A collection of psalms and hymns, two hundred and fifty in number, selected chiefly from the Countess of Huntingdon's and the Tabernacle selections, was published in 1777, for the use of the congregation of Northampton Chapel. The faithful preaching of the reverend gentlemen who officiated at this chapel attracted to it a numerous congregation, who thronged every part of the spacious edifice, and many, being unable to obtain admission, climbed up to the windows. This circumstance served to excite the envy of the Rev. William Sellon, incumbent of St. James's, Clerkenwell, a rich pluralist, who, by virtue of his position, claimed the privilege of preaching in the chapel whenever he pleased, the right of nominating the chaplains who should officiate there, and formally demanded the sacramental and all other monies arising from the sittings and other sources to be paid to him; and, on pain of noncompliance, the ministers and committee were threatened with proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts. These unreasonable claims the proprietors firmly resisted. Mr. Sellon, foiled in his object by the firmness of the committee of Northampton Chapel, vindictively instituted a suit in the Consistorial Court of the Bishop of London, and to that Spiritual Court Messrs. Jones and Taylor were cited to answer for their irregularity in preaching in a place not episcopally consecrated, and for carrying on Divine worship there contrary to the wish of the minister of the parish. Verdicts were obtained against them, forbidding them from preaching there, and the chapel was accordingly closed. At this juncture the Countess of Huntingdon repaired to London, and, after consulting with some of her most influential friends, resolved to become the proprietress of Northampton Chapel, and after some improvements and alterations had been made, the name was changed to that of Spa Fields Chapel, and it was re-opened in the Connexion of the Countess of Huntingdon, on the 29th of March, 1779, by one of her ladyship's chaplains, the Rev. Dr. Haweis, rector of All Saints, Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, who preached a powerful and impressive sermon to an overflowing congregation, from 1 Cor., i. 23 and 24, "We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block; and unto the Greeks, foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God."

[1] *Aulim Luz*, p. 23.



ST. JOHN'S GATE, NORTH SIDE. 1661.

The countess supposed that she, as a peeress of the realm, had a right to employ her own chaplains at any time and place in the most public manner. In this, however, she was soon undeceived, for Mr. Sellon, who justly merited the appellation of Sanballat, renewed his attack, not against the place, but against every clergyman whom her ladyship engaged to preach there. The matter was again brought into the Ecclesiastical Courts, to which Dr. Haweis and the Rev. Cradock Glascott were cited, and verdicts were obtained against them on the 26th of May, 1780, forbidding them for the future to preach or read prayers in Spa Fields Chapel. We extract the following from a journal of the period :—

"Yesterday (27th May, 1780) the suit brought by the Rev. Mr. Sellon, Minister of St. James, Clerkenwell, against the Rev. Mr. Haweis, rector of Adwinkle, in Northamptonshire, and chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon, for reading prayers, and preaching in the Pantheon Chapel, in Clerkenwell, commonly called Northampton Chapel, or Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, was determined in favour of Mr. Sellon. Several depositions were read, proving on one side, that the chapel was a very large building, sufficient to hold between two and three thousand persons ; that fifteen hundred or two thousand often resorted to it ; that it had doors open to the street ; that tickets for admissiou to it had been purchased of the Rev. Mr. Taylor ; and that Mr. Sellon was greatly injured by it in the profits of his living. On the other side—That the Countess of Huntingdon had taken a lease of the house and premises ; that the Chapel was her family Chapel ; and that Mr. Hawels was Chaplain to her Ladyship, and officiated in the said Chapel only in that capacity. A deposition given by the Rev. Mr. Taylor was read, declaring that he never sold any tickets for admission into the Chapel, but that when any persons subscribed any sum for the Chapel, he gave them tickets for admission, gratis.—The right of Peers, and their Chaplains, with respect to the point in question, was fully argued ; and the Judge, after having entered into the full merits of the case, and pointed out the rule of right, with great precision, passed sentence upon Mr. Haweis, admonishing him for his fault, forbidding him to preach in the parish of Clerkenwell for the future, and condemning him to pay costs."

The Countess of Huntingdon sought the legal advice of Mr. Serjeant Glynn, then Recorder of London, who informed her that the ecclesiastical law was against her in some points—"points which would not be insurmountable were our bishops differently minded." To avoid further persecution it was unanimously resolved by the countess and her chaplains to take shelter under the protection of the Toleration Act.[1] "I am reduced," said her ladyship, "to turn the finest congregation, not only in England, but in any part of the world, into a Dissenting Meeting." Messrs. Wills and Taylor, who had joined the connexion after Mr. Haweis's expulsion from the chapel, agreed to secede from the Established Church, took the oaths of allegiance as Dissenting ministers, and retained such parts of the church service as is allowed to Dissenters by the canons, justifying their conduct in a letter to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England. Mr. Wills was appointed minister, and divine worship was carried on from that time with uninterrupted peace and harmony.[2]

The following circumstance is related by one who was present in the chapel in the autumn of 1780 :—Mr. Wills was preaching a memorable sermon from the words "The trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised." While he was depicting the dread solemnities of the last judgment, suddenly the heavens gathered blackness, and gave birth to a tremendous storm. The successive flashes of vivid lightning which darted upon the congregation through every avenue, the heavy bursts of thunder that rolled over the dome of the chapel, with the torrents of rain that fell, connected with the impressive subject of the discourse, united to produce an awful and lasting effect.[3]

In 1780 this chapel narrowly escaped being pulled down by the rioters, who came from Clerkenwell Bridewell, and, supposing that it still belonged to Mr. Maberly, who had incurred their displeasure, they were going to demolish it, but being informed that it belonged to the Countess of

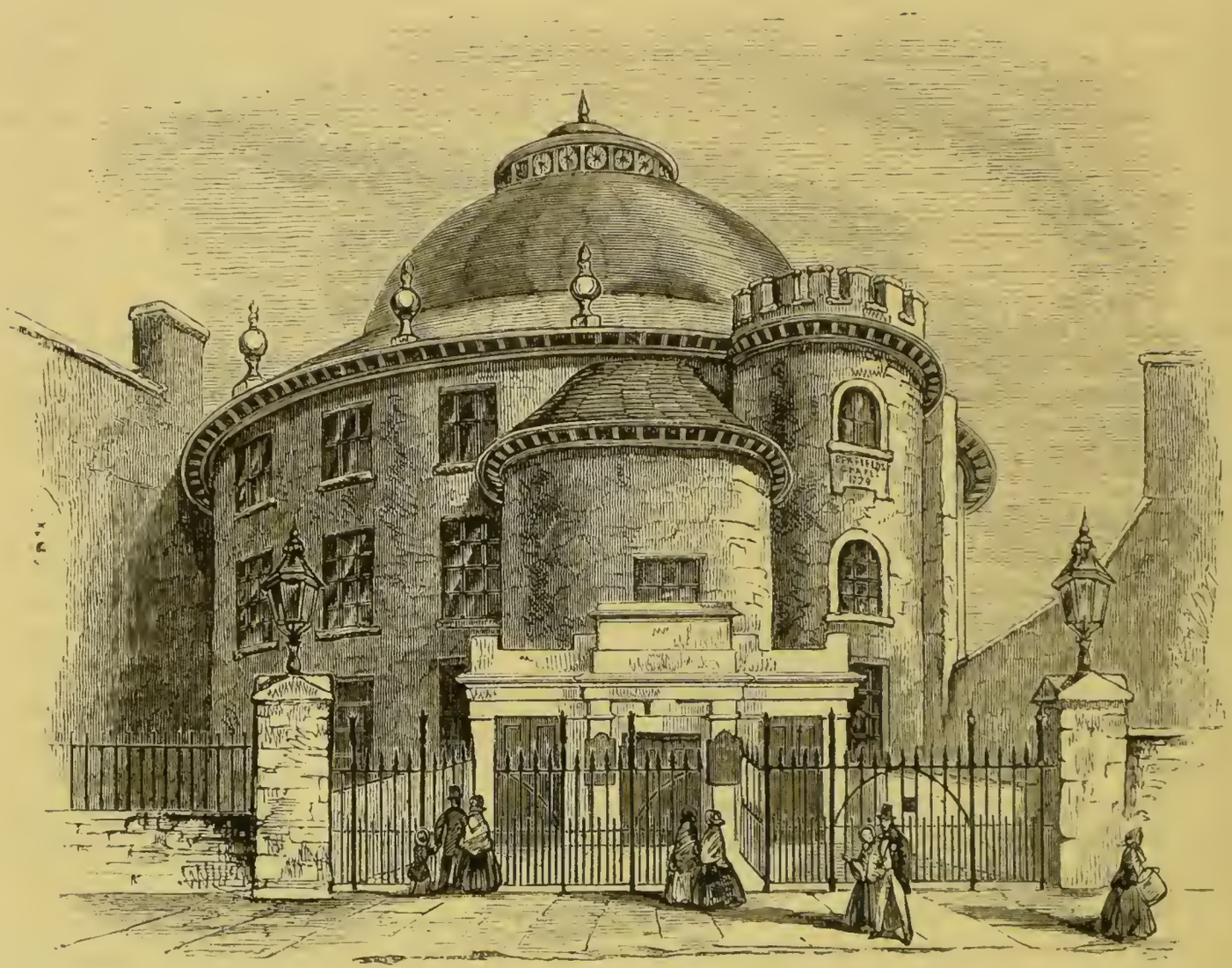
[1] By the Toleration Act, 1 W. and M., st. 1, c. 18 (confirmed by 10 Ann, c. 2), all persons dissenting from the Church of England (except Papists and persons denying the Trinity) were relieved from such of the Acts against non-conformity, as prevented their assembling for religious worship according to their own forms, or otherwise restrained their religious liberty—on condition of their taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribing a declaration against transubstantiation, and (in the case of dissenting ministers), subscribing also to certain of the Thirty-nine Articles.

[2] *Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. ii. pp. 306-313.

[3] *Report of the Spa Fields Chapel*, 1855.

Huntingdon, one of the rioters (who was afterwards executed at Newgate) urged his comrades to spare the place, because his mother went there to worship; this they did, and retired without doing any mischief.

Immediately after the opening of this chapel, the countess established a band to lead the singing, and it was reported of one musician that "the King says he is equal to Handel, and that his heart is warmly engaged to give us help." Shrubsole, the composer of the music to that beautiful hymn, "All hail the power of Jesus' name," was then organist of the chapel. The Spa Fields Chapel congregation was for many years one of the wealthiest and most influential in the Metropolis—a



THE EXTERIOR OF SPA FIELDS CHAPEL.

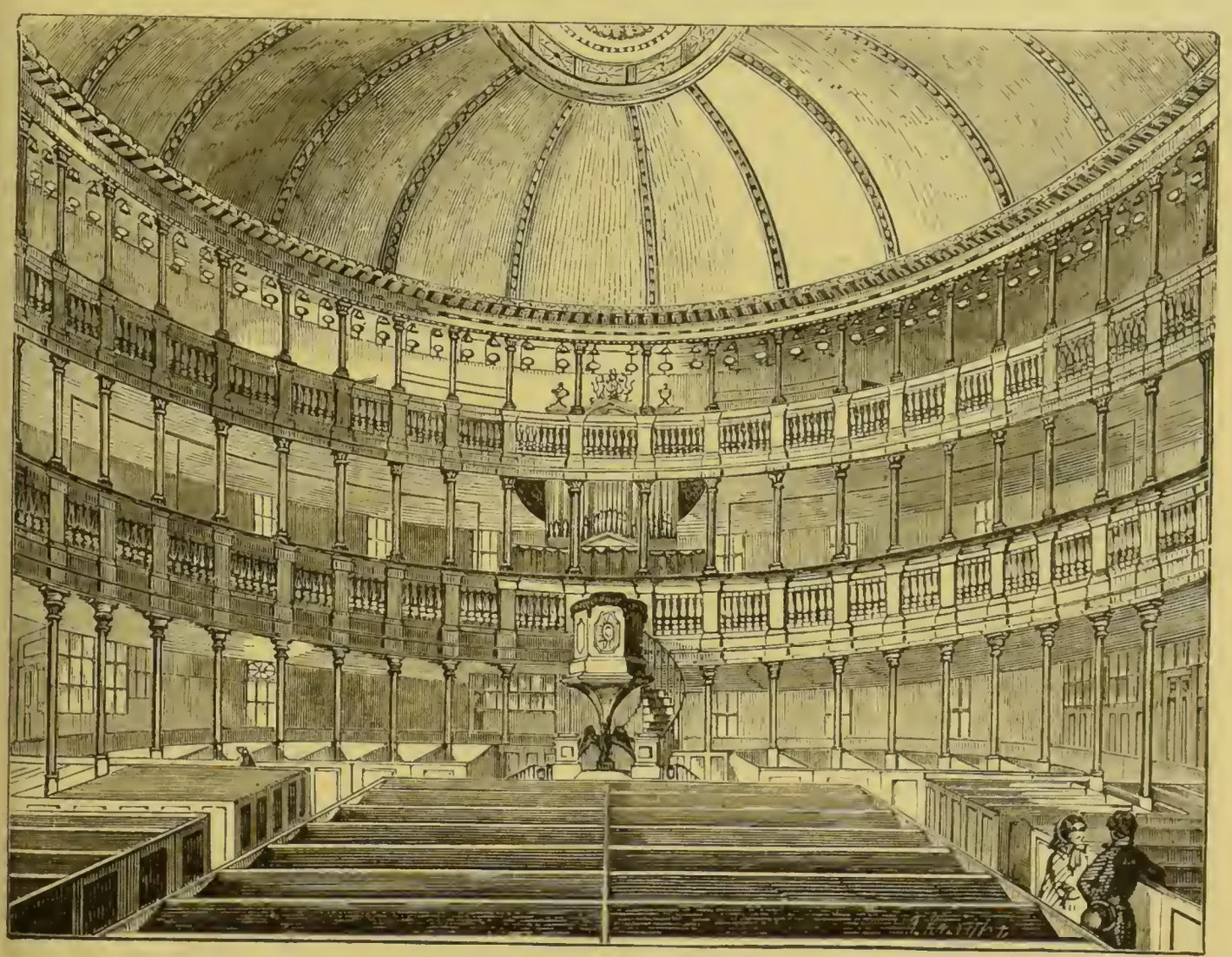
reputation which in some measure it still enjoys, being rich in good works. This congregation's meetings for worship have been honoured by the presence of royalty in the person of the late Duke of Kent, the father of our beloved sovereign.

On Sunday, the 9th of March, 1783, the first public ordination of ministers in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, on the plan of the Secession, was held in Spa Fields Chapel, when six young men who had been educated at her ladyship's college at Trevecca, South Wales (since removed to Cheshunt, Herts), were ordained to the work of the sacred ministry.

For nearly seventy years the pulpit was supplied by a succession of ministers who had been educated at Cheshunt, agreeably with the wishes of the countess; a desire, however, was manifested by the congregation for a stated minister; and in the year 1846, the Rev. T. E. Thoresby, by general invitation, accepted the pastorate, and commenced his zealous ministerial labours in the month of November of that year.

In the year 1855 the lease of the chapel expired. Application was then made to the Marquis of Northampton for a renewal of it, which was obtained for a limited period, thirty-one years, and will consequently expire in 1886, at Midsummer. The chapel was then repaired and beautified at the cost of about £700.

The body of the chapel is a rotunda; the windows, of which there are three tiers, are very numerous; the walls are of brick, pointed, and finished with a cornice supported by brackets. The roof is a slated cupola, surmounted by a lantern, on which, as we have already stated, was formerly an effigy of Fame. Urns are placed at measured intervals round the cornice. The entrances, which



THE INTERIOR OF SPA FIELDS CHAPEL.

in the year 1845 were greatly modernized and improved, are beneath two buttress-like projections, one of which is semi-circular and embattled, having affixed to it in a conspicuous place a tablet inscribed with the name of the chapel, and the date of its first occupancy by the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion in 1779. In 1845 a new iron railing was erected in front of the chapel, new gates were set up, and gas lamps were mounted upon two piers of brickwork. The interior, of which we cannot speak with too much praise, is of a most imposing character; not that it is redundant with ornament, for it is extremely chaste and elegant; but it is rendered impressive by the vast scope of the building. Such structures as this seem peculiarly fitted for divine worship. The minister has his congregation around and below him, and they in their turn are enabled to see him without shifting their positions to avoid staring point blank at a massive stone pillar, as the people in many Gothic structures have to do. The ceiling of the dome is neatly ornamented. A moulded cornice supported by brackets encircles the upper part of the building below the cupola.

There is a double range of galleries extending round the building, supported in front by slender pillars placed at regular intervals. The open balustrade, which is now screened by wainscoting, must originally have imparted an airy lightness to these galleries. The organ is placed on the western side; and opposite is the pulpit, neatly painted white, the mouldings of the panels being gilt, with the initials of "Jesus Hominum Salvator," surrounded by a glory, also gilt, in front. Below the pulpit are desks for the reader and clerk, similarly embellished; between them is the effigy of an eagle with extended wings painted to resemble bronze. Within the railed space beneath stands the communion table. The chapel is estimated to hold about two thousand persons. This beautiful structure, since 1845, has been most effectively and pleasingly lighted by a monster ring of gas jets, about sixty-four in number, embracing the entire circumference of the building beneath the dome, the light from which is mellowed by globular shades of ground glass.

SPA FIELDS SCHOOLS.

In the year 1782 the Spa Fields Charity School was established by the excellent Countess of Huntingdon, for clothing and educating the children of the very poor. The average number of children of both sexes who have participated in its benefits since its institution is about sixty, to which the number on the foundation is limited. These and other children who paid a small weekly sum used to assemble in the school-rooms of the chapel-house adjoining until the year 1855, when, owing to the increased attendance of children at the daily schools, it was decided to erect a more capacious building. An eligible site was found in the rear of the chapel, and the first stone of this "Structure of Hope, founded in Faith on the basis of Charity," was laid by the treasurer on the 15th of October, 1855, upon a spot which was formerly the countess's garden. This building, which is admirably adapted for the purposes of its erection, was completed in the following year, from the designs of T. Constantine, Esq., at the cost of about £1200. The dimensions of the large room are 72 feet by 32 feet, and of the infant school 29 feet by 19 feet. The large room will accommodate from three hundred to five hundred children, and the average daily attendance is nearly four hundred. This commodious room is also made available for public meetings and lectures, and as many as six hundred persons have been assembled here at one time.

RESIDENCE OF THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON.

The large house adjoining the chapel on the east side is the property of the "Connexion." This house, in which were "several genteel tea rooms" to accommodate the *elite* of the company that resorted to the Pantheon, was formerly partially covered by the spreading branches of a beautiful jessamine tree. To this house Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, removed in 1779, and here she died on the 17th of June, 1791, in the 84th year of her age, she having been born on the 24th of August, 1707. Her ladyship had been a widow forty-five years, and was buried pursuant to her will in the same tomb with her deceased lord—Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon (to whom she had been united in marriage on the 3rd of June, 1728), at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, in a plain black coffin, but dressed in the gown of white silk which she had worn at the opening of one of her chapels, in Goodman's Fields.

"The noble and elect Lady Huntingdon," writes one of her chaplains—Dr. T. Haweis, "had lived in the highest circle of fashion; by birth a daughter of the house of Shirley, by marriage united with the Earl of Huntingdon, both bearing the royal arms of England as descendants from her ancient monarchs. In early infancy the sight of a corpse about her own age conveying to the grave engaged her to attend the burial. There the first impressions of deep seriousness about an eternal world laid hold on her conscience. During her juvenile days she frequently retired for prayer to a particular

closet where she could not be observed; and when she grew up and was introduced into the world she continued to pray that she might marry into a serious family. None kept more of the ancient dignity and decency than the house of Huntingdon. With the head of that family she accordingly became united. In this high estate she maintained a peculiar seriousness of conduct. Though sometimes at Court and visiting in the higher circles she took no pleasure in the fashionable follies of the great. In the country she was the Lady Bountiful among her neighbours and dependants. A conversation with her sister-in-law, Lady Margaret Hastings, who had been converted by the preaching of the Methodists, led Lady Huntingdon to think and to see that she was not as yet fully a believer. A serious illness followed soon after, and laid her upon a bed of sickness; from this she arose invigorated with all the newness of a spiritual life. The change was marked with surprise in the noble circle of her acquaintance. Bishop Benson was sent for by her husband to reason with her ladyship on her changed religious views, but she pressed upon him so hard with articles and homilies, and urged upon him the awful responsibility of his station, that his temper was ruffled, and he rose up in haste to depart, bitterly lamenting that he had ever laid his hands on George Whitefield, to whom he imputed the change. She called him back; 'My lord,' said she, 'when you come to your dying bed that will be one of the few ordinations you will reflect upon with complacence.' The Prince of Wales one day at Court asked a lady of fashion where my Lady Huntingdon was, that she seldom visited the circle. Lady Charlotte E—— replied with a sneer, 'I suppose praying with her beggars.' The prince shook his head, and said, 'When I am dying I shall be happy to seize the skirt of Lady Huntingdon's mantle to lift me up with her to heaven.'" We cannot help remarking the prejudice of Lady Mary Montague, who says in one of her letters, in 1755, "I have seen very little of Lady Huntingdon, so I am not to judge of her merit; if I wanted to paint a fanatic I should desire her to sit for the picture. I hope she means well, but she makes herself ridiculous to the profane, and dangerous to the good."[1]

The Countess of Huntingdon had opened her house in Park-street for the preaching of the gospel, supposing that as a peeress of the land she had an indisputable right to employ as her family chaplains those ministers of the church whom she patronised. On week days her kitchen was filled with the poor of the flock, for whom she provided instruction; and on the Lord's-day the great and noble were invited to spend the evening in her drawing room, where Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Romaine, Mr. Jones, and other ministers of Christ, addressed them.

She now began to expend her wealth in the erection of chapels; she built one at Brighton contiguous to her own house; this not being extensive enough to contain the congregation, was enlarged, and afterwards was again taken down and rebuilt. At Bath, then a fashionable resort, she built an elegant and commodious chapel, which she herself often attended. In the year 1768 she resided at Tunbridge Wells, and there established a chapel, which is a neat wooden edifice situated in the London-road. Other large chapels in different parts of the kingdom were purchased, built, or hired by her ladyship. At Trevecca, in South Wales, she established a college for the training of young men for the ministry, which was opened in August, 1768, by Whitefield; but after her death, there being no endowment, and her income dying with her, the college ceased, and a new one on an improved plan was opened at Cheshunt, Herts, under the care of trustees duly appointed.

"Lady Huntingdon was in her temper warm and sanguine; her predilections for some and her prejudices against others were too hastily adopted, and by these she was led to form conclusions not always correspondent with truth and wisdom. She had so long directed the proceedings of her 'Connexion' that she seldom asked the advice of her judicious ministers, who laboured with her, and bore not passively contradiction."[2] To the age of four score and upwards she maintained all the vigour of youth; and though in her latter years the contraction of her throat reduced her almost to a liquid diet, her spirits never seemed to fail her, and to the very last days of her life her active mind was still planning greater and more extensive works of usefulness. "She expended in the course of her life a hundred thousand pounds in public and private acts of charity. Her jointure was no more

[1] *Montague's Letters*, vol. iv. p. 18.

[2] Haweis's *Church History*.

than twelve hundred pounds a year, and only a few years before her death she received the addition of another thousand by the death of her son. She often involved herself in expenses for building chapels which she found it burthensome to discharge. But the Lord brought her honourably through her engagements, and provided a supply when her own was exhausted."

The Countess of Huntingdon was rather above the middle size. Her presence was noble and commanding respect; her address singularly engaging; her intelligence acute; her diligence indefatigable; and the constant labour of her thought and correspondence inconceivable. Never was a creature apparently more dead to self indulgence, or more liberally disposed to supply the calls of the gospel. "I believe," writes Haweis, "during the many years I was honoured with her friendship she often possessed no more than the gown she wore. I have often said she was one of the poor who lived on her own bounty." The world has seldom seen such a character. Of the chapels which she founded, either wholly or in part, the principal of which was that of Bath, the number at the time of her decease is stated to have been sixty-four; and a trust was created by her for their management. When the census was taken in 1851, there were one hundred and nine chapels belonging to the Connexion in England and Wales.

SPA FIELDS BURIAL GROUND.

Soon after the chapel was opened, some enterprising individuals, not connected in any way with Spa Fields Chapel, leased of the Marquis of Northampton the extensive plot of ground in the rear, and converted it into a burial place for Nonconformists and others.

This now intramural cemetery was two acres in extent, and capable of affording decent interment to the bodies of 2722 adults, but for many years the average number of persons of both sexes and of all ages buried in it amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred annually, as many as thirty-six burials having taken place in one day, and during a period of fifty years it has been estimated that eighty thousand interments took place here.

In the year 1843 some shocking disclosures were made of the malpractices of the manager of this burial ground and his subordinates, which were of such a revolting character as to fill the public mind with horror and alarm. It appears to have been almost a nightly custom then, and for several years previously, to exhume the bodies, and to burn the coffins of persons buried here in order to make room, so teeming with the remains of mortality had the ground become. The discovery of this shameful abuse of the dead was owing to one of the gravediggers, who, having been discharged, insisted on disinterring the body of his child which had been buried some time previously. This man, when afterwards examined before a magistrate, made the following horrifying statement of the manner in which he and his fellow-gravediggers used to proceed in their work:—"Our mode of working the ground was not commencing at one end and working to the other, but digging wherever it was ordered, totally regardless whether the ground was full or not; for instance, to dig a grave seven feet deep at a particular spot, I have often disturbed and mutilated seven or eight bodies; that is I have severed heads, arms, legs, or whatever came in my way with a crowbar, pickaxe, chopper, and saw. Of the bodies some were quite fresh and some decomposed. I have had as much as 1½ cwt. of human flesh on what we term the 'beef board' at the foot of the grave at one time. I have often put a rope round the neck of a corpse to drag it out of the coffin, fastening one end of the rope to a tombstone so as to keep the corpse upright to get at the coffin underneath, to make room for the flesh of other bodies. The coffins were taken away and burnt, with pieces of decomposed flesh adhering thereto. I have taken up half a ton of wood out of one grave, because I had to take out two tiers of coffins, some of which were quite fresh, and we used to cut them up for struts, used for shoring up the graves. We had as many as fifty or sixty sides of coffins always in use to keep the ground from falling in when digging. We have buried as many as forty-five bodies in one day, besides stillborns. I and Tom Smith kept an account one year; we buried 2017 bodies, besides

stillborns, which are generally enclosed in deal coffins. We have taken them up when they have been in the ground only two days, and used them to light fires with. I have been up to my knees in human flesh by jumping on the bodies, so as to cram them in the least possible space at the bottom of the graves, in which fresh bodies were afterwards placed. We covered over the flesh at the bottom by a small layer of mould. These occurrences took place every day."[1] This gravedigger, insisting upon disinterring his child, the police were called in to prevent it, and they saw to their great surprise the lids of several coffins being consumed over a fierce fire in an outhouse, and pieces of human flesh attached to the coffins. An agitation was for some time kept up, and a petition, signed by upwards of five hundred of the inhabitants of the district around the graveyard, was adopted and presented to the House of Commons during the session of 1843, in which not only were the burnings, and the sad effect of the disgusting smell upon the health of the living strongly commented upon, but the petitioners complained that there was a common practice in this ground to displace the stones marking the graves of deceased persons whose relatives had purchased the ground in perpetuity. The lessees of the ground sought to allay the general excitement by repudiating the charges brought against their underlings, but there was no mitigation of the evil complained of; nightly burnings still took place. On the night of the 14th of December, 1843, an alarm was raised that the bonehouse of Spa Fields ground was on fire, and the engine keeper stated he saw in the grate a rib bone and part of two socket bones partly burnt, and a quantity of coffin wood in different stages of decay. By the exertions of Mr. G. A. Walker, M.D., of the Society for the Abolition of Burials in Towns, seconded by several of the principal inhabitants, this disgraceful state of things was brought again under the attention of the magistrates, and the lessees, managers, and others were summoned to appear at the Clerkenwell Police-court, when other revolting statements were made and confirmed. At length these disgusting and loathsome practices were suppressed by law.

THE SPA FIELDS.

In former times the district around the chapel known as Spa Fields, or the Ducking Pond Fields, now intersected by streets of well-built houses, was the summer's evening resort of the townspeople, who came hither to witness the rude sports that were in vogue a century ago—such as duck hunting, prize fighting, bull hunting, and others of an equally demoralising character. We are informed by an old newspaper that in 1768 "two women fought for a new shift valued at half-a-crown, in the Spaw Fields near Islington. The battle was won by a woman called 'Bruising Peg,' who beat her antagonist in a terrible manner." In the summer of the same year "an extraordinary battle was fought in Spaw Fields by two women against two Taylors for a guinea a head, which was won by the ladies, who beat the taylors in a severe manner."[2] On Saturday, the 28th of August, 1779, "a scene of fun and business intermixed took place in Spa Fields, to which no language can do justice. Bills had been stuck up and otherwise circulated that an ox would be roasted whole, and beer given to the friends of their king and country, who were invited to enlist; that two gold-laced hats should be the reward of the two best cudgel players; that a gown, a shift, and a pair of shoes and stockings should be run for by four old women: and that three pounds of tobacco, three bottles of gin, and a silver-laced hat should be grinned for by three old men, the frightfullest grinner to be the winner."[3]

About the middle of the last century it was dangerous to cross these fields in the dusk of evening, robberies being frequent, and the persons filched were often grievously maltreated by the villains who waylaid them. In the manuscript diary of Stephen Montague, a citizen of London, deposited in the City Library, is an illustration of the peril to which persons crossing the Spa Fields

[1] *Times*, March 5, 1843. [2] *Public Advertiser*, July 6, 1768.
[3] *St. James's Chronicle*, Aug., 1779.

were exposed. On the 25th of February, 1733, Montague went to Sadler's Wells, as he was wont to do many times in the course of the year, and there met several friends. "Mr. Jones, the City Marshall," he writes, "who had been just gone, returned to let us know he was robbed of all his money by three foot padds, just upon his entring London Spawfield. Blessed be God wee all came safe over that field afterward." In an old newspaper, under the date of the 26th of December, 1747, we read:—"Last Tuesday night Mr. Stanton, of Clerkenwell Green, was knocked down near the London Spaw by two foot pads, who robbed him of his money, his hat and wig, and a pair of silver buckles." The lessees of Sadler's Wells at this period thought it of consequence to append to the announcement of the performances, "There will be moonlight." On dark nights men and boys were in attendance at the doors of the theatre to light persons across the fields to the nearest streets of Islington, Clerkenwell, and Gray's Inn. The parties on these occasions collected in groups, both for company and protection. Mr. Britton says in his autobiography—"I have seen two or three linkmen thus traverse the fields from the Wells towards Queen Square."[1] It was usual for persons coming from Islington to Spa Fields Chapel to wait at the Angel until a number had assembled, and then to engage a patrol to escort them thither across the intervening fields.[2]

At Whitsuntide, formerly the Welsh, or Gooseberry Fair was held in the Spa Fields; hence a field on which the south side of Myddelton-street is built, is distinguished in many old maps as the "Welshfield." The place which is now Exmouth-street and Cobham-row was then a grand course for horse and donkey racing. The fair, of which we find a notice as early as 1744, was duly proclaimed, and was then held on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th days of August, as in this year there had been a presentment by the grand jury, at Hicks' Hall, of the amusement customary at fairs, persons who should presume to act, represent, or perform any interlude, tragedy, comedy, &c., or any entertainment of the stage in the said fair were by order of the Lord Mayor to be prosecuted.[3] About this time the Welsh Fair was removed from Spa Fields to Barnet. "Spa Fields," says Britton, writing of Clerkenwell as he remembered it at the close of the last century, "were really fields devoted to the pasturage of cows and to a forest of elm trees, not standing and adorned with foliage in the summer, but lying on the ground southward of the New River Head, destined to convey water in their hollow trunks to the north and western parts of London, in combination with similar pipes laid under the roadway of the streets."

[1] Britton's *Autobiography*. [2] *The Harbinger*, May, 1859.
[3] *Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 2, 1744.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DISTRICT OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, CLERKENWELL—CONTINUED.

MARKET-STREET :—Skin Market there formerly. MEREDITH-STREET. MULBERRY-PLACE. NORTHAMPTON-STREET :—Formerly Wood's Close—Route of King James on his coming from Scotland—Market held there in the time of the Plague. PERCEVAL-STREET :—Spencer Perceval—His Murder—His Monument. RAY-STREET :—Formerly Hockley-in-the-Hole—Filthy and neglected Condition of this Thoroughfare—The Bear Garden at Hockley—The varied and inhuman Sports of Bear Baiting, Bull Baiting, and Prize Fighting—Some Account of the Manner of these Diversions—The Tea Garden at Hockley-in-the-Hole—A Cockpit—The Coach and Horses—Dog Collar there—R. Turpin's Portmanteau—The House formerly a Rendezvous for Thieves—The old Clerks' Well — Its former and present Condition contrasted — Watch House in Ray-street—The Vaults—The Mausoleum—The Skinners' Well. ROSOMAN-STREET :—The London Spa—The Spa Water—The Spa Ale—The New Red Lion Cockpit—The Grotto Gardens—The New Wells—Theatrical Amusements there—Opened for Preaching by Rev. J. Wesley—Notice of Mrs. Charke—Holden's Directory—The CLERKENWELL NEWS Office—History of that Journal, and of the early cheap Newspaper Press—Church of SS. Peter and Paul—Vestry Hall. SEKFORDE-STREET :—Notice of Sir J. Sekforde—His Pedigree—His Estates in Clerkenwell. ST. JAMES'S-WALK :—Clerkenwell Parochial Sunday School—Old Clerkenwell Bridewell—Attacked by the London 'Prentices—Fire there—State and Religious Prisoners—Richard Baxter, the Nonconformist, confined there—Gross Abuses there in 1757—Visited by John Howard—When demolished—The New Prison—Jack Sheppard's escape from it—Visited by John Howard—His Statement of its Abuses—Prisoners released therefrom by the Rioters of 1780—Disturbance in 1781—Prison visited by Mr. Neild—Cost of the Site—Boundary Wall—Its Dimensions—Extent and Cost—Report on the House of Detention.

MARKET STREET.

MAITLAND, the historian of London, when making his survey, a little prior to the year 1739, notices, among other things remarkable in this parish, a market for sheep-skins. This occupied the site of the present thoroughfare and the streets adjacent, and in 1792 became, in addition to its trade in sheep-skins, the parish greenyard, the Commissioners of Paving compensating the owner for its use as such. In the year 1798 the same commissioners assessed the market, with the buildings round it, as being of the yearly value of £300, and took legal opinion as to the propriety of paving and lighting the enclosure. The opinion was adverse, for it defined that their authority extended only to public thoroughfares; and such the market was not. It continued until 1815, when it was removed, and the present buildings were reared on its site.

MEREDITH STREET.

This street was so named from a Mr. Meredith, who, jointly with Mr. Whiskin, leased the ground for a term of years from the Skinners' Company for building purposes.

MULBERRY PLACE.

The name bestowed upon this avenue would seem to indicate the former condition of the locality, nor is it at all improbable that a mulberry tree or trees grew and flourished on a spot now covered with humble dwellings, it being near the site of the Mulberry Garden, previously described.

NORTHAMPTON STREET.

In several old maps of a century and more ago, this thoroughfare is indicated by parallel rows of trees, denominated Wood's-close, and it continued to be so called until about the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it received the present appellation in compliment to the owner of the soil, the Marquis of Northampton. Of this nobleman we find the following entry in the churchwarden's book for 1668:—"Pd. for an arest of the Ld. Northampton's—5. 6."

This rural avenue lay in the route of James I., on his accession in 1603, who, when near the metropolis, crossed "over the fields to avoid the dust" on his way to the Charterhouse. John Saville, a contemporary, who after pronouncing a panegyric upon the king at Theobald's, wrote a graphic account of "His most sacred Majesty's" entry into London, has noted some interesting particulars of that part of his progress from Edinburgh to the Tower that lay through Wood's-close.

"When His Highness had passed Islington and another place called New Rents, and entered into a close called Wood's-close by a way that was cut of purpose through the bank, for His Majesty's more convenient passage into the Charterhouse Garden, the people that were there assembled I compare to nothing more conveniently than to imagine every grasse to have been metamorphosed into a man in a moment—the multitude was so marvellous; amongste whome were the children of the hospital singing, orderly placed for His Majesty's comming along through them, but all displaced by rudeness of the multitude."

Another eyewitness of the royal spectacle informs us that—

"The multitudes of people in the highways, fields, meadows, closes, and on the trees were such that they covered the beautie of the fields, and so greedie were they to behold the countenance of the king that with much unruliness they injured and hurt one another, some even hazarded to the danger of death; but as uncivil as they were among themselves, when the king came, with shouts and cryes, casting up of hats which never returned to the owners' hands, he passed them over the fields, and came in at the back side of the Charterhouse."

The history of this spot is interestingly associated with that of the Great Plague of 1665. In a work called "The City Remembrancer, a history of the most remarkable calamities, &c., which have befallen the metropolis," we read that in the fury of the distemper, the markets were but thinly furnished with provisions. The Lord Mayor caused the country folks who brought provisions to be stopped in the streets leading to the town, and even in the fields beyond Whitechapel Church, Spitalfields, St. George's Fields, and a great field called Wood's-close, near Islington.

We read in "Mercurius Fumigosus" that,

"A wonderful great flesh flie flew away with a buttock of beef from Smithfield Barres, and lighting with it upon a great oake in Wood's-close, eat the same in less than two minutes. Three fly blowes that fell upon the same tree weighed fourteen pounds and five ounces a-piece."[1]

In the "Public Advertiser" for the 27th of July, 1770, it is recorded that,

"One of the most active, and perhaps the very largest man in England, is now living in Wood's-close, Clerkenwell; he is near twice as big as the late Duke of Cumberland."

PERCEVAL STREET.

This street was erected in 1802-3, on part of the Northampton estate, and was named in honour of that able lawyer and politician, the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, a relative of the Marquis of Northampton, whose untimely end when in the zenith of his fame occasioned almost universal regret. He was the second son of the Earl of Egmont, and born in Audley-square, on the 1st of November, 1762. He was educated at the Harrow School, and afterwards graduated at

[1] *Mercurius Fumigosus*, No. 6, 1665.

Trinity College, Cambridge. On leaving the university he followed the profession of the law, and soon by his legal skill distinguished himself at the bar. In April, 1796, on the death of his maternal uncle, Spencer, Earl of Northampton, his cousin, Lord Compton, who represented the borough of Northampton in Parliament, succeeded to the earldom. Perceval now sought and obtained the suffrages of the electors of the borough of Northampton, by whom he was returned to Parliament without opposition. Five years after, when he had attained his thirty-ninth year, he was made Solicitor-General, and, in 1802, Attorney-General; and, on the death of Mr. Fox, in 1807, he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer; subsequently, he became Premier. On the 11th of May, 1812, as he was entering the lobby of the House of Commons, a man named Bellingham shot him through the heart; he fell, and soon expired. His murderer, who made no attempt to escape, was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, and from his statements there, it appeared that this atrocious act was done in revenge of a supposed injury. Bellingham, when in Russia, had undergone imprisonment for debt, unjustly, as he asserted; the British Government refused to take cognizance of his case, and, piqued at this their determination, he sought satisfaction in taking away the life of its leading member. For this unpardonable crime he was executed at Newgate, on the 18th of May, 1812. The day after Mr. Perceval's assassination, Parliament showed its high appreciation of his services by ordering a grant of £2000 a year to his widow, and voting the sum of £50,000 for her twelve children. A marble monument was erected to his memory in the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, the execution of which was entrusted to the eminent sculptor, Sir Richard Westmacott, who has strikingly reproduced the last scene of his life, and has represented him as falling into the arms of an officer, and the members coming out to witness the catastrophe; a figure of the assassin appears on the left, and there are two figures, Truth and Temperance, with their emblems, a mirror and a bridle, placed at the feet of another figure of Perceval, who is represented lying on a couch.

RAY STREET

This old thoroughfare has hardly more than a nominal existence now, the Clerkenwell improvements of 1856-7 having occasioned the pulling down of the greater portion of it. The original direction of the street has been but slightly altered, though it has been raised considerably above its former level. The earliest name by which this highway was distinguished was that of Hockley-in-the-Hole. This name had doubtless reference to the former character of the district, which, lying in a hole or valley, was in rainy seasons overflowed by the Fleet River, then running through its midst, and the subjacent land was rendered marshy thereby. Camden, writing in the sixteenth century of a village so named in Bedfordshire, says, "We came to Hockley-in-the-Hole, so named of the miry way in winter time very troublesome to travelling. For the old Englishmen our progenitours called deepe myre hock, and hocks. The name appears obviously to have been derived from the Saxon—*hoc* dirt, and *leaz* a pasture, muddy or dirty field." In 1661 there were twenty-one houses rated to the poor in Hockley-in-the-Hole. Allusion is made to it in the first edition of "Hudibras," published in 1663, where Ralph and the Squire, after being vanquished with many blows by the bearward and his partizans, are taken and placed in the stocks.

> ————in Hockley i' th' Hole,
> Their bangs and durance to condole.[1]

We find the following mention of this place in "Mercurius Fumigosus":—

"All the maids in Clerkenwell of above sixteen years of age are this day to dance a match in an egge sheli, Queen Elizabeth's bagpiper being to play a French morris dance to them all while in motion. She that wins is to be crowned with the garland, and to be installed chief governess of Hockley-in-the-Hole, and on Midsummer's eve to be sent of a message from Lucina to the Shee Commons, in behalf of distressed virgins that are elipt short of portions."[2]

[1] Butler's *Hudibras*, pt. 1, canto iii., line 1003.

[2] *Mercurius Fumigosus*, No. 53, 1655.

In No. 28 of the "Tatler" (14th of June, 1709), we find this place noticed as follows:—

"I have myself seen Prince Eugene make Catinat fly from the back side of Gray's Inn Lane to Hockley-in-the-Hole, and not give over the pursuit, until obliged to leave the Bear-garden on the right, to avoid being borne down by feneers, wild bulls, and monsters, too terrible for the encounter of any heroes, but such whose lives are their livelihood."

Hockley-in-the-Hole was both physically and morally low conditioned, and its poor inhabitants were sadly wanting in proper cleanliness. Ned Ward, a local poet, in 1717, ironically mentions "Sweet St. James's, Clerkenwell," and

> ————all the stinks that rise together
> From Hockley Hole in sultry weather.[1]

Pope thus alludes to this place in his "Dunciad," written in 1726:—

> This mess, toss'd up of Hockley-hole and White's;
> Where dukes and butchers join to wreath my crown,
> At once the bear and fiddle of the town.

Fielding's Jonathan Wild the Great was the son of Elizabeth, daughter of Scragg Hollow, of Hockley-in-the-Hole.

From an old newspaper, the "Public Advertiser," of the 20th of February, 1756, we gather some interesting particulars concerning the neglected state of this highway a century since. A writer in that journal remarks that "Hockley-in-the-Hole is not only very narrow, ruinous, and full of great holes, but the old houses joining the roadside in Hockley, for want of inhabitants or owners, are daily tumbling down."

In the month of April, in the year following, advertisements appeared in the same journal soliciting subscriptions towards the repair of the roadway. The parish not being bound to mend this highway it became necessary to close the thoroughfare "to prevent damage to passengers, many accidents having happened there." Subsequently the road was widened, proper drains were constructed, and the ground was raised considerably. At the western extremity of this street some interesting discoveries were made in the year 1855 confirmatory of these changes. In making the excavation for the great sewer near the corner of Little Saffron-hill, at thirteen feet below the surface of the roadway, the navvies came upon an old pavement, consisting of large blocks of ragstone, of an irregular shape. "An examination of the stones," says a writer in the "Builder," of November 10th, 1855, "shows that they have been well used, as they are worn quite smooth by the traffic of a past generation." Below this old street were discovered piles of oak, thickly covered with slime, and hard and black, which seemed to have been portions of a mill-dam. The formation of the ground indicated the site of a water-mill. To the north of Ray-street was a large pond, banked up; and where Ray-street now is there was probably a city mill. The weight above had pressed the gravel, clay, and granite, portions of the tile, &c., into a hard and almost solid mass; and it was curious to observe that near the old surface was a number of pins.

The upper portion of this thoroughfare in continuation of Coppice-row was at one time called Rag-street, in allusion, it may be, to the number of rag and marine store dealers by which it was inhabited. It is so called in maps prior to the year 1774, when the name of Hockley-in-the-Hole, by which this purlieu had become notorious, was formally changed to that of Ray-street. The following extract, we think, refers to Hockley-in-the-Hole:—

"Whereas the Lane leadinge from the Well at Clerkenwell to ye Kinge's Gate under the Mantles, is soe stopped with dunghills by ye occupiers there aboute, who make use of that way by layeing their dunge ther; that not only is ye saide lane become very daungerouse and vnpassable but alsoe is very noisome and offensive to his Majesty, his nobility, and their followers passing by and through the said gate, for the prevention of his Highnes' instant displeasure, which the Justices of the County may runne into if they doe not see a reformation

[1] E. Ward's *British Wonders*, 1717.

of such the like offence, It is ordered that the constable of Clerkenwell cause a stoppe to be made by setting up a post to hinder occupiers from passing to and fro with their carts until they have remmoved the cause of the present offence."[1]

THE BEAR GARDEN.

On the site of the Coach and Horses, in Ray-street, and the yard adjacent, there was formerly a bear garden, once popularly known and resorted to by the very *elite* of society. There was a kind of amphitheatre, dedicated originally to bull-baiting, bear-baiting, prize fighting, and all other sorts of rough game; and it was not only attended by butchers, drovers, and great crowds of all kinds of mob, but likewise by dukes, lords, knights, squires, &c. There were seats particularly set apart for the quality, ornamented with old tapestry hangings, into which none were admitted under half-a-crown, at least. Its neighbourhood was famous for sheltering thieves, pickpockets, and infamous women; and for breeding bull-dogs. Truly our ancestors were not very refined in the choice of their amusements; and as the bear was led by a ring through the nose, they themselves were

> Led by the nose embruted, and in the eyes
> Of Reason, from their Nature's purpose
> As miserably perverted.

We have reason to be grateful that we live under an improved condition of society, when so many are seeking the pleasures of the mind in preference to the gratifications of brutal sense.

We are unable positively to determine the precise date when a bear garden was first established on this spot. About 1641 there was "a new bear garden" erected at or near Islington, which might have been at Hockley-in-the-Hole, and which appears to have been blown down by a high wind. Such is the partial information gathered from an unusually rare tract, entitled "News out of Islington," &c.,[2] wherein the fall of the bear garden is made the subject of a ballad, which, although not very poetical, will at least prove interesting.

> The force of the winds who can withstand
> In ship, or horse, by sea or land?
> Its power abroad hath been much showne
> Poor merchants have it too well knowne.
> So low, so low, so wondrous low,
> The bear garden's downe,
> All passengers see it lay on the ground.
>
> The horse which now the race doth runne,
> By force of wind may be undone;
> The Ship which now the ocean rid,
> Anon may in the Sea be hid.
> So low, &c.
>
> The Bulls and bears may now rejoyce,
> Expressing mirth with merry voyce,
> Æolus the god of windes
> Lately hath prov'd to them kind.
> So low, &c.
>
> The Structure seemed to be rare,
> With which few might compare,
> But now the windes have cast it downe,
> The ruins lay flat on the ground.
> So low, &c.

[1] Extract from Sessions Book, 1623. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb., 1850, p. 125.

[2] *News out of Islington, or a dialogue very merry and pleasant betwixt a knavish projector and honest Clod the ploughman, with certain songs of the late fall of the new Beare Garden; and for the fall of the projectors.* By Tho. Herbert. London: printed for Thomas Lambert, and are to be sold at his shop in Smithfield, over against Hosier Lane, at the signe of the Bunch of Grapes. 1611.—12mo.

In 1682, Oldham, in his "Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal," alludes to the marshal or bearward at this place, whose name was Preston, by saying—

> I'd as good oppose
> Myself to Preston and his mastiffs loose.

Oldham, the generality of whose poems are far too gross to suit the taste of the present age, would appear to have resided in Clerkenwell, if the following lines of an epigram entitled an "Allusion to Martial" may be trusted:—

> 'Tis a long way to where I dwell,
> At the far end of Clerkenwell,
> There in a garret next the sky
> Up five pair of stairs I lie.

The earliest advertisement of the amusements at Hockley occurs in the "Daily Post" of the 10th of July, 1700, wherein is announced a trial to be performed "at his Majesty's Bear Garden, Hockley-in-the-Hole, between two masters of the noble science of self-defence," as this depraved sport is called. A similar encounter is advertised to come off in the spring of the following year,[1] after which four men were "to fight at sword for a hat of half-a-guinea price, and six to wrestle for three pair of gloves at half-a-crown price each pair. The entertainment to begin exactly at three o'clock." The same year a presentment of the grand jury for the county of Middlesex, dated the 4th of June, 1701, complained of this place as a public nuisance, and prayed for its suppression.

"We having observed the late boldness of a sort of men that stile themselves masters of the noble science of defence, passing through this city with beat of drums, colours displayed, swords drawn, with a numerous company of people following them, dispersing their printed bills, thereby inviting persons to be spectators of those inhuman sights which are directly contrary to the practice and profession of the Christian Religion, whereby barbarous principles are instilled in the minds of men; we think ourselves obliged to represent this matter that some method may be speedily taken to prevent their passage through the City in such a tumultuous manner, on so unwarrantable a design."

This presentment had the desired effect in mitigating one of the evils complained of, as the proprietor of the Bear Garden advertised that these pugilistic encounters, or "trials of skill," would be performed "without beat of drum."

"At His Majesty's Bear Garden, Hockley-in-the-Hole.—A trial of skill is to be performed to-morrow, without beat of drum, between these following masters, &c. Note.—There is lately built a pleasant cool gallery for gentlemen."[2]

A trial of skill was advertised to come off on the 12th of November, in the same year, between two masters of the "noble science of defence," when they pledged themselves, that they, having disappointed the gentlemen on a former occasion, would "not fail to fight money or no money," for, "upon my honour," says one of the combatants, "it shall be as good a prize if there is no box as if it was a box of £50." "You must go to Hockley-in-the-Hole and Marybone, child, to learn valour," says Mrs. Peachum to Filch, in the "Beggar's Opera."

On the days when a bull or bear baiting was to take place, it appears to have been customary to parade the animals through the streets; and it is to this practice Gay refers in his "Trivia, or the art of walking the streets of London," bk. ii.:—

> When through the streets, with slow and solemn air,
> Led by the nostril, walks the muzzled bear;
> Behind him moves, majestically dull,
> The pride of Hockley Hole, the surly bull;
> Learn hence the periods of the week to name,
> Mondays and Thursdays are the days of game.

[1] *Post Boy*, March 22, 1701.

[2] *Post Boy*, July 5, 1701.

The same poet also refers to this place in the following lines:—

Both Hockley Hole and Marybone,
The combats of my dog have known.

In 1709 a most tragical occurrence took place at Hockley-in-the-Hole. Christopher Preston, the proprietor of the Bear Garden, was attacked by one of his own bears, and almost devoured before his friends were aware of his danger. A sermon upon this sad event was preached in the church of St. James by the Rev. D. Pead, the then incumbent of Clerkenwell.[1]

When the animals to be baited were processioned through the streets of the metropolis and its suburbs bills descriptive of the evening's performances were put into the hands of passers by, or dispersed among the rabble who followed in the wake of the procession. They were printed on a thin whitish brown paper, and were rather smaller in size than an ordinary handbill. Several of these ephemeral productions have escaped destruction, and are preserved among the Harleian MSS.[2] As they are useful in illustrating the amusements at Hockley-in-the-Hole, we subjoin copies of three such from the originals to which we have referred.

A.  R.

"AT THE BEAR GARDEN, IN HOCKLEY-IN-THE-HOLE.

"A trial of skill to be performed between two profound masters of the noble science of defence, on Wednesday next, the 13th of July, 1709, at two o'clock precisely. I, George Gray, born in the City of Norwich, who has fought in most parts of the West Indies, viz., Jamaica, Barbadoes, and several other parts of the world, in all twenty-five times upon the stage, and was never yet worsted; and am now lately come to London, do invite James Harris to meet, and exercise at the following weapons,—back-sword, sword and dagger, sword and buckler, single falchon, and case of falchons. I, James Harris, master of the said noble science of defence, who formerly *rid* in the Horse Guards, and hath fought 110 prizes, and never left a stage to any man, will not fail (God willing) to meet this brave and bold inviter, at the time and place appointed, desiring sharp swords, and from him no favour. No person to be upon the stage, but the seconds. Vivat Regina."

A.  R.

"AT THE BEAR GARDEN IN HOCKLEY-IN-THE-HOLE, 1710.

"This is to give notice to all gentlemen gamesters and others that on this present Monday is a match to be fought by two dogs, one from Newgate Market against one of Hony Lane market at a bull, for a guinea to be spent. Five let goes out of hand which goes fairest and farthest in wins all; likewise a *green bull* to be baited which was never baited before, and a bull to be turned loose with fireworks all over him; also a mad ass to be baited.

"With a variety of bull baiting and bear baiting, and a dog to be drawn up with fireworks.

"To begin exactly at three of the clock."

In the subjoined programme reference is made to the pleasure that previous performances had given the gentry, and several additional attractions are displayed:—

A.  R.

"AT THE BEAR GARDEN HOCKLEY-IN-THE-HOLE, NEAR CLERKENWELL GREEN.

"These are to give notice to all gentlemen gamesters that on the present Monday there is a great match to be fought by two dogs of Smithfield against two dogs of Hampstead at the Reading bull; a guinea to be spent. Five let goes out of hand which goes farthest and fairest wins.

"The famous bull of fireworks pleased the gentry to admiration.

"Likewise there are two bear dogs to jump three jumps apiece at the bear, which jumps highest, for ten shillings to be spent. Also other variety of bull baiting and bear baiting.

[1] *Vide* p. 68.

[2] No. 5931.

"Being a day of sport by all old gamesters, and a bull dog to be drawn up with fireworks.

"Beginning at three a clock. The gentlemen are desired to come betimes beecause the sport will be long. Vivat Regina."

In 1710 there was a trial of skill for the entertainment of the four Indian kings, with backsword and dagger, single falchion,[1] and quarterstaff.

In 1712 this "place of no small renown for the gallantry of the lower order of Britons," was visited by Sir Richard Steele, who contributed to the "Spectator" a judicious paper on what he saw and heard there, the descriptive portions of which we select as an illustration of the manner in which these vulgar exhibitions were carried out.

"Being a person of insatiable curiosity, I could not forbear going on Wednesday last to a place of no small renown for the gallantry of the lower order of Britons, namely, to the Bear Garden, at Hockley-in-the-Hole; where (as a whitish brown paper, put into my hands in the street, informed me) there was to be a trial of skill exhibited between two masters of the noble science of defence, at two of the clock precisely. I was not a little charmed with the solemnity of the challenge, which ran thus: 'I James Miller, serjeant (lately come from the frontiers of Portugal), master of the noble science of defence, hearing in most places where I have been of the great fame of Timothy Buck, of London, master of the said science, do invite him to meet me and exercise at the several weapons following—viz., back-sword, sword and dagger, sword and buckler, single falchion, case of falchions, quarter-staff.' If the generous ardour in James Miller to dispute the reputation of Timothy Buck had something resembling the old heroes of romance, Timothy Buck returned answer in the same paper with the like spirit, adding a little indignation at being challenged, and seeming to condescend to fight James Miller, not in regard to Miller himself, but in that, as the fame went out, he had fought Parkes of Coventry. The acceptance of the combat ran in these words:—'I Timothy Buck, of Clare-market, master of the noble science of defence, hearing he did fight Mr. Parkes of Coventry, will not fail (God willing) to meet this fair inviter at the time and place appointed, desiring a clear stage and no favour. Vivat Regina.'

"It was carried with great order. James Miller came on first, preceded by two disabled drummers, to show, I suppose, that the prospect of maimed bodies did not the least deter him. There ascended with the daring Miller a gentleman, whose name I could not learn, with a dogged air, as if unsatisfied that he was not principal. This son of anger lowered at the assembly, and weighing himself as he marched around from side to side, with stiff knee and shoulder, he gave intimations of the purpose he smothered till he saw the issue of this encounter. Miller had a blue ribbon tied round the sword arm, which ornament I conceive to be the remains of that of wearing a mistress's favour on such occasions of old.

"The expectation of the spectators was now almost at its height; and the crowd pressing in, several active persons thought they were placed rather according to their fortune than their merit, and took it into their heads to prefer themselves from the open area or pit to the galleries. This dispute between desert and property brought many to the ground, and raised others in proportion to the highest seats by turns, for the space of ten minutes, till Timothy Buck came on, and the whole assembly, giving up their disputes, turned their eyes upon the champions. Then it was that every man's affection turned to one or the other irresistably. 'I could, methinks, be Miller's second,' said a judicious gentleman near me, 'but I had rather have Buck for mine.' Miller had an audacious look that took the eye; Buck, a perfect composure, that engaged the judgment. Buck came on in a plain coat, and kept all his air till the instant of engaging; at which time he undressed to his shirt, his arm adorned with a bandage of red ribbon. No one can describe the sudden concern of the whole assembly; the most tumultuous crowd in nature was as still, and as much engaged as if their lives depended on the first blow. The combatants met in the middle of the stage, and shaking hands, as removing all malice, they retired with much grace to the extremities of it, from whence they immediately faced about and approached each other, Miller with a heart full of resolution, Buck with a watchful, troubled countenance; Buck regarding principally his own defence, Miller chiefly thoughtful of annoying his opponent. It is not easy to describe the many escapes and imperceptible defences between two men of quick eyes and ready limbs, but Miller's heat laid him open to the rebuke of the calm Buck, by a large cut on the forehead. Much effusion of blood covered his eyes in a moment, and the huzzas of the crowd undoubtedly quickened the anguish. The assembly was divided into parties upon their different ways of fighting; while a poor nymph in one of the galleries apparently suffered for Miller, and burst into a flood of tears. As soon as his wound was bound up he came on with a little rage. The next was a warm, eager contest, which ended in a decisive stroke on the left leg of Miller. The wound was exposed to the view of all who could delight in it, and sewed up on the stage. There is something in nature very unaccountable on such occasions, when we see people take a certain painful gratification in beholding these encounters. Is it cruelty that administers this source of delight? or is it the pleasure which is taken in the exercise of pity?"[2]

[1] The falchion was a large broadsword, much resembling a scymitar.—Fosbrooke.

[2] *Spectator*, No. 436.

These trials of skill appear occasionally to have been only feints, the mode of proceeding having been arranged beforehand between the combatants, who affected to be so much enraged with each other. A writer to the "Spectator" mentions that, being in a box at an ale house near the Bear Garden, he overheard two masters of the science agreeing to quarrel, and when this was settled one asked the other, "Will you give cuts or receive?" The other answered, "Receive." It was replied, "Are you a passionate man?" The answer was "No; provided you cut no more, nor no deeper than we agree." [1]

Some time after the Spectator's visit the Bear Garden at Hockley-in-the-Hole appears to have fallen into disrepute, in consequence of the proprietor leaving it and establishing a new bear garden at Marylebone, and by reason of the superior character of the performances there attracting much company thither. Nevertheless occasionally baitings and trials of skill did take place at the Old Bear Garden, as it was now called; and one of the masters of defence belonging to it—quite a Bobadil in his way—acquainted the public, in 1715, that he had cut down all the swordmen in the West, and would fight the best in London.[2]

In 1716 the following notice appeared:—

"AT THE BEAR GARDEN, AT HOCKLEY-IN-THE-HOLE.

"At the request of several persons of quality, on Monday, the 11th of this instant of June, is one of the largest and most mischievous Bears that ever was seen in England, to be baited to death, with other variety of Bull-baiting and Bear-baiting; as also a Wild Bull to be turned loose in the Game Place, with Fire Works all over him. To begin exactly at three o'clock in the afternoon, because the sport continues long." [3]

In 1721, Mr. Wells, the proprietor of the New Bear Garden, died. "By the decease of Mr. Wells," remarks a journal of the period, "the original Bear Garden in Hockley-in-the-Hole is now likely to be thronged, especially since all the gamesters are resolved to bait every Monday and Thursday, and the gladiators have promised frequently to try their skill there; the brutes to box, the furmity and hasty pudding eaters to gobble down their hot guttage at Madam Preston's, and no other place."

In 1722 there was a remarkable encounter between two women, dressed for the purpose in close jackets, short petticoats, Holland drawers, white stockings, and pumps. The challenge and acceptance which passed between these viragos, who for the first time appeared on a public stage to settle their differences, and to satisfy a morbid craving for novelty on the part of the *habitues* of the place, are amusing.

"I, Elizabeth Wilkinson, of Clerkenwell, having had some words with Hannah Highfield and requiring satisfaction, do invite her to meet me on the stage and box with me for three guineas, each woman holding half a crown in each hand, and the first woman that drops her money to lose the battle."

This was to prevent the women from scratching each other. The acceptance is curious:—

"I, Hannah Hyfield, of Newgate Market, hearing of the resolution of Elizabeth, will not fail to give her more blows than words, desiring home blows and from her no favour."

"They maintained the battle with great valour for a long time, to the no small satisfaction of the spectators," says a journal of the period.[4]

In 1724 measures were concerted for the suppression of the bear-baiting and prize-fighting at Hockley-in-the-Hole, but the attempt to abolish these degrading and cruel sports was a failure, for in the month of August, 1730, there was an extraordinary day of sport, of which the subjoined is an advertisement:—

"At His Majesty's Bear Garden, in Hockley Hole, this present Monday, three great matches will be fought.
"First. A brindled dog from Hampsted to fight against a fallow-colour'd bitch from Chelsea, to fight ten let

[1] *Spectator*, No. 449.
[2] *Daily Courant*, July 5th, 1715.
[3] *Weekly Journal*, June 9th, 1716.
[4] *London Journal*, June, 1722.

goes a piece at the famous Newington Bull, for half-a-guinea each ; the dog or bitch which goes the farthest or fairest in wins the money.

"Secondly. A fallow-colour'd dog from Whitechapel to fight against a fallow-colour'd from Spittlefields Market, both to fight let go for let go at the famous Cambridge Bull, for one guinea each : the dog that is killed or runs away loses the money.

"Thirdly. A brindled dog from Long Acre to fight against a dog from St. James's, both to fight let go for let go at the great bear for 30 shillings each dog ; the dog that is killed or runs away loses the money.

"Likewise a mad bull to be drest up with fireworks, and turned loose in the Game place.

"Likewise a dog to be drest up with fireworks over him, and turned loose with the bull amongst the men in the ground. Also a bear to be turned loose at the same time. And a cat to be ty'd to the bull's tail.

"Note. The doors will be opened at four, and the sport begin between five and six o'clock, because the diversion will last long and the days grow short."[1]

In 1733 we find Mary Preston rated to the poor for the "Bear Garden." In 1735, in addition to a sword fight in which the rival combatants were to "exercise nine bouts at single sword with their left hand ty'd down to their sides," was announced "Cudgel playing and boxing as usual."[2]

Maitland, in 1739, notices among the things remarkable in Clerkenwell, that "There is a bear garden for mercenary gladiators and infuriated brutes to fight in." These savage sports were discontinued in 1754. In a poem entitled the "Shrubs of Parnassus" (1760), we read that—

> the faint remains
> Of land Hockleian, where the race canine
> Whilom were wont with surly bulls to cope,
> And rugged Russian bears, much famed of old
> For black-eyed heroes, where stout Britons dared
> The combat of the fist, jaw-breaking sport,
> Discountenanced of late.

The latest reference to this place that we have seen is one by the great Dr. Johnson, who, writing to Mrs. Thrale, September 13th, 1777, says of Boswell—"He shrinks from the Baltic expedition, which I think is the best scheme in our power; in the phrase of Hockley-in-the-Hole, it is a 'pity he has not a better bottom.'"

Fosbrooke tells us that—

"Bear-baiting was a pastime much in vogue among our ancestors, generally upon Sundays, after service. The maintenance of the baits was a tax imposed upon the vassal, and each feudal tenant paid at every baiting a loaf to the *Ursarius*, or bear instructor, for which they were to see the sport upon holidays. Bear gardens were places in the form of a theatre ; spectators paid 1d. at the gate, another at the entry of the scaffold, and a third for a quiet standing. The bulls and bears were worried by great English bulldogs. When killed, wounded or tired, fresh dogs were brought. Sometimes 'whipping the blind bear' followed. This was performed by five or six men standing circularly, with whips, which they laid upon him without mercy, as he could not escape because of his chain. He threw down all he could reach, tore the whips out of their hands, and broke them. A ring put through the bear's nose was a more modern custom. When a bear baiting was to take place the bearward paraded him about the street, preceded by a minstrel or two, and a monkey or baboon on his back. Bears were also taught to stand on their heads, and dance with monkeys on their backs."[3]

Parker says that "The baiting of the bull hath its use, and therefore is commended by civil authority."[4] Baiting the bull was considered to make the flesh of the animal more tender. In some English towns there were anciently bull stakes, where the butchers were accustomed to bait their bulls before killing them, that they might make them "proper meat, and fit to be eaten."

Houghton, writing of the bull, says—

"Some keep him on purpose for the sport of baiting, cutting off the tips of his horns, and with pitch, tow, and such like matter, fasten upon them the great horns of oxen, with their tips cut off, and covered with leather lest they should hurt the dogs.

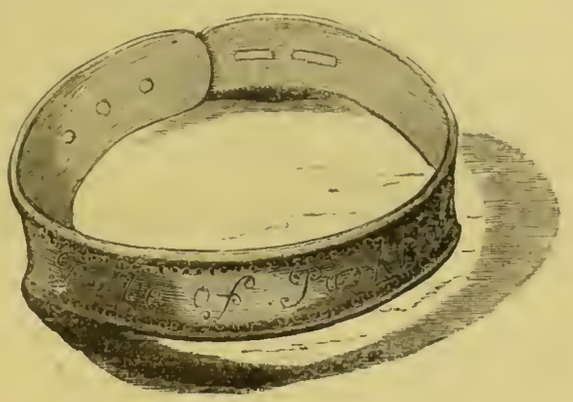
[1] *Daily Post*, 10th Aug., 1730.
[2] *Daily Post*, 14th Oct., 1735.
[3] Fosbrooke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, p. 1009.
[4] Parker's *Cases of Conscience*.

"Because these papers go into several countries I'll say something of baiting the bull; which is by having a collar about his neck, fastened to a thick rope about three, four, or five yards long, hung to a hook so fastened to a stake that it will turn round; with this the bull circulates to watch his enemy, which is a mastiff dog (commonly used to the sport), with a short nose, that his teeth may take the better hold. This dog, if right, will creep upon his belly that he may, if possible, get the bull by the nose, which the bull carefully strives to defend by laying it close to the ground, where his horns are also ready to do what in them lies to toss the dog; and this is true sport. But if more dogs than one come at once, or they are cowardly and come under his legs, he will, if he can, stamp their guts out.

"I believe I have seen a dog tossed by a bull thirty, if not forty feet high; and when they are tossed either higher and lower, the men strive to catch them upon their shoulders, lest the fall might mischief the dogs.

"They lay common sand about, that if they fall upon the ground it may be the easier. Notwithstanding this care, a great many dogs are killed, more have their limbs broke, and some hold so fast that, by the bull's swinging them, their teeth are often broken out.

"To perfect the history of bull-baiting I must tell you that famed dogs have crosses or roses of various-coloured ribbon stuck with pitch on their foreheads; and such like the ladies are very ready to bestow on dogs or bull that do valiantly; and when it is stuck on the bull's forehead, that dog is hollowed that fetches it off, though the true courage and art is to hold the bull by the nose till he roars, which a courageous bull scorns to do. Often the men are tossed as well as the dogs; and men, bull, and dogs seem exceedingly pleased, and as earnest at the sport as if it were for their lives or livelihoods.



ANCIENT DOG COLLAR, FOUND AT HOCKLEY-IN-THE HOLE.

"Many great wagers are laid on both sides, and great journeys will men and dogs go for diversion. I knew a gentleman that bought a bull in Hertfordshire on purpose to go a progress with him into most of the west counties of England. This is a sport the English much delight in, and not only the baser sort, but the greatest lords and ladies."[1]

It is highly probable, if not certain, that Hockley-in-the-Hole was a suburban tea garden as well as a bear garden. A satirical ballad, entitled "Salisbury Steeple reversed; or the Turnspit Bishops," penned against that eminent prelate, Bishop Burnet, when the public mind was greatly excited by the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, makes his lordship and several of his compeers to visit Hockley-in-the-Hole, and there to take tea. After the trial of Sacheverel,

> When the twenty-five pleaders called out of the throng,
> For their quickness of parts and voluble tongue,
> Had read all their speeches, and rehearsed all their witt,
> And left all their lordships in judgment to sit,
> A prelate adroit
> At text or debate,
> Summoned eight trusty brethren in counsel to meet;
> They whipt on their cloaks, and to Hockley they go,
> To know what his lordship would have them to do.
> When they came all the waiters were ordered away,
> And they drank to low church in a gallon of tea[2]

At the period when Hockley-in-the-Hole Bear Garden was in use, another disgusting sport was encouraged in its immediate vicinity. At the Two Brewers, in Hockley-in-the-Hole, it was announced by advertisement in 1744, that there would be a match of cock-fighting for a large sow and ten pigs, or the value in money. No cock was to exceed in weight four pounds and an ounce.[3] The characteristics of this vulgar amusement may be gathered from the remark of a contemporary writer, who, addressing a friend in Paris, tells him that it is worth while to come to England if it be only to see an election and a cockpit match; "there is a celestial spirit of anarchy and confusion

[1] *Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, No. 108, Aug., 1694.—John Houghton, F.R.S.
[2] Add. MS., 21,091, p. 170.
[3] *Daily Advertiser*, 6th May, 1744.

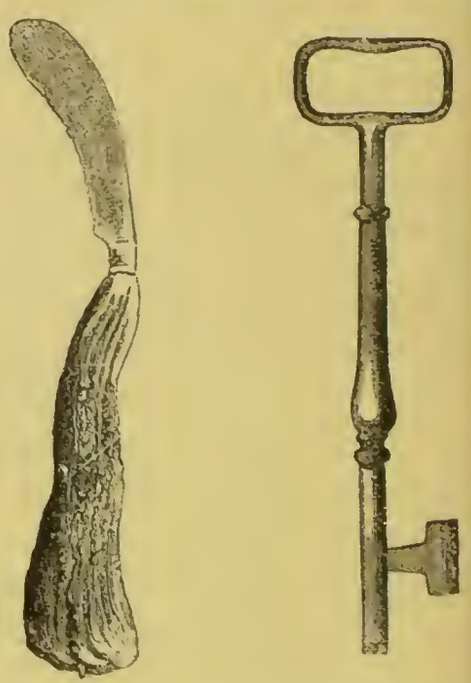
in these two scenes that words cannot paint."[1] From this we may infer that cock-fighting was peculiarly an English amusement.

The dwelling house that adjoined the bear garden, but which for many years has been converted into a public-house, at present distinguished as the Coach and Horses, bears externally no marks of antiquity; for about twenty years past a mask of compo has disguised its original aspect. Its internal arrangements have likewise been greatly disturbed in adapting it for the purposes of a tavern. It is, however, worthy of the inspection of the curious, from the evidences which it retains of its former character. The soil around the house having, as we have before observed, been greatly accumulated, the entrance to the bar of the tavern is rather above the level of that which was originally the first floor; whilst the large room over the bar has been formed out of the second storey. The beer cellars it is easy to discover were formerly inhabitable apartments.



DICK TURPIN'S PORTMANTEAU, FOUND AT HOCKLEY-IN-THE-HOLE.

The father of the present proprietor (Mr. Rennoldson), who tenanted the house for upwards of twenty-five years, discovered on the premises several interesting memorials of the past, which are still preserved, and may be seen at the bar of the house. On one of the mantels in the cellar he discovered a large brass collar, having engraved upon it, in old script characters, the name of the owner of the mastiff whose neck it once surrounded—"Mr. Francis Pole, of Park-hall, Derbyshire, 1702." How it came to be left in this place we cannot affirm; most likely the dog, being a pet of the gamester, was stolen, and the collar was laid aside to prevent the animal from being identified. Francis Pole, of Park Hall, Derbyshire, the original owner of this mastiff's collar, served the office of sheriff for Derbyshire, and died at the age of seventy-two. He was one of the greatest book collectors of his time.[2] A small leathern portmanteau, with the ends of wood, large enough to contain a change of linen, besides other little *et ceteras*, was also found in the Coach and Horses Tavern. On the inner side of the lid, lightly cut in the surface of the leather, is the name of its former owner, R. Turpin. Whether or no this portmanteau (such a one as horsemen formerly carried behind them, strapped to their saddles), belonged to that famous highwayman, Richard Turpin, we will not attempt to decide; yet it is very probable that he resorted to this place, especially when we consider that Hockley-in-the-Hole was in his day, and even at a much later period, a rendezvous of thieves, burglars, and other depraved characters, who doubtless left behind them some of the instruments which they used in their base profession. Several blank keys, which were used when waxed over to take impressions of the wards of locks, have been found by the present landlord of the house. If at any time these desperadoes were hard pressed by the officers of justice, there was a facility of escape by means of a vaulted passage, now closed, communicating with the Fleet, along whose banks they might make their way to a place of security.



ANCIENT KNIFE AND KEY, FOUND AT HOCKLEY-IN-THE-HOLE.

[1] Sherlock's *Letter to a Friend in Paris.*

[2] Pedigree in Glover's *Derbyshire.*

THE CLERKS' WELL.

On the east side of Ray-street, at its southern extremity, a broken iron pump let into the front wall of a dilapidated tenement shows proximately the site of the famous Clerks' Well—now a shamefully neglected and ruined fountain. When Stow wrote his "Survey," about the year 1598, near the close of the reign of Elizabeth, it is evident that some care had been taken by the parish to preserve its pellucid waters from the contamination of surface drainage, or from being choked by the falling in of the surrounding soil, for it was then, to use the words of this old historian, "curbed about square with hard stone." In Aggas's "Civitas Londinum," a pictorial plan of London, published about 1560, is a rude representation of the Clerks' Well in the time of Elizabeth, the water of which appears to gush out from a waterhouse standing at the south-west corner of the boundary wall of St. Mary's Nunnery, and to fall into an oblong trough, or receptacle enclosed by a low wall, which was doubtless the curbing of stone to which Stow refers. This ancient fountain, though giving name to the district in which it was situated, was not *ab origine* the property of the parishioners. In the year 1673 a donation of this spring and the plot of ground in which it was situated was made by James, Earl of Northampton, then lord of the manor, for the use of the poor of the parish of St. James, but the vestry thought fit to lease the spring for the benefit of the poor to a brewer of the parish, for a period of twenty-one years, subject to a rent of forty shillings per annum. The following was the vestry minute thereon :—

"6th Dec., 1674.—It was unanimously ordered by the ancient Inhabitants of the Parish, met in this vestry, That whereas the Right Honourable James, Earl of Northampton, hath given a certain spring of water for the use of the poor of the said parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, during his Lordship's pleasure ; and whereas the parishioners have thought fit to let out the said Spring of Water for the benefit of the Poor of this Parish to such person or persons who will give the most or greatest rent or annuity or income for the same ; and whereas John Crosse, of this Parish, Brewer, hath offered to give a greater rent than any other person, out of charity and goodwill to the Poor of the said Parish : We whose names are hereunto subscribed have therefore thought fit to order, and do hereby order, that Thomas Hoard and Edward Hitchcock, the present Churchwardens of the said Parish, do let a lease for 21 years from Christmas next of the said Spring of Water to the said John Crosse for the rent of forty shillings, one moiety whereof to be paid at Midsummer, the next moiety at Christmas following, and so yearly, to the Churchwardens for the time being, during the term, for the use of the Poor of the said Parish."

Though the spring was leased to John Crosse (who was residing in Hockley-in-the-Hole), to whose premises it was contiguous, it does not appear that the inhabitants of the parish were precluded from the use of the water, which they derived from the fountain head by means of a conduit, the overflowings of the spring being collected into a suitable receptacle—the conduit head—at or about the place where the pump in Ray-street now stands. On the 1st March, 1675, the vestry ordered "that the Churchwardens do forthwith cause a padlock to be set upon Clerkenwell Conduit, and do keep the same locked up after nine o'clock at night; and likewise that the plug be taken out, and be made up with stone." On the 27th of April, 1694-5, near about the time of the expiration of the lease to which we have before adverted, the vestry deputed Colonel Bedford and Mr. Howard to "look into the cause of turning the watercourse that heretofore went from the fountain head to the place called Clerkenwell, alias Clerks' Well." The report of this commission, to which two other persons were added, is not to be found. On the 13th of April, 1714, the vestry "ordered and agreed that the Pump and other appurtenances thereunto which was lately set up upon Clerkenwell Green, the charges of setting up the same shall be paid and discharged by Mr. George Dawes, the late Churchwarden, and allowed in his accounts." What has been adduced with reference to the use of the well is confirmed by the testimony of Strype, who, writing about the year 1720, in continuation of Stow's narrative, remarks that "the old well of Clerkenwell, and from whence the

parish had its name, is still known among the inhabitants. It is on the right hand of a lane that leads from Clerkenwell to Hockley-in-the-Hole, in a bottom. One Mr. Crosse, a brewer, hath this well enclosed: but the water runs from him (by means of the watercourse above-mentioned) into the said place. It is enclosed with a high wall, which was formerly built to bound in Clerkenwell Close; the present well (the conduit head) being also enclosed by another lower wall from the street. The way to it is through a little house, which was the watchhouse; you go down a good many steps to it. The well had formerly iron-work and brass cocks, which are now cut off: the water spins through the old wall. I was there, and tasted the water, and found it excellently clear, sweet, and well tasted."

In 1800 a pump was erected on the east side of Ray-street to celebrate the parish clerks' ancient performances. The pump was let into a low dead wall, and the inscription thereon was as follows:—

"A.D. 1800. William Bound, Joseph Bird, Churchwardens. For the better accommodation of the neighbourhood this pump was removed to the spot where it now stands. The spring by which it is supplied is situated four feet eastward, and round it, as history informs us, the parish clerks of London, in remote ages, commonly performed sacred plays. That custom caused it to be denominated Clerks'-well, and from which this parish derived its name. The water was greatly esteemed by the prior and brethren of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and the Benedictine nuns in the neighbourhood."

Writing of this pump, in 1823, Hone, in his "Ancient Mysteries," (p. 207) says:—

"On the north side is an earthenware shop; and on the south a humble tenement occupied by a bird-seller, whose cages with their chirping tenants, hang over and around the inscription. The passing admirer of linnets and redpoles, now and then stops awhile to listen to the melody, and refresh his eye with a few green clover tufts, that stand on a low table for sale by the side of the door; while the monument denoting the histrionic fame of the place, and alluding to the miraculous powers of the water for healing incurable diseases, which formerly attracted multitudes to the spot, remains unobserved beneath its living attractions. The present simplicity of the scene powerfully contrasts with the recollection of its former splendour. The choral chant of the Benedictine nuns accompanying the peal of the deep-toned organ through their cloisters, and the frankincense curling its perfume from priestly censors at the altar, are succeeded by the stunning sounds of numerous quickly-plied hammers, and the smith's bellows flashing the fires of Mr. Bound's iron foundry, erected upon the unrecognised site of the convent. This religious house stood about half way down the declivity of the hill, which commencing near the church on Clerkenwell-green, terminates at the river Fleet. The prospect then was uninterrupted by houses, and the people upon the rising grounds could have had an uninterrupted view of the performances at the well."

Adjoining the old pump was formerly one of the parish watchhouses, erected in the year 1794, on a slip of ground belonging to the parish, and supposed to have been the gift of the Marquis of Northampton, in 1674. In 1798 it was purchased of the parish trustees by the Commissioners of St. James's for paving, watching, &c., for the sum of £140, and one guinea per annum, and was used by them as a watchhouse until 1822, when, by an order of the vestry, passed November, 1821, the churchwardens returned the commissioners £50, and again took possession of the property, which they re-let to Mr. Gregory on a lease for twenty-eight years, at £15 per annum, from the 25th of March, 1835. It continued to be used as a prison for the temporary confinement of Sunday misdemeanants until a very late period. North of this are the entrances to three ranges of arched brick vaults, extending beneath the houses as far as Clerkenwell-close, which were long used as coal stores by a dealer who rented the place for the purpose. By tradition they are referred to as being connected with the ancient nunnery, the brickwork being of unusual substance and solidity. Had this, however, been the case, they would not have escaped the careful researches of Stow, Maitland, Chamberlain, and other eminent London topographers, who, in their surveys, make no mention of them. We are, however, of opinion that their construction was necessary as a foundation for the houses in Clerkenwell-close, which are erected upon them; the difference in the level of the ground by reason of the natural declivity being thus overcome. Nearly opposite, on the west side of Ray-street, was formerly the paupers' burial ground, the use of which was obliged to be discontinued a few years ago in consequence of the Clerkenwell Commissioners requiring the ground for the

improvements. The remains of mortality therein were accordingly collected to one spot, and a plain mausoleum, protected by a *chevaux-de-frise*, and having a Latin cross, in stone, on the top, was built over them. This ground became the freehold property of the parish by purchase for £340, in the year 1755; and, by order of the vestry, in 1763, a wall was built to enclose it, and the place was consecrated for burials.

The Skinners' Well, which was near to the Clerks' Well, can now no longer be recognized, nor can its precise situation be determined. Strype wrote that he was of opinion "that it lies on the west of the church, enclosed within certain houses there. The parish would fain recover the well again, but cannot tell where the pipes lie. Dr. Rogers, who formerly lived in a house there, showed Mr. E. H., late Churchwarden, two marks in a wall in the Close, where these pipes (as he affirmed) laid, that it might be known after his death."[1]

ROSOMAN STREET.

The earliest name which this thoroughfare obtained, when it was but a footpath across the fields, was that of Bridewell-walk, from its having led directly past the prison, called the Clerkenwell Bridewell, the site of which is embraced by the present House of Detention.

About the year 1756, Rosoman, the builder and proprietor of Sadler's Wells Theatre, built a range of good houses on the west side of the "walk," to which he gave the name of Rosoman-row, as may be seen from a small tablet, let into the front wall of a house near the middle of the row, thus inscribed. These houses, which soon became the residences of retired tradesmen, then commanded a pleasant prospect of the fields and country beyond.

By degrees the east side was built upon, and in the year 1774 the name of Rosoman-street was definitely given to the whole; but so changed has become the contour of the ground that those houses whose entrances were once approached by lofty flights of steps are now scarcely elevated above the foot pavement.

THE LONDON SPA.

The water of this spa was chalybeate; it is reputed to have been known as early as the year 1206. It now no longer exists, and we have certain knowledge that for upwards of a century the site has been indicated by a public house bearing the name. The London Spa is noticed in a small publication, now scarce, entitled "May Day, or the Original of Garlands."[2]

> What, tho' no fabl'd Deities are found
> At London Spaw, to consecrate the ground.
>
>
>
> The Well neglected, now each from the Spring
> Her pail fills up, the news to Town they bring.
> The Rabble flock in shoals who hear its fame,
> To try its Virtue—each Childless Dame,
> Holiday fools to see the wonder throngs;
> Now all the trade to London Spaw belongs.
>
>
>
> The Spring is gratefully adorned with rails,
> Whose fame will last till the New River fails.

The present house was erected so recently as 1835, on the site of the former building, which was so generally known that, in advertisements in the daily journals of the various places of amusement

[1] Strype, bk. iv., p. 69.

[2] London, printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick-lane, 1721.

by which it was once surrounded, the mention of their being "near the London Spa" was considered to be a sufficient indication of their locality. In 1733, "Poor Robin's Almanack," in a rhyme about the month of July, states that

> Now Sweethearts with their sweethearts go
> To Islington or London Spaw,
> Some go but just to drink the water,
> Some for the ale which they like better.

In the year 1754, the proprietor informed the public by advertisement that "At the London Spa, during the accustomed time of the Welsh Fair,[1] will be the usual entertainment of roast pork, with the oft-famed flavoured Spaw Ale;" and, in addition to this, he promised his customers the



THE LONDON SPA, 1731.

most "inviting usage from the publick's most obedient servant, George Dodswell." The Spaw ale appears to have been of such excellent quality that it nearly eclipsed the fame of the mineral water. We read in the "Daily Post" for the 17th of March, 1741, that

> "On Sunday a custom house officer, being intoxicated with Spaw ale, in a phrensical fit drew his dagger, and fancying all people that passed to be his enemies, cut and slashed several persons in a most frightful manner, for which, being apprehended, he was carried before a justice of the peace and committed to the New Prison."

At the "New Red Lion Cockpit, near the London Spaw"—which we presume occupied the site of the present Red Lion Tavern, at the corner of Northampton-road—during the summer season, 1730, was to be seen "the royal sport of cockfighting"—"A sport," says an old writer, "peculiar to the English, there not being such dangerous cocks anywhere else." This was a daily amusement, beginning at four o'clock, "for six guineas a battle," and occasionally a match "for four guineas, and twenty guineas the odd battle."[2]

This was in our grandfathers' day a sight-seeing neighbourhood; among other novelties were

[1] In reference to this Welsh Fair we read the following in the *Daily Advertiser*, August 2nd, 1741.—"Welsh Fair.—Will be proclaimed on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th instant. Ground to be let in the Spaw Field. In conformity with the Right Honourable Lord Mayor, whatsoever person or persons shall presume, contrary to law, to act, represent, or perform any interlude, tragedy, comedy, opera, play, farce, or any entertainment of the stage in the said fair, during the time, shall be prosecuted.—H. Middleton, Steward."

[2] *Daily Post*, 9th March, 1730.



Islington Spa, 1737.

to be seen a "wonderful grotto," and an "enchanted fountain," at the "Grotto Garden, Rosoman-row, near the London Spa," which was kept in 1780 by one Jackson, a man famous for grottoes and fireworks. The charge for admission was sixpence each person.[1] It stood at the north-east corner of Lower Rosoman-street, almost facing the London Spa.

THE NEW WELLS.

On the ground occupied by the houses, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, there formerly stood a very popular place of amusement, advertised as "The New Wells, near the London Spa," which, during a considerable period of its existence, must have rivalled Sadler's Wells, from the attractive variety of its amusements. A theatre was built in the gardens for operatic and other performances, to which the price of admission was a pint of wine or punch. The most popular *artistes* of the day were generally engaged to perform here, and the diversions, as they were called, usually consisted of rope-dancing, singing, and tumbling, and serious and comic dancing, commencing at five o'clock, and concluding with a farce or a pantomime. Thus, during the summer of the year 1738, the diversions advertised were "a variety of new humorous songs, dances, &c., together with grand views of Vauxhall, and the celebrated entertainment of that place called 'A Hint to Theatres; or, Merlin in Labour, with the birth, adventures, and restoration of Harlequin;' and to conclude with a whimsical, chymical, and pantomimical entertainment called the 'Sequel.'" In the year 1739, was

"To be Seen

At the New Wells, near the London Spaw, Clerkenwell, a collection of very great curiosities consisting of rattlesnakes, the largest that have yet appeared in any part of Europe; one particularly, with 19 rattles, and seven young ones, a young crocodile from Georgia; several darting and flying squirrels, from the western parts of America, which may be handled as any of our own; and an African cat between the Tyger and Leopard, perfectly tame, and one of the most beautiful creatures that ever was in England. Price 1s.

"Also

Three Mathematical Statues of the famous Signor Balducci, which have surprised all the *virtuosi* of the several kingdoms they have hitherto been shewn in, and have not been equalled by any piece of moving machinery; exposed to public view at 1s. each person."[2]

During the season of the year 1740 the grand *denouement* here was a scenic representation of the Siege of Portobello, with the demolition of the forts and castles, accomplished by a pyrotechnic display. In the following year there was the amateur performance of an opera, called "The Generous Freemason; or, the Constant Lady; with the Comical Humours of Squire Noodle and his man Doodle," performed gratis by persons for their diversion. On the 10th of May, 1744, the grand jury of Middlesex, at Hicks' Hall assembled, made a presentment of several places of amusement which tended to corrupt the morals of the people, and among others the "New Wells, near the London Spaw," is stigmatised as "a place where great numbers of disorderly people meet." The jury in their presentment complained of "advertisements in the daily papers inviting and seducing persons to places kept apart for the encouragement of luxury, extravagance, idleness, and other wicked and illegal purposes, to the destruction of many families, and to the great dishonour of the kingdom in general, and this county in particular, especially at a time when we are so much overburdened with taxes, that it is as much as a prudent man can do, without a taste to extravagant and illegal pleasures, to support himself and family." This remonstrance had not the effect of closing the "New Wells," as might have been expected; but its proprietors continued to advertise a "variety of new diversions" with good success. "We hear from the New Wells, near the London Spaw," says the "Daily Advertiser" of the 27th of June, 1744, "that on Monday last there was a crowded

[1] Smith's *Book for a Rainy Day*, p. 70.

[2] *Daily Post*, July, 1739.

and polite audience, to see the new entertainment of 'The Sorceress, or Harlequin Savoyard'; and that last night it was performed to upwards of seven hundred people, with unanimous applause. The cost of admission was a pint of wine each person." In August of the same year, on one of the days of the Welsh Fair, "six hundred persons were present one evening to see Mr. Dominique's flying over twenty-four men's heads with drawn swords, a thing never done before in England; Madam Kerman's curious performances on the stiff rope, who dances in a pair of stilts, and jumps over a garter ten feet high; and Mr. Hendrick, who dances on a rope, with a wheel-barrow before him, out of which are displayed several curious fireworks." Like other public gardens, those of the New Wells were open on Sunday evenings, and home-brewed ale and porter were retailed to the thirsty citizens.

In the year 1745 a giant was exhibited at the "Wells"—a young Colossus, seven feet four inches high, who was ushered into public notice by the following meretricious advertisement in the "Daily Advertiser" of the 3rd of June, 1745:—

"Whatever is in itself good will always make its way, although not ushered into the world with pompous paragraphs or pageant-like puffs. As an example of this truth, the undertakers of the New Wells, near the London Spaw, beg leave to assure the town, since thronging audiences have been pleased to encourage their endeavours, they intend to double their pains, and hope for a continuance of favour. The God of wine and Deity of wit have long gone hand-in-hand, and to keep them both alive the best way is to blend them; therefore for the reception of the curious, they have provided the best of both their productions; and, as varieties in nature are as pleasing as those of art, the greatest that can now be shown is every evening to be seen at the Wells, viz., a young Colossus, who, though not 16, is seven feet four inches high, has drawn more company this season than was ever known before, and must convince the world that the ancient race of Britons is not extinct, but that we may yet hope to see a race of giant-like heroes."

This wonderful young giant, as he was called, performed on the rope at intervals.

During the season of the year following there was an attractive variety in the amusements, consisting of tumbling, rope-dancing, &c.; and, in addition to these, was introduced "the wonderful little Polander, who is allowed to be the greatest curiosity in the memory of man, being only two feet ten inches high, and sixty years of age, and in every way proportionable, and wears his beard after his own country's fashion. Also, the tall Saxon woman, seven feet high, between whom and the Lilliputian Polander there is to be a country dance; concluding with an exact view of the battle fought under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, and the cannonading of the walls of Culloden House, with the horse in pursuit."

About this time Mrs. Charlotte Charke, the youngest daughter of Colley Cibber, poet laureate to George III., and patentee of Drury-lane Theatre, took the character of Mercury in the serious part of an entertainment called "Jupiter and Alcymena," which was given here.

From 1747 to 1750 the theatre and gardens of the New Wells were closed. After remaining empty for some time, they were engaged by the Rev. John Wesley, and converted into a tabernacle, which was opened for worship and preached in for the first time by a Methodist clergyman, on Sunday the 17th of May, 1752.[1]

"I lately visited," says Mrs. Charke, in her "Autobiography," "Mr. Yates' New Wells, and was persecuted for an hour with words without meaning, and sound without sense. I should as soon think of dancing a hornpipe in a cathedral as having the least tincture of devotion where I had myself been honoured as a heathen deity, and dreaded as a roaring devil. No mortal but Mr. Yates could have thought of letting the place for that use, and I believe the first symptoms of his religion will be discovered if there should be a suppression of this mockery of godliness in the loss of his unsanctified tenants, and the sad chance of his tenement standing empty."

On Easter Monday, the 16th of April, 1750, it was publicly announced that "The New Wells, near the London Spaw (which has been shut up these three years, and is now repaired, beautified, and rendered completely theatrical at a great expense), will open with a variety of new performances. The Grand Turk, Mahomed Caratha, will exhibit on the slack rope. Feats of activity on the tight rope, by Giacomino Perghen, the Turk's apprentice. To conclude with

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1752.

an entertainment of music, called 'The Sacrifice of Iphigenia.' Each person to be admitted for a pint of wine or punch."

Later in the season the following remarkable note is appended to advertisements in the daily papers of the performances here:—"It is humbly hoped that the gentlemen will excuse their not being admitted behind the scenes on account of the machinery." Near the close of the year it was announced for a benefit, that "Hannah Snell, who went by the name of James Gray, and received several wounds in the siege of Pondicherry, will go through the manual exercise in her regimentals." At the attack on Pondicherry, a French possession in the East Indies, in the year 1748, Hannah Snell, *alias* James Gray, was in the first party of marines who forded the river, breast high, under the galling fire of a battery. She performed picket duty for seven nights successively, and afterwards laboured arduously in the trenches. In another attack she narrowly escaped with her life. She fired thirty-seven rounds during the engagement, and received six wounds in her right leg, and five in her left, and a dangerous wound in the abdomen. As a soldier she was firm in her demeanor, and her conduct was distinguished by great bravery. On coming to London and making known her history she became very popular; and having sought and obtained an engagement, appeared on the stage in the character of Firelock, and in a masterly manner went through the usual military exercises. Subsequently Government, in consideration of her services, granted her a pension of £20; and with this assistance she took a small public house near Wapping, and had a signboard painted with the British sailor on one side, and on the other a valiant marine, and beneath inscribed, "The Widow in Masquerade; or, the Female Warrior."

The season of 1750 appears to have been the last of the performances at the New Wells, as advertisements of them ceased to appear in the public prints from this time; and a few years afterwards the "Wells" were entirely removed.

At the Shakspeare's Head, near the New Wells, the public were entertained in the year 1742 with refreshments of all kinds and music, the harpsichord being placed in so judicious a situation that the whole company could not fail equally to receive the benefit. In 1770 Mr. Jones "exhibited a great and pleasing variety of performances, in a commodious apartment, up one pair."

Not far from the New Wells, near Bridewell-walk, Mrs. Charke, before referred to, resided in a state of comparative indigence. Owing to the failure of theatrical engagements she was driven to support herself by the labours of the pen. She worked up a novel for the press, and a bookseller treated with her for it. He attended her in company with a Mr. Samuel Whyte, of Dublin, who thus graphically describes her wretched condition, and the filthy state of the neighbourhood in which she lived, about the year 1755.

"Her habitation was a wretched thatched hovel, situated on the way to Islington in the purlieus of Clarkenwell Bridewell, not very distant from the New River Head, where at that time it was usual for the scavengers to leave the cleansings of the streets, and the priests of Cloacina[1] to deposit the offerings from the temples of that all-worshipped power. The night preceding a heavy rain had fallen, which rendered this seat of the Muses almost inaccessible, so that in our approach we got our white stockings enveloped in mud up to the very calves, which furnished an appearance much in the present fashionable style of half-boots. We knocked at the door (not attempting to pull the latch string), which was opened by a tall, meagre, ragged figure, with a blue apron, indicating, what else might have been doubted, the feminine gender. She, with a torpid voice and hungry smile, desired us to walk in. The first object that presented itself was a dresser, clean it must be confessed, and furnished with three or four coarse delf plates, two brown platters, and underneath an earthen pipkin and a black pitcher, with a snip out of it. To the right we perceived and bowed to the mistress of the mansion, sitting on a maimed chair, under the mantlepiece, by a fire merely sufficient to put us in mind of starving. On one hob sat a monkey, on the other a tabby cat of melancholy aspect; and at our author's feet, on the flounce of her dingy petticoat, reclined a dog almost a skeleton. He raised his shagged head, and eagerly staring with his bleared eyes, saluted us with a snarl. 'Have done, Fidele! these are friends.' The tone of her voice was not harsh: in it was something humbled and disconsolate. Poor soul! few were her visitors of that description; no wonder the dog barked. A magpie perched on the top ring of her chair, not an uncomely ornament; and on her

[1] Cloacina, a goddess at Rome, who presided over the Cloacæ, which were large receptacles for the filth and dung of the whole city, begun by Tarquin the Elder, and finished by Tarquin the Proud.

lap was placed a mutilated pair of bellows—the pipe was gone, and they served for a writing desk—on which lay displayed her hope and treasure, the manuscript of her novel. Her inkstand was a broken teacup, the pen worn to a stump ; she had but one. A rough deal board, with three hobbling supporters, on which we contrived to sit down and enter upon business. The work was read, and thirty guineas demanded for the copy."

The bookseller offered five ; some altercation ensued, and at the instance of Mr. Whyte, "the wary haberdasher of literature doubled his first proposal," which was agreed to, "the lady's original stipulation of fifty copies for herself being previously acceded to." Such is the story of the once admired daughter of Colley Cibber, Poet Laureate, and patentee of Drury Lane, who was born in affluence and educated with care and tenderness, her servants in livery, and a splendid equipage at her command ; yet unmindful of her advantages and improvident in her pursuits, she finished the career of her miserable existence on a dunghill.[1] Of Mrs. Charke after this remarkable interview nothing further is known, except that she kept a public house at Islington, and is said to have died on the 6th of April, 1760.[2]

Holden's "Triennial Directory," a precursor of the "London Post Office Directory," was published at £1 by the proprietor at No. 8, Rosoman-street, then at the corner of Northampton-buildings. It was a single volume, octavo, alphabetically arranged. The same work for the years 1805, 6, 7, appeared in two volumes, octavo, which were sold for £1 19s. 6d., bound in calf.

No. 35, near the close of the eighteenth century, was the first house in this street, and had then a frontage northward, with a garden before it, in which, about the year 1800, was some of the ornamental work of the "wonderful grotto" before alluded to, whilst from the windows of the house the pleasant country beyond might be overlooked for many miles. Around were fields, with here and there a farmhouse, or a group of lowly cottages, dotted down upon them ; and beyond were the sheltering hills of Highgate and Hampstead, bright with verdure, and crowned with goodly trees. How vastly changed is the present aspect of this neighbourhood ! Many a weary mile must now be walked from this place ere a green field or farm house can be reached. Early in the present century this house was the residence of a captain of the Clerkenwell Volunteers, a valiant troop banded together in a time of "war's alarms" for the defence of life and property.



THE "CLERKENWELL NEWS" OFFICE.

The Finsbury Dispensary was first established in this house about the year 1813.

On the 4th of January, 1855, Mr. J. T. Pickburn, who was the proprietor of a printing business which was carried on in this house, started a new local paper or advertising sheet, entitled "The Business and Agency Gazette," which was issued weekly, and gratuitously circulated in the neighbourhood ; it was intended chiefly as a medium for advertising, as its title implied ; but it did not flourish and was discontinued after thirteen numbers were issued. This attempt, although unsuccessful, had been the means of forming a connection with some of the advertising tradesmen of the district, and may be said to have laid the foundation for the establishment of a more matured effort subsequently. On the 1st of May, in the same year, Mr. Pickburn started "The Clerkenwell News," the same size as his previous paper, but with different results, for the public had become so fully aware of its utility that its progress was very rapid; and its existence to the present

[1] Whyte's *Collection of Poems*, 2nd edition. Dublin, 1792.

[2] *Biographia Dramatica.*

time (1863) may be said to have been one of constant anxiety to meet the increasing demand for more extended operations. It was enlarged on the 5th of January, 1856; again on the 20th of September, in the same year; again on the 25th of April, 1857; and again on the 15th of May, 1858. "The Clerkenwell News" was at first issued monthly and gratuitously; afterwards (June 9th, 1855) weekly, at one halfpenny; then (April 25th, 1860) twice a week; and since 5th of May, 1862, three times a week. In 1862 the office of this paper was removed from 35, Lower Rosoman-street, to Myddelton House, at the corner of Myddelton-street, Clerkenwell—a new building which was adapted by Mr. Pickburn for the purpose of carrying on therein the publication of the journal, the circulation of which had very considerably increased, but the printing department was and is situated elsewhere.

"The Clerkenwell News" is thus referred to in the "British Quarterly Review" for April, 1859:—

"'The Clerkenwell News,' which stands at the head of the halfpenny papers, is the largest and most ambitious of the whole collection. It is very near equal in size to a double 'Times,' and is conducted with something more of the business air of a high-priced journal than any of its contemporaries. Its original articles appear to be temperate in style and practical in matter; its success is commensurate to its merits."

In a work entitled "The Newspaper Press of the Present Day," 1860, pp. 54-56, the "Clerkenwell News" is thus mentioned:—

"This was the first of the halfpenny papers published in London since the 'Halfpenny Posts' and 'Farthing Posts' of former days, 'when news began to be in fashion.' It appeared on the 1st of May, 1855, having anticipated the abolition of the stamp duty in June of that year. Its size was then a folio crown, being only then a little larger than a quarter its present size, which is a huge sheet of four pages with seven columns in a page. Its second enlargement was a folio demy; the next, a double crown quarto; the next its present size.[1] At first it was a 'once a week' paper, now it is published twice a week—Wednesdays and Saturdays. The double number contains 56 columns. The entire circulation on the two days is, we understand, upwards of 40,000! The circulation on Wednesday, May 2, 1860, was 15,000, and on the Saturday following 21,000; and this we believe is its average circulation. The paper is a perfect Hercules, and when twice a week it makes its appearance, the district is wrought into a state of high commotion, if not actually 'frighted from its propriety.' 'The giant is coming,' is in everyone's mouth. It really must never attempt to treble—to become a thrice a week or daily paper. If it should, it would be the death of the Clerkenwellers, who could not bear up against any additional excitement. As it is, the sensation which its appearance causes is kept up throughout the week. 'The scene round the neighbourhood of the office on publishing days is like a fair.' This is one description lately given to us of the excitement which this 'lion' of the district causes. The entire circulation on the two days of publication is through newsvenders and boys. On Saturdays 21,000 copies are frequently sold in less than half an hour, many large newsvenders taking between 2000 and 3000 papers; some of the itinerant boys sell as many as 40 quires—1040 papers. They are sold from the office at ninepence per quire, 26 to the quire, thereby realizing a profit to the venders of more than 16 shillings in a few hours. There are, we understand, very few little boys who sell less than 10 quires. The average number of advertisements in the Saturday's edition is little short of 1500, and there is a large number in the Wednesday's issue."

The importance of "The Clerkenwell News" is evidenced by the following communication, which was made to "learned, chatty, useful," "Notes and Queries," by a correspondent:—

"Advertising Statistics.—I beg leave to contribute another Note to the statistics of advertising. 'The Clerkenwell News' is a local paper which is largely circulated in the Northern and North-eastern parts of the Metropolis; it is published three times a week, and consists of four pages of closely-printed matter, nearly three-fourths of which are advertisements; the price is one halfpenny. This paper was commenced in 1855 under the name of the 'The Business and Agency Gazette,'[2] which was a most humble specimen of journalism; but mainly through vigorous management and advertisement, it has developed itself into a flourishing paper—'The Clerkenwell News'—which has a much greater popularity than the local name would imply. In the number for the 26th September, 1862, there are no less than 1310 advertisements, which cover a space of about 1440

[1] The above is incorrect. The first size was 4 pp. crown folio; the second, 4 pp. demy folio; the third, 4 pp. double crown folio; the fourth, 4 pp. double demy folio; and afterwards enlarged to its present size. The writer is also unaware that the paper was first issued monthly, as stated in the text.

[2] This is an error, as shown in the preceding text. *The Business and Agency Gazette* was discontinued a month before *The Clerkenwell News* was commenced.

superficial inches. The charge for advertisements averages about 2d. a line, and the total cost of those above enumerated would be, according to my estimation, about £50. That 1340 advertisers should be found for one issue of a local paper is, I think, a curious fact."[1]

It is, we believe, not generally known that halfpenny newspapers were the invention of a past age; one hundred and fifty years before there was any stamp duty upon newspapers there were many of these low priced journals thriving, both in town and country. The originator of halfpenny newspapers was a man named Heathcote, who, at his office in Baldwin's-gardens, Leather-lane, Holborn, printed and published three times a week, "Heathcote's London Post." Other halfpenny papers which started subsequently in opposition were "Read's Journal," "The London Journal," and "Parker's London News or Impartial Intelligencer, containing the most remarkable occurrences foreign and domestic." By five of these low priced journals about twenty thousand reams of an inferior paper were consumed annually.

In 1706 the price of the "Norwich Postman," a small quarto sheet, was stated as "charge one halfpenny, but a penny not refused." In 1723 the proprietor of the "Norwich Gazette, or Henry Crossgrove's News," finding that so low a charge as one halfpenny did not pay him, thus announced the rise in the price of his journal:—"This is to inform my friends that on Saturday next this newspaper will be sold at a penny and continue at that price. The reason of my raising it to a penny is because I cannot afford to sell it under any longer, and I hope none of my customers will think it dear at a penny, since they always have the first intelligence besides other diversions."

In 1725, by the passing of an Act of Parliament, authorising a penny stamp on every whole sheet, and a halfpenny stamp upon every half sheet of all newspapers, these cheap papers were virtually abolished; but not without opposition on the part of their proprietors. Among the "Reasons humbly offered to Parliament in behalf of several persons concerned in paper making, printing, and publishing the halfpenny newspapers, against the bill now depending for laying a penny stamp upon every whole sheet and a halfpenny stamp upon every half sheet of all newspapers," it is urged "that the said newspapers hath always been a whole sheet and a half, and sold for one halfpenny to the poorer sort of people, who are purchasers of it by reason of its cheapness, to divert themselves and also to allure therewith their young children and entice them to reading, and should the duty of three halfpence be laid on these mean newspapers (which by reason of the coarseness of the paper the generality of gentlemen are above conversing with) it would utterly extinguish and suppress the same." It was further urged, "hundreds of persons and families that chiefly get their bread by selling the same will inevitably be reduced to poverty, and become chargeable and burthensome to their respective parishes, if not necessitated to turn thieves; more especially the indigent poor and miserable blind hawkers will by the suppression of these halfpenny newspapers be absolutely deprived of getting their bread, for divers of them who are industrious and have but a penny or three halfpence for stock to begin with in the morning will before night advance it to one shilling and sixpence or two shillings, which greatly tends to the comfortable support of such miserable poor and blind creatures who sell them about the street." Notwithstanding these reasons the bill passed. The last number of "Parker's London News," (No. 1005) appeared on Saturday evening, the 25th of April, 1725. It consisted of three leaves of coarse, whitish brown foolscap paper; the first two pages were devoted to some portion of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and the remainder to domestic and foreign news from Flanders, France, Muscovy, Saxony, and Italy.

In Upper Rosoman-street, between the houses Nos. 29 and 30, is situated the church of SS. Peter and Paul. It was erected in the year 1835, for a congregation of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and opened under the name of "The Northampton Tabernacle." In the month of June, 1847, it was opened for Roman Catholic worship. There are seats in this edifice for 600 persons, and standing room for about 100 more. The Rev. Walter M'Avila is the present minister. There are day schools for boys and girls attached to this church; the average number of children who attend daily is about eighty.

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., II., Oct 4, 1862. p. 279

THE VESTRY HALL.

The Vestry Hall is situated on the east side, at the south end of Upper Rosoman-street. A watchhouse, with board room, offices, and green-yard adjoining, belonging to the Commissioners for Paving, Lighting, &c., St. James's, Clerkenwell, formerly occupied this spot. On the introduction of Sir Benjamin Hall's "Metropolis Local Management Act," 1855, the commissioners' board room and offices were, and have been since, used for vestry meetings. The first vestry meeting was held on the 3rd of January, 1856. The property belongs to the New River Company, and is held under a lease, of which about thirty-five years are now (1863) unexpired.

In 1857 the old board room was considerably enlarged; it was 23 feet long, 21 feet 4 inches wide, and 13 feet high. The new one is 47 feet in length, by 21 feet 4 inches in width, and 15 feet 9 inches in height. An office for a chief clerk was also provided, 21 feet by 17 feet 6 inches, and 11 feet high. The new board room is rectangular in plan, with a large bow window at its south end. Internally it has a continuous dado round it of grained oak, varnished, and the cornice is neatly coved. The ventilation is effected by means of Dr. Arnott's ventilators in the flues, and two openings four feet in diameter in the ceiling: these openings are embellished with Bielefeld's papier mâché flowers, the foliage of which is pierced with interstices to admit vitiated air into the roof, from thence to be carried off by a flue provided for that purpose. The old building was constructed of plain brickwork, with a stone coping to its parapets, and windows without dressings. The ground storey of the front was rusticated in cement, with large segmental-headed Venetian windows. In consequence of the improvements comprehending simply an enlargement and additions to an existing structure, the architect was under the necessity of retaining certain forms and features, which he would, no doubt, have rejected in an entirely new building. In consequence of this, the ground storey windows and rustication have been retained. The new one-pair storey windows are of good proportion, and have architraves, pilasters, trusses, and cornices of Italian character, and beneath them is a panelled and otherwise ornamental continuous pedestal. The building is surmounted by a plain moulded entablature, and at its southern end is a tablet, enclosed by a pediment, pilasters, and other dressings, inscribed with "Vestry Hall, 1857," in sunken letters. The lofty brick wall, which formerly enclosed the stone yard and other premises, was taken down, and a screen wall (with an open ornamental iron railing a few yards in advance of it) substituted. The architect was Mr. W. P. Griffith. The contractor for the various works was Mr. David Fowler, his tender being the lowest among those obtained by public advertisement in the "Builder," "Clerkenwell News," and other journals. The expense, with incidentals, amounted to nearly £600.



CLERKENWELL VESTRY HALL.

In contemplation of the improvements, it was decided by the vestry that an application for a lengthened lease to them should be made to the New River Company. This was accordingly done, and on the 5th of March, 1857, an answer was received from that company to the effect, that the

directors had considered the application for a renewal of the lease of the premises, and had examined the plans with reference to the alterations, but finding that nearly all the company's leases expired at the same period in this locality they declined to extend the time.

SEKFORDE STREET.

This street is built on some portion of the Sekforde or Woodbridge estate, the boundary line of which includes the north and east sides of St. James's-walk, the north side of Aylesbury-street, the west side of St. John-street, and the south side of Corporation-row,-and the ground abutting on the east wall of the House of Detention. It is named from one of its early possessors—Thomas Sekforde, one of the masters of the Court of Requests, and surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was eminent as a lawyer, and distinguished as a patron of polite literature. To this worthy man we owe the first publication of a county atlas. He had in his service one Christopher Saxton, a man of great capabilities, whom he encouraged by his patronage and aided by his wealth in making surveys of the different counties in England, which, with the engraving of most of the maps occupied him during the space of six years. In 1589 the complete set of county maps was published; they were dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and on each map was engraved the royal arms, and those of Thomas Sekforde. From an original collection of these maps which we have seen they appear to have been richly coloured, and the shields of arms were illuminated. Sekforde retired from office and relinquished the profession of the law about the year 1581, when he probably sought retirement in the rural suburb of Clerkenwell. He was then in his leisure looking forward to the end of his life, and bethinking himself of what good he might do for posterity. He resolved to found and endow an almshouse at Woodbridge, in Suffolk, and in the twenty-ninth year of Elizabeth's reign he obtained from that queen letters patent for the purpose. He died in the month of January, 1588, and was buried in a chapel which he had erected in his lifetime adjoining the church of Woodbridge. The estate above referred to was bequeathed by Thomas Sekforde, in the year 1587, for the perpetual maintenance of thirteen poor men in the almshouse which he had then lately founded at Woodbridge. At the time of its bequest it was described by the founder as consisting of certain parcels of ground "lying within the close heretofore called St. Marie Close," and which to his "great charges" he had "enclosed with a brick wall." It further appears that on this estate there stood "two principal new builded houses," in one of which, "next to St. John's," and contiguous to "the broad walk, under the south wall of the said close called St. Marie Close," Mr. Sekforde himself lived. Offices and gardens, with fields enclosed by brick walls, or by "timber walls and quickset," covered the remainder of the estate, the annual income from which then amounted to £112 13s. 4d. Out of this sum the founder gave £94 8s. 4d. for the pensions, wood, and gowns of the poor almsmen, and out of the remaining sum of £18 5s. he gave to the poor of Clerkenwell the sum of 40s. annually. In the year 1768 the governors of the charity increased this amount to £10 per annum, and in 1849 to £20 per annum. By the year 1718 the annual revenue from the Sekforde estate reached to only £180, but in the course of fifty years from that time its value was greatly augmented. In 1767 the estate was leased in six parts of the governors of Sekforde's Almshouse at £563 per annum, the lessees covenanting besides to lay out not less than £14,700, "for the lasting benefit and improvement of the said estate." These leases expired at Midsummer and Michaelmas, 1827. Previously to the falling in of the leases the governors obtained an Act of Parliament, in 1826, to enable them to grant new building and other leases for any term not exceeding ninety-nine years.

The following is an outline of the Sekforde pedigree:—The Seckfords, or Sekfordes, had been lords of the manor of Boulge, in the county of Suffolk. John of Sekforde had a grant of free warren in Boulge, in the eighth year of Edward III. George Sekforde, Esq., who lived in the time of

Henry VI., had two sons ; the eldest, Thomas, died twenty-first Henry VII., and John, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., warred against the rebels in Ireland. Thomas, heir of George, had two sons; first Thomas, and second John, who died s.p. Thomas, grandson of George, had seven sons; the first being Francis, who had a son Charles, who had two sons—viz., Sir Thomas, who had a son, Thomas, who died under age, s.p., and Henry, second son of Charles, who died 1626, s.p. Thomas, brother of Francis, was Master of Requests to Queen Elizabeth ; he died 1587, s.p.m. Sir Henry, second brother of Francis, was Privy Purse and one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to Queen Elizabeth; he died s.p.m. Humphrey, third brother of Francis, died s.p. John, fourth brother of Francis, had one son, Anthony, who died s.p. Anthony, fifth brother, died s.p. Thomas, sixth brother, had Henry, his only son, who became heir in tail to his great grandfather, Thomas, and was seised of Sekforde Hall, &c., 14 Car., s.p. With this gentleman all the heirs male of the eldest lineage became extinct.

John, the second son of George, had a son Thomas, who also had a son Thomas, to whom Edward VI. granted a considerable estate in the county of Kilkenny, in Ireland, and who had a son, Gibbon, whom the Irish expelled from his inheritance in Ireland, in Queen Mary's time. He had a son, Gibbon Sekforde, who had three sons; first, Robert Gibbon, who died in 1618, and left an only son, John; second, Thomas, who died s.p. ; third, John, who had three sons, William, Hammond, and Anthony.

The name of this family is taken from Sekeford, written Sekeforde in the Doomsday Book. This house may be said to have flourished full three hundred years, perhaps longer, says Mr. Tomlins.[1]

The Finsbury Savings Bank is situated in Sekforde-street. This excellent institution was first established in the year 1816, in a large house at the north-east corner of Jerusalem-passage, St. John's-square, and was removed in the year 1840, to the present commodious building in Sekforde-street. A City branch of this bank has since been opened at No. 76, Cheapside.

ST. JAMES'S WALK.

This avenue has from time immemorial been divested of those rural features suggested by the name, a "walk," from which we picture a pleasant path shaded by trees, or parted off from the fields by flowery hedge-rows.

Most of the houses now standing are erections of the last fifty or sixty years, and occupy the site of their more venerable predecessors, especially those lying westward. Ogilby's large map of London, on a scale of one inch to a hundred feet, published in 1675, discovers several blocks of building in this thoroughfare. In 1708 it was called Hart-alley, but in 1720 it was distinctly noticed by Strype as New Prison-walk, from its having led to a house of correction called the New Prison, situated on the site of the present House of Detention; this latter name it retained until the year 1774, when it was changed to the present one. On the eastern side almost every house that had any claim to antiquity or interest was removed about thirty-five years ago, when the general aspect of the district was completely transmogrified ; a number of small tenements and gardens at the east end of the walk were laid waste, and shortly after the present houses were built. In the rear of these houses, and reached by a *cul de sac* to the right of the entrance to the House of Detention, with a contractor's yard as its forecourt, is a large and roomy mansion of plain brick, once familiarly known as Woodbridge House, from its having been built (as was also this side of St. James's-walk) on the Woodbridge or Sekforde estate. The house was formerly the residence of the lessees of the estate ; one of these was George Friend, Esq., a gentleman tradesman, one of the dyers of scarlet to the East India Company, who carried on his business in the wooden dyehouses which he had erected in the immediate proximity of his dwelling. In the year 1807 this gentleman made over the lease of

[1] Collected out of Proofs, 18 Nov., 1652, signed Roger Dodsworthy, sworn to as true by Humphrey Hyde and John Roberts, 9 Dec., 1652, T. E. Tomlins.

the estate to a much respected friend, William Cook, Esq., Vestry Clerk of Clerkenwell, who, in the hope of obtaining a renewal of the lease of the trustees of the Sekforde estate, laboured energetically to improve the property. He had the old residence pulled down, the dyehouses removed, and the present building reared on the site; and, after spending upwards of £4000, this enterprising capitalist had the mortification of being refused a new lease, and had no alternative but to accept a sorry compensation for his loss.

We extract the following from the "Daily Courant," for the 15th of May, 1716:—

"This is to give notice that a large brick-built house, with a coach-house and stabling for four horses, convenient outhouses, with a garden walled in, it being the late dwelling-house of Madame Fines, at the lower end of New Prison-walk, is to be let. Enquire of Mr. Tews, at the Red Cross, Red Cross-street, or at Mr. Kurls', next door, and you may know further."

From the "Public Advertiser" for the 15th of August, 1775:—

"On Sunday se'nnight died in St. James's-walk, Mr. Carrol, nephew to Mr. Friend, an eminent scarlet dyer of that place."

From the same paper for the 4th of October, 1775.—

"Yesterday died Mr. Fletcher in St. James's-walk, a soap-boiler, lately retired upon his fortune."

The Clerkenwell Parochial Sunday School in this walk was instituted in the year 1809; it owes its origin to the benevolence and Christian zeal of the Rev. Henry Foster, then Incumbent of Clerkenwell, a popular preacher, a man of exemplary piety, and greatly respected by his parishioners.[1]

The present convenient building, which supplanted an older structure on the same site, was erected in the year 1828, from the designs of Mr. Lovell, and for school purposes the rooms are admirably constructed, being well lighted and ventilated; over the chimney-piece in the committee room is a portrait of the Rev. Henry Foster in his canonicals, and there are also framed and glazed the elevation and ground plan of the present school building. In 1858, this erection was enlarged by an additional storey. Mr. W. P. Griffith was the architect; and Mr. Yardley the builder. The children attending these schools of any age above six years are taught to read, and are instructed in the principles of the Christian religion according to the doctrines of the Church of England, on Sundays, and also, as a reward for good conduct and diligence, receive instruction in writing and ciphering on certain evenings in the week. The institution is dependent for support on annual and life subscriptions and the collections made after the sermons annually preached in the parish church.

The Clerkenwell Daily Infant School, held under the same roof, greatly needs pecuniary assistance from the friends of education; it is such schools as these that have especial claims on their interest and sympathy, for—

> Infant reason grows apace, and calls
> For the kind hand of an assiduous care.
> Delightful task! to rear the tender thought;
> To teach the young idea how to shoot.

This school, which was established in the year 1831, is entirely disconnected from the Sunday school, and is dependent for its existence upon annual subscriptions and donations, out of which a rental of £18 per annum has to be paid for the use of the room and the master's salary, above his receipts from the children's pence, and sundry other expenses have to be met. The average number of children of ages varying from two to seven visiting this school is from 180 to 200. One great advantage attending the infant school is, that the little girls, when of a suitable age, are taught needlework; and during every year they make a great number of useful articles of clothing, all of which are sold to the parents at the cost of the material only, as an encouragement to keep their children decently clothed.[2]

[1] *Vide* page 69.

[2] The Editor selects this place for the introduction of some additional particulars about Clerkenwell Workhouse, which has been mentioned at page 116. This further information has come to his knowledge since the publication of that part of this History which comprises the page referred to. "An Account of Several Workhouses," &c., 1732, contains a description of the one belonging to the parish of Clerkenwell, written in

CLERKENWELL BRIDEWELL.

There were formerly two gaols in Clerkenwell, both of which were situated at the northern extremity of this avenue, and adjoined each other, occupying the site at present enclosed by the boundary walls of the House of Detention. The oldest of these prisons was called, although by a seeming paradox, the New Prison, or Bridewell. This was the first notable erection as a place of punishment in Clerkenwell.

"In the year 1615," says Strype, "the Justices for Middlesex, by licence from the King, built a House of Correction for the county of Middlesex, near unto the east end of Clerkenwell, upon a large garden plot purchased by the said justices; which house was for the punishment and employment of rogues and vagabonds of Middlesex, who formerly used to be taken into Bridewell, as well as the vagrants of London. But these miscreants so increased now, that Bridewell could not contain them, nor employ them, neither were the governors willing to receive them of Middlesex from the said justices, holding it contrary to the charter of London, and the foundation of Bridewell; but the City gave to this house £500 in money, at the request of the council, to make a stock for the employment of the poor. The purchase of that plot of ground, and the building, cost about £2500, part of which was the free gift of the justices, and the rest levied on the inhabitants (of the county). The £500 which the City gave, instead of making a stock, was employed in the building and furnishing the house. The justices appointed over it two masters or governors, and a matron, who were to order and govern the vagrants committed there, and to have a salary of £200 a year for their pains; for which salary they receive them, and keep them at work, without further charge to the county, unless they be discharged thence by order of the Justices of Peace."[1]

Shortly after this building had been completed, viz., on Shrove Tuesday, 1617, the London 'prentices,[2] who were in those days a lawless, turbulent, and mischievous set of fellows, in spite of "strong watches and guards set in divers places," on this their usual day of riot, "had a cast at the New Bridewell, beyond St. John-street."[3]

From the state papers relating to the New Prison, Clerkenwell, we gather the following extracts:—

"June 29, 1618.—Consent of John Owen *alias* Collins, of the King's Bench, and Everard *alias* Francis Kemp, of the New Prison, to go abroad with the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar."

September, 1731, at which period it had eighty-nine persons to maintain. It was "a new, large, plain, commodious brick house, built near the Cold Bath, for the reception of all the poor receiving alms from this parish, and was opened May, 1727." The working inmates spun mop yarn and picked oakum; the children were taught their catechism, and worked at the spinning-wheel. In 1729 an infirmary was erected at one end of the building, in consequence of a sum of money left by Henry Hoare, Esq., being distributed by his executors towards supporting charity schools and workhouses. "And this house," concludes the description, "for cleanliness and good order, seems to be carried to a perfection, worthy of the imitation of other places."

[1] Strype's *Stow*, ed. 1720, p. 69.

[2] This reference to the London apprentices enables the Editor to introduce at this place "A Coppy of a Lybell by the Prentyses of London," which has been lately published by the Camden Society in the "Trevelyan Papers," part ii., (vol. 84, p. 101), and which relates to the open grounds between the City and Islington. It should have been introduced into the text at page 7 of this History, at which is an account of the anciently accustomed visit of the Lord Mayor of London on St. Bartholomew's day, to the wrestlings which took place in the fields of Clerkenwell; but when that part of this work which contains the page referred to was issued from the press, the Editor had not read the "Trevelyan Papers." The "Lybell," existing only, it is believed, in a manuscript of the time, from which the Camden Society copied it, bears date in 1598. It does not appear in the chronicles out of what circumstance it arose. "After our most harty commendacions unto you good brethren and Prentyses, trusting in God that you are in good health, as we were at the making hereof. The cause of our wryting unto you at this time is for to know whether you will put up this iniurye or no: for to se our brethren whypt and set on the pyllory without a cause, which is a greyef to us. Desyring you to send an aunswere on waye or other, for yf you will not put it up we do give consent to geather our selves togeather uppon Bartholomew day in the feildes, some with daggers, some with staves, some with one weapon, some with another, such as may be least mistrusted, and to meete in the feyldes betwixt Islington and London betwixt 3 and 4 of the cloke in the afternoone against my Lo. Mayor go to the wrestlinge, and there to be revenged of him; but, yf he go not to the wrestlynge, then to be revenged of him at his house where he dwelleth; and thus we end, comittinge you to God.—Amen."

[3] T. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton, February 21st, 1617—*Court and Times of James I.*, vol. ii.

"June, 1618.—A list of Roman Catholics in the New Prison willing to go abroad."

"July 25, 1619.—Grant to Sir Baptist Hieks and others, Justiees of the Peace for Middlesex, that the building they have erected near the Sessions House, in St. John-street, Clerkenwell, shall be a prison or gaol for the county for ever, for all offenees save treason and felony."

"February, 1621.—Petition of Thomas Newton, prisoner in the New Prison. Has languished for 4 years from bruises, &e., caused by the ill-usage of Aquila Wykes, keeper. Has been 13 weeks in his present dungeon without fire or air. Begs release on good seeurity to recover his health and attend to the portions of his daughter-in-law, and other orphans depending upon him."

"March 2, 1622.—Note of indulgences granted by Pope Gregory to the owners of 15 beads, rosaries, pictures, crosses, and medals, blessed at the instance of the procurators in the eanonization of Saints Isidore, Ignatius, Xavier, Teresa, and Philip Nerius. With note of similar indulgenees granted by Leo X. to medals of the Conception of the Virgin. Indorsed Indulgences found in the New Prison."

"March 31, 1622.—King to the Council. To order the release of John Collington, priest, prisoner in the New Prison; granted at the instance of Earl Gondomar, in whose house he is to live on promise to give no seandal to any, he being old and infirm."

"March 15, 1626.—Information presented to the House of Commons by John Tendering, of the practiees and eourse of life of the papists in the New Prison, and of the abuses of the warden of the said prison."

"March 16, 1626.—Secty. Conway to John Tendering, provost-marshall of Middlesex, authorising him to search in the New Prison for popish books, massing stuff, and other relics of popery."

"March 31, 1626.—Release by immediate warrant or request of the Venetian ambassador, of Augustine Goul, Robert Wading, Cornelius Egan, and Malachias Mechor, popish priests, and prisoners in the New Prison; the said ambassador having leave to transport them out of the kingdom."

"March, 1626.—Request to Sec. Conway that the Sheriff of London might restore eertain 'chureh stuff,' taken from the priests who were prisoners in the New Prison, by Crosse, the pursuivant."[1]

A friend of the wife of Pepys had the ill luck to be confined in this bridewell, in December 1661; the chatty author of the "Diary" informs us that he went on the 11th of December, with his "wife by coach to Clerkenwell to see Mrs. Margaret Pen, who is at school there," undergoing correction, of course.

On Shrove Tuesday, March 24th, 1668, a mob of the London 'prentiees again assailed the New Prison, and succeeded in releasing a number of their riotous companions, who were therein incarcerated for outrages. 24th March, 1668—"Back to Whitehall, where great talk of the tumult at the other end of the town about Moorfields, among the 'prentiees, taking the liberty these holydays to pull down the brothels. And Lord! to see the apprehension which this did give to all people at eourt, that presently order was given for all soldiers, horse and foot, to be in armes as if the French were coming to town. And we heard a Justiee of the Peace say to the King this morning that he had been endeavouring to suppress this tumult but could not, and that imprisoning some of them in the New Prison, Clerkenwell, the rest did come and break open the prison and release them, and that they do give out that they are for pulling down the brothels, which is one of the great grievances of the nation. To which the King made a very poor, eold, insipid answer, 'Why, why do they go to them then?'"

On the night of Friday, May 9th, 1679, there was a "fire at the New Prison, by Clerkenwell, whereby the greatest part of the House was burnt down, and it was presumed on very violent suspicions to be set fire by a papist that was there in custody, and by that means escaped."[2]

About the year 1630, Taylor, the water poet, noticed this prison as

> ——————————a jayle for heretieks,
> For Brownists, Familists, and Schismaticks.[3]

This was literally true, as numbers of persons were then and at a subsequent period incarcerated here for religion's sake.

In 1651 several religious enthusiasts were committed to the New Prison for blasphemy; one

[1] *Vide* an account of the discovery of the Jesuit's College, Clerkenwell, *post.*

[2] *Account of the Fire at the New Prison*, 4to., 1679.

[3] *The Vertue of a jayle and the necessitie of hanging.*

for saying he was God Almighty; another for clapping his hands and filliping his fingers, and saying that was preaching the gospel; a third for saying that the child in her womb was the Lord Jesus Christ.[1]

In 1669 that eminent Nonconformist, the saintly Richard Baxter, was for a short period imprisoned in this gaol. His offence was that of preaching in his own house at Acton, in the intervals between Divine service on Sundays, contrary to the Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, by which all such assemblies for worship were prohibited. Imprisonment in a common gaol was no hardship to Baxter, for thus did he triumphantly sing:—

None can confine a holy soul,
The streets of heaven it walks about;
None can its liberty control.

He also wrote:—

"My imprisonment was no great suffering to me, for I had an honest jaylor, who shewed me all the kindness he could. I had a large room, and liberty to walk in a fair garden, and my wife was never so chcerful a companion to me as in prison, and was very much against my seeking to be released; and she brought me so many nccessaries that we kept house as contentedly and comfortably as at home, though in a narrower room; and I had a sight of more friends in a day than I had at home in half a year."

This pleasing picture of Baxter's prison life had its reverse, for in the midst of all his comforts he had many inconveniences to put up with. Of the dark side of the picture of his imprisonment he says:—

"It was in the extream heat of summer when London was wont to have epidemical diseases, and my chamber being over the gate which was knocked and opened with the noise of prisoners just under me almost every night, I had little hope of sleeping but by day, which would have been likely to have quickly broken my strength, which was so little that I did but live. And the number of visitors by day did put me out of the hope of studying or doing anything but entertain them. And I had neither leave to go out of doors, much less to church on the Lord's days, nor on that day to have any one to come to me, or to preach to any but my family."[2]

Whilst a prisoner Baxter published the second part of a tract entitled "Directions to the Converted for their Establishment, Growth, and Perseverance," the preface to which is addressed to his friend Henry Ashurst, Esq., and is dated from "his lodgings in the New Prison, June 14, 1669."

Baxter had many friends at Court who warmly interested themselves in his behalf. A writ of *Habeas Corpus* was obtained, and the Court of Common Pleas ordered his release on account of an informality in the *Mittimus*, of which the following is a copy:—

"To the Keeper of His Majesty's Gaol commonly called the New Prison, Clerkenwell.

"*Middlesex.*—Whereas it hath been proved to us upon oath that Richard Baxter hath taken upon him to preach in an unlawful assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of exercise of religion contrary to the laws and statutes of the kingdom, at Acton, where he now liveth (in the said county), not having taken and subscribed the oath by Act of Parliament, in that case appointed to be taken. And whereas we have tendered to him the oath and declaration appointed to be taken by such as shall offend against the said act, which he hath refused to take, we therefore send you herewith the body of Richard Baxter, straitly charging and commanding you in his majesty's name to receive him the said Richard Baxter into his majesty's said prison, and him there safely to keep for six months, without bail or mainprize. And hereof you are not to fail at your peril. Given at Brentford, the eleventh of June, in the one and twentieth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, Charles the Second.

"J. Phillips.
"Tho. Ross."

A copy of the will of Richard Baxter has been recently published by the Camden Society.[3] It is dated the 27th of July, 1689, and was proved with a codicil annexed on the 23rd of December, 1691. The editor of the valuable work which contains the copy of the will says:—"Baxter availed himself of the respite which he enjoyed from persecution on the accession of William and Mary to make

[1] *A List of some of the Grand Blasphemers and Blasphemies which was given unto the Committee for Religion.* A broadside, in Brit. Mus.
[2] *Reliquiæ Baxteriana*, Sylvester, fol. 1696, pt. iii., p. 51.
[3] *Wills from Doctors' Commons*, Camden Society, vol. lxxxiii., p. 150.

a final settlement of his worldly affairs. His lands at Eaton Constantine were probably inherited from his father, who held property in that place. All persons familiar with his biography will be glad to meet in his will with the names of persons who were connected with many passages in his life, especially with that of his never-failing friend Sir Henry Ashurst, who stood by him so nobly in his trial before Jefferies in 1685. His charitable bequests, and the mention of his books, will not pass unnoticed. Baxter entered on that which was the subject of one of his most popular works, the Saints' Everlasting Rest, on the 8th December, 1691."

Upwards of a century since the gross immoralities connived at and even trafficked in at the Clerkenwell Bridewell were the subject of severe animadversion in a pamphlet, written in 1757,[1] by one Jacob Ilive, who was there imprisoned for writing what was judged to be an improper work, entitled "Modest Remarks, &c., on the late Bishop Sherlock's Sermons," and who in this gaol corrected the proof sheets of "Smith's Family Bible." In the introduction the reader is told that "it is the business of the following pages to attempt a reformation of the House of Correction, in Clerkenwell, which at this time is full of debauchery and wickedness, and so unhappily constituted, that it is much to be wondered most if not all of the helpless offenders sent thither are not utterly debauched and starved to death." The gaolers, from the keeper of the prison downwards, winked at and even encouraged the promiscuous intercourse of men and women, and scenes of the greatest licentiousness were of nightly occurrence; the condition of the poor prisoners was miserable in the extreme, they were crowded at night into cells nine feet long, and from five to six feet in breadth, and obliged to lie on the bare boards unless they could afford the custom of the prison, which was for every prisoner to pay one shilling for a bed the first night of his incarceration, and sixpence for every night after. The county allowance of food was only a pennyworth of bread a day, and those who had no friends out of doors were nearly starved, unless they were fortunate in having a share of the broth, meat, and broken victuals, which those good people, the Quakers, used to send in to the poor prisoners from their workhouse, which adjoined the bridewell.[2] Many died for want of food and care. The labour of the prisoners in this gaol was to "beat hemp," each having a set task daily to perform according to his years, for which there was a trifling remuneration by an extra allowance of bread. The pastime of the male and female prisoners when let out for exercise in the yard together was to play such games as hunt the slipper, thread my needle, Nan, and prison bars, the men playing at chuck farthing, tossing up, leap frog, &c. They were lamentably ignorant and superstitious, and took "great delight in sitting in a ring and telling their adventures and relating their dreams; they tell stories of spirits, and they would take the sacrament on it they had seen, and would affirm as God is in heaven, the blocks and beetles beat hemp of themselves in dead of night." The punishment of refractory prisoners was to put them in the stocks. A female offender had an instrument called a solitaire, a heavy iron ring, fixed round her neck, her arms pinioned behind, and the solitaire padlocked to the hatch or half-door, with which she was doomed to open the hatch for all comers. A woman who had abused and beaten another had the "shears" put upon her legs, which extended them to a very painful straddle, her hands being handcuffed; and in this position she remained for twenty-four hours, when she humbled herself and asked pardon. The prison was at this period inconveniently crowded, and "in two wards, each only 7½ feet square, I have known," writes Ilive, "60 or 70 women confined."

[1] *Reasons offered for the Reformation of the House of Correction, in Clerkenwell*, 8vo. 1757.

[2] This workhouse has been referred to at page 127. Since the publication of that part of this History which contains that page, the Editor's attention has been directed to a work entitled "An Account of Several Workhouses," &c., 1732, from which we learn that the Quakers' Workhouse was an old foundation on a large piece of ground left many years previously by a private gentleman to the county of Middlesex, for employing the poor; but attempts to put it to this use failing, and the managers getting into debt, a long lease was granted of the building to some charitable Quakers about the year 1700, who, fitting it up for receiving their decayed friends and orphans, were the means of lodging and supporting, in September, 1731, fifty-six persons. The elders took their meals by themselves, so did the children. The latter spun mop yarn, the girls making and mending the house clothing, and the boys being taught to read, write, and cypher. The elders were admitted from all parts of the town on a responsible friend undertaking to pay 3s. per week; the like with the children at 1s. per week. Every morning they took a cold bath; they brewed their own beer in the house; and so that the younger ones might learn housekeeping, a large kitchen was fitted up for the purpose.

The disposition of the several buildings connected with this bridewell is shown in a plan appended to the pamphlet already quoted. On the east side of the area enclosed by the walls are the cells or wards for the confinement of prisoners, twelve in number. On the western side, which skirted the avenue known as Bridewell-walk, was the chief gate of the prison; and north of this was the keeper's or governor's house. The northern extremity of the prison was bounded by a high wall, which effectually separated it from the Quaker's Workhouse beyond; on the south-west it was bounded by the New Prison. In the central area of the gaol was a large yard, at one extremity of which was a shed in which, on Sundays, the preachers of the Methodists were wont to exhort the prisoners to a better course of life.

This bridewell was several times visited by that great reformer of prison abuses, John Howard, who complained of it being too small for the number committed to it, also of the prison being out of repair; and speaks to the fact of it not having been whitewashed for many years. "To this Bridewell," writes Howard, "are committed debtors from the court of conscience, who are acquitted after 40 days." In 1779 it contained 171 prisoners, of whom twenty-two men and boys and fifty-eight women were convicts or fines committed for a term of years, whose allowance was a pound loaf and twopence a day; their labour was to pick oakum and to beat hemp, the profits of which employment were expended in supplying them with shoes and stockings. During the riots of '80 a party of the rioters came to this bridewell. The keeper, intimidated by their appearance, offered no resistance, but at once threw open the gates and released his prisoners; and the mob being satisfied, returned without doing any damage to the building.

Soon after the erection of a House of Correction for the county, in Cold Bath-fields, in 1794, the bridewell was pulled down; this was about the year 1804.

We extract the following bits of information relating to this bridewell:—

"In 1764 a woman was carted from Clerkenwell Bridewell to Enfield, and publicly whipped by the common hangman, for cutting down wood in Enfield Chase."[1]

"On Friday night a woman of the name of Shore was committed to the Clerkenwell Bridewell for dog-stealing, the first instance of a commitment of that kind."[2]

"There are at this time in Clerkenwell Bridewell and New Prison no less than 270 prisoners, 180 in the former and 90 in the latter, many of whom are charged with capital offences."[3]

THE NEW PRISON.

Such was the increase of crime in the county of Middlesex towards the close of the seventeenth century that the gaol of Newgate did not suffice to contain those who were under arrest for various crimes awaiting trial. At this juncture was erected south of the Clerkenwell Bridewell, on a plot of ground belonging to the county, a commodious building, called the New Prison, intended as an ease to Newgate, for such as were charged with misdemeanors, &c., done in the county of Middlesex, awaiting trial. For some time the Clerkenwell Bridewell and the New Prison were of contemporaneous existence, the former being demolished about the year 1804.

Jack Sheppard was committed to the New Prison, together with his paramour, Edgeworth Bess, on a charge of felony. As they passed for husband and wife they were permitted to lodge together in a room known as the Newgate Ward. Here they were visited by their friends; and being provided by them with the necessary implements to effect an escape, Jack worked with desperate energy to accomplish this object. The removal of his fetters by means of a file was the work of a few minutes, and then with his fair companion he prepared for flight. The first obstacles were the bars of the grated window of the cell; these were removed by filing, an operation of little difficulty, and from

[1] *Chambers's Journal*, December 9th, 1859. *Public Advertiser*, August 23rd, 1775.
[3] *Public Advertiser*, September 5th, 1775.

this aperture they effected a descent of twenty-five feet into the yard below, by using their blankets as ropes. The walls surrounding the prison, twenty-two feet in height, and surmounted by a *chevaux de frise* of iron, were next to be surmounted; and this the adventurous pair found means to accomplish by passing round the yard to the great entrance gates, the bolts, bars, and locks of which served them as steps by which to reach the summit; and descending as before, Sheppard and his paramour found themselves again at liberty.[1] At the House of Detention Jack Sheppard's fetters, double the usual weight, are still shown.[2]

In 1774-5 the New Prison was rebuilt on a more commodious plan; and a great gate facing St. James's-walk, in progress in May, 1774, was, by the paving commissioners of St. James's, considered to be an "encroachment on the highway." This gate, which was not removed until 1846, was built of stone, and boldly rusticated; on the key stone was sculptured a large head expressive of criminal despair and anguish; over this was suspended a chain with handcuffs at the ends, and on either side was a pair of iron fetters; a cornice surmounted the whole.

In 1776 this prison was visited by the exemplary John Howard, and we learn from his elaborate work on the "State of Prisons," that the number of felons there confined was eighty-three; that the county allowance to each was a penny loaf a day; and that it was customary to exact of each felon brought to the New Prison 1s. 4d. for "garnish," against the oppressiveness of which the great philanthropist inveighs bitterly. "A cruel custom," he writes "obtains in most of our gaols which is that of prisoners demanding of a new comer garnish, or footing as it is called in some of our London gaols. 'Pay or strip' are the fatal words; I say fatal, for they are so to some, who, having no money, are obliged to give up part of their scanty apparel, and if they have no bedding or straw contract diseases." With all their misfortunes the prisoners appear to have had some frolicsome moments, for we read in the "Public Advertiser," for the 8th of September, 1775, that

> "The prisoners removed yesterday to Newgate behaved with the utmost impudence. Two sets of them linked in chains, one from the New Prison, and the other from Bridewell, ran a race which should get first to Newgate, which was won by the latter."

The gaoler's salary was £30 per annum, and his fee for keeping, discharging, and turning the key for each prisoner was 7s. There was also a chaplain who did duty twice on Sundays, and had prayers on Tuesdays and Thursdays in a chapel which was common to this prison and the bridewell, at a salary of £50 a year. Near the outer gate was a tap, licensed for beer and wine, from which prisoners were supplied with liquors at a wicket made for the purpose in the wall.

In 1780, memorable as being the year of the "No Popery" riots, on the night of Tuesday, June 6th, about half-past 11 o'clock, a party came to the Clerkenwell New Prison and insisted on the release of the prisoners. They soon broke open the wicket door, and brought shavings in order to set fire to the prison, but some of them reflecting that the street being narrow the flames might hurt the innocent neighbourhood desisted; and with pickaxes they broke open the gates and got the prisoners out.[3]

On the 4th of September, 1781, a disturbance broke out in the New Prison, which had been long expected on account of the great number of prisoners confined there—upwards of two hundred—there being no part of Newgate tenable but the condemned cells. A woman brought a hanger concealed into the prison, with which the ringleader armed himself, and then rushed between the gates and attacked the turnkey; but he was fortunately seized and severely wounded in the struggle. The most active of the prisoners had in the meantime forced the others with drawn knives in a general attempt to break open the gates; but the sentinels now being alarmed a sergeant's guard, which attended the prison, turned out, and fired about fifty shot into the prison yard, by which three prisoners were killed and twelve wounded; whereupon the rest submitted.[4]

In the year 1812 this prison was visited by a gentleman who trod in the footsteps of Howard,

[1] *Newgate Calendar.*
[2] Timb's *Curiosities of London.*
[3] *Public Advertiser*, June 8, 1780.
[4] *Annual Register*, 1781.

and zealously strove to ameliorate the wretched condition of the poor prisoners confined here and elsewhere. This gentleman, Mr. Neild, in his book on the "State of Prisons," complained of the want of bedding, not even straw being allowed to the poor and destitute prisoners, who slept in their rags upon the boarded floor; also of the county allowance, one pound of bread per diem, sent from the bakers in two-pound loaves, as being too scanty.

Mr. Wildman, a salesman in Smithfield, regularly during his lifetime sent beef and bread to the prisoners confined in the New Prison; and this benefaction was continued by his widow, but it had ceased when Mr. Neild visited the gaol in 1812.

In 1818 this prison was almost entirely rebuilt on a more commodious and extensive plan, the county magistrates having enclosed for its enlargement the ground of five houses, which stood opposite to those now called Short's-buildings, together with the site of five others in Bridewell-walk; also the site of the late bridewell, the Quaker's Workhouse, and a plot of ground once attached to it, but subsequently used as a drill-ground by the Clerkenwell Volunteers. And thus the entire plot of freehold ground originally purchased in 1615 was included by the new structure; moreover, five freehold messuages with two adjoining outbuildings, situated between the prison and the north side of St. James's-walk, were purchased of the governors of the Sekforde estate, for £2434.



HOUSE OF DETENTION, CLERKENWELL.

The boundary wall still standing, being that of the present House of Detention, eighteen feet high from the outside, and twenty-two within next the prison, cost £4799; and the contract for the repairs of the old prison buildings (those erected in 1775) and for the erection of additional buildings was £18,799; the entire cost of this new prison, including the purchase of the freehold of eleven houses, etc., amounted to upwards of £35,000, and this to provide accommodation for 240 prisoners in separate cells. It was about two years building, having been commenced in September, 1816.[1]

In 1845 the Middlesex magistrates decided to have the House of Detention rebuilt on a more commodious plan. The tenders for the contemplated works were submitted to them on the 12th of August, 1845. The lowest was that of Mr. Grimsdell, viz., £28,684, which was accepted. The old building was taken down in September, 1845, and the new one was immediately commenced; it occupied eighteen months in erecting. It is built on the plan of the Model Prison at Pentonville, and is well adapted for the purpose for which it was raised. The architect was Mr. Mosely.

In the twenty-seventh annual report of the Inspectors of Prisons for the year 1861, published in 1862, pursuant to the statute 5 and 6 Will. IV., c. 38, we read as follows:—

"House of Detention, Clerkenwell.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
"Committed in the year	5794 ..	2200 ..	7994
"Average daily number..	— ..	— ..	209
"Greatest number at any one time	202 ..	86 ..	288

[1] *Parl. Report of Committee on the Police of the Metropolis*, 1818, p. 60.

"Annual ordinary charge per prisoner, £29 14s. 2d.

"This prison, which was erected in the year 1846, receives all prisoners for trial, re-examination, and want of bail: also offenders under the Hackney Carriage Act, and deserters. It is in good repair, well drained, and sufficiently supplied with water by the New River Company.

"The prison contains accommodation for 324 prisoners in cells, all of which are certified for separate confinement, and very well constructed and ventilated. It also has five cells each capable of containing more than one prisoner, nineteen reception cells, and six for punishment. All the occupied cells are lighted with gas till bed-time.

"As nearly all the prisoners are untried, and even the remainder are not under sentences of hard labour, the cleaning of the prison and other mechanical work when required in repairs are performed voluntarily. The female prisoners also wash and do the needlework by their own consent.

"The chaplain officiates once on week days and twice on Sundays in the chapel. He daily visits the sick and prisoners under punishment, and except on Sundays, every cell occupied by a prisoner. No schoolmaster or schoolmistress is employed. Each cell is supplied with a Bible and Prayer-book, and the library contains books and tracts of general information and moral instruction. Prisoners not of the Established Church may see ministers of their several persuasions on application to the governor.

* * * * * * *

"The number of prisoners whom I have found in confinement at my several visits to this prison has been very variable according to the lapse of time since the last of the frequent gaol deliveries, but they have never in the last year exceeded the amount of accommodation. The number of juvenile prisoners has been much reduced since the opening of the reformatory at Feltham."

CHAPTER VII.

THE DISTRICT OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, CLERKENWELL—CONTINUED.

SCHOOLHOUSE-YARD, called Honeycoat-yard :—Clerkenwell Charity Schools. SKINNER-STREET. VINEYARD-WALK :—The Vineyard once there. VINEYARD-GARDENS :—The Vine and its Cultivation. GREAT WARNER-STREET :—Short Notice of Henry Carey, the Poet, who lived and died in this street—The Song of "Sally in our Alley." WOODBRIDGE-STREET :—Woodbridge Chapel—Finsbury Dispensary—The Red Bull Theatre—The Plays Performed there—Shakspeare's Plays Forbidden to be Acted there—Edward Alleyn, an Actor there—Female Actors—Old Theatres in Inn Yards—The "Groundlings"—Prices of Admission—The Upper Stage—The Curtains—The Drama Interdicted—Drolls played at the Red Bull with great success—Scene from a Droll—Revival of the Regular Drama—Samuel Pepys' Visits to the Red Bull—Decline of the Drama there—Opened for Low Sports—At length Closed—The Early London Playhouses—Edward Ward, the Poet—His Ale House in Red Bull-yard—Lines Written thereon by Himself.

SCHOOLHOUSE YARD.

THIS passage between Suffolk-street and Aylesbury-street was formerly called Honeycoat-yard, in compliment no doubt to Mr. Honeycoat, who was early in the last century parish clerk and master of the charity school. It derives its present name from its having been originally the site of the Clerkenwell Charity Schools, which were founded in 1700. Twenty-five boys were first admitted, and in the year following twenty girls. The schools are thus described in a volume entitled "New Remarks of London, by the Company of Parish Clerks," published in 1732 :—"In Honeycoat-yard, in Ailsbury-street (writes John Honeycoat, the clerk of Clerkenwell), are two charity schools—one for 60 boys, and one for 40 girls—who are annually clothed, and instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the Christian religion, by the voluntary and charitable contributions of well-disposed persons." In 1760, these schools were removed to a house on the south side of Aylesbury-street, from whence on the expiration of the lease of the premises in 1830, they were removed to the present commodious building in Amwell-street.[1]

SKINNER STREET.

This street was planned and the houses were built between thirty and forty years ago, on a portion of a large estate belonging to the Skinners' Company, comprising in the whole about eight acres, anciently called "Clerk's Close." Under this title it was conveyed by the surviving trustees of John Meredith, Esq., in the year 1754, to the Skinners' Company, who immediately after leased it to the New River Company, their main pipes passing under the field. This lease expired in the year 1817. It was then advertised by the Skinners' Company to be let for buildings, and was leased to Mr. J. Whiskin for a term of seventy years, ending Lady-day, 1888, subject to certain stipulations.

[1] *Vide* Amwell-street *post*.

For the first three years he was to hold it at a peppercorn rent; the fourth year it was to be £150, the rent increasing £50 a year until the ninth year; after which, for the remainder of the term, it was to be £525 per annum, in consideration of his laying out the ground into streets, and building on it. The several streets that converge into and intersect this thoroughfare (Whiskin-street, Meredith-street, Gloucester-street, Coburg-street, &c.) are all built on this estate, the revenue from which is appropriated to the charitable purposes intended by the will of John Meredith, dated April 16th, 1630.[1]

VINEYARD WALK.

Here is said to have flourished in monastic times a vineyard, which it is probable was cultivated for the behoof of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem. Mention is made in the cartulary of this hospital of a tenement called *Le Vyne*, in 1306, which possibly may have been here situated. The ground hereabouts was much higher than it is at present, and was frequently distinguished as the Mount, against whose western slope vines grew untrained, row above row, until they reached the summit, where stood a small cottage or lodge belonging to the cultivator. Both the vineyard and the cultivator's house are depicted in "The North Prospect of London," by Bowles, in 1752. The ground was levelled for the erection of the buildings that now cover it; before which a wooden fence separated it from the road to the west, taking the line of the present east side of Coppice-row. In the "Rate Book" of 1759, Samuel Bradford was rated for a summer house and vineyard, orchard, fishpond, and gardens hereabouts.

We read in an old newspaper for August, 1765, that "It is said this week £8000 were bid for the earth on the place called Mount Pleasant, almost opposite Clerkenwell Workhouse, but £10,000 were insisted upon."

In front of the Old Vineyard public house a signboard was set up, in the year 1859, informing the passer by that—"This house is celebrated from old associations connected with the City of London. After the City clerks partook of the water of the Clerks' Well, from which the parish derives its name, they repaired hither to partake of the fruit of the finest English grapery." Such is the gratuitous information conveyed by this illuminated signboard. We need scarcely remark that this statement is unauthorised, and is both erroneous and absurd.

The houses called Vineyard-gardens have of late years almost entirely disappeared. Formerly, extending as far as Bowling-green-lane in one direction, and to Rosoman-street in another, there were many small tenements built in rows, having long enclosed gardens before them. Most of these were pulled down some years ago, when Northampton-road was formed, and the ground was cleared for the erection of more substantial dwellings.

In reference to the vineyard before referred to we may add that the cultivation of the vine is of high antiquity in England, it having been introduced by the Romans, A.D. 280, according to Vopisicus, who also informs us that the Emperor Probus, towards the close of his reign, restored the privilege of the vineyard to most of the northern and western provinces of Britain. Vineyards, as well as gardens and orchards, are mentioned in the earliest Saxon charters, and this was before the combating invaders had time or ability to make them if they had not found them in the island. In a Saxon calendar preserved among the Cottonian MSS., in the part relating to the month of February, are depicted men cutting or pruning trees which resemble vines. King Edgar in an old grant gives the vineyard at Weeet as well as the vine dressers. We have the authority of the Venerable Bede for the existence of the vine in the eighth century, and vineyards are noticed in the laws of Alfred. At the time of the Norman Conquest they were numerous. The "Domesday Book" furnishes at least thirty-eight entries of vineyards in different counties, including three in that of Middlesex, at

[1] Herbert's *History of the Twelve Companies.*

Cheneton, Holeburne, and the village of Westminster. These were usually measured by the arpent, arpen, arpend, or arpenna (an acre or furlong of ground, and according to "Domesday Book" one hundred perches). At an early period the Isle of Ely was expressly denominated the Isle of Vines by the Normans, and the Bishop of Ely, some time after the Conquest, appears to have received at least three or four tuns of wine annually as tythes from the produce of the luxuriant vineyards in his diocese. The county of Gloucester is particularly mentioned as excelling all the rest in the kingdom for the goodness of its vineyards, which produced a sweet, palatable wine, "little inferior to that of France." Almost every large castle and monastery in England had its vineyard. The land on the south side of Windsor Castle, now a smooth, green lawn, running from the town under the castle wall, was formerly a vineyard. A plot of ground in London, which now forms East Smithfield and some adjoining streets, was withheld from the religious house within Aldgate, by four successive constables of the Tower, in the reigns of William II., Henry I., and Stephen; and was by them converted into a vineyard. Although wine was made in considerable quantities in England, yet the importations of foreign wines in the thirteenth century were very large. London in the year 1272 imported 3799 tuns; Southampton and Portsmouth, 3147; and Sandwich, 1900. In the time of Edward III., a trade in Rhenish wine was carried on between Hull and the ports of the Baltic. Vineyards probably continued until the time of the Reformation, when the monastic gardens were either neglected or destroyed. About the same period ale superseded the use of wine as a general beverage. The vine at Hampton Court is the largest in Europe, and was first planted from a slip in 1768. Its branches now extend over a space of two thousand three hundred feet; it is above one hundred and ten feet long; at three feet from the ground the stem is nearly thirty inches in circumference; and the tree in some seasons bears upwards of two thousand bunches of grapes of the black Hambro' kind. The parent vine of this monster offshoot still flourishes in Essex, at the seat called Valentines, near Wanstead, where it was planted in 1758. In 1835 it bore four cwt. of grapes, and in one season £300 was realised by the sale of its fruit.[1]

GREAT WARNER STREET.

In Great Warner-street, about the middle of the last century, resided Henry Carey, a poet and musician, and the author of the well-known song of "Sally in our alley." He was an illegitimate son of George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, who had the honour of presenting the crown to William III. At what period he was born is not known. "In the practice of music he never attained much excellence; the extent of his abilities seems to have been the composition of a ballad air, or at most a little cantata, to which he was just able to set the bass," says Hawkins. "Yet, if mere popularity be the test of genius, Carey was one of the first of his time." His chief employment was teaching music in boarding schools and in private families. Early in life he distinguished himself by the composition of songs, of which he was the author of both words and music. His fame rests on one which he set to an air so pleasant and original that it long continued one of the favourite songs of the people, and even in this age of refinement the simple love ditty of "Sally in our alley" is often played and sung with delight. "The occasion of this ballad," says Carey in the argument of the song, "was as follows:—A shoemaker's apprentice making holiday with his sweetheart treated her with a sight of Bedlam, the puppet shows, the flying chairs (ups and downs), and all the elegancies of Moorfields; and from thence proceeding to the Farthing Pye House he gave her a collation of buns, cheesecakes, stuffed beef, and bottled ale;" through all of which scenes the author dodged them. Charmed with the simplicity of their courtship, he drew his little sketch of "Sally in our alley." But being then young and obscure he was much ridiculed by some of his acquaintances for his performance, which nevertheless made its way into the polite world, and amply recompensed

[1] Ellis's *Introduction to the Domesday Book*; Anderson's *History of Commerce*; *London Encyclopedia*, art. "Vitis"; Turner's *Anglo Saxons*.

him by obtaining the applause of the divine Addison, who was pleased more than once to mention it with approbation. Carey was an entertaining companion, but he, who ministered to the mirth of others, was himself unhappy, and, either from embarrassed circumstances, domestic unhappiness, or, as has been supposed, the malevolence of some of his own profession, he sunk into despondency, and put an end to his life by a cord, on the 4th of October, 1743, at his house in Warner-street. When found dead he had but one halfpenny in his pocket. Carey wrote and composed many musical pieces for Sadler's Wells. Though often in distress he never employed his pen in opposition to the interests of morality; all his songs have a moral and patriotic tendency.

WOODBRIDGE STREET.

This street is so called from its having been built on the Sekforde estate, the revenues from which are, as we have already noticed, partially devoted to the maintenance of the hospital for aged poor at Woodbridge, in Suffolk.

For many years there was in Woodbridge-street a public-house called the Noah's Ark, which had a sign of the ark over the door.[1]

Woodbridge Chapel, which is situate in this street, was opened for divine worship on the 7th of February, 1833. The entire expense of its erection, and the cost of subsequent alterations and improvements, have been liquidated by voluntary subscriptions. The chapel contains 664 sittings, 158 of which are free. The Sunday schools attached to this place of worship are well attended by children.

The Finsbury Dispensary, in Woodbridge-street, was projected in 1780, by a few benevolent gentlemen, who held their first meeting on the 29th of April in that year, and on the 12th of August following opened the dispensary for supplying the labouring and necessitous poor with medical advice and medicines. In the course of the ensuing six months 685 persons were relieved by this institution. The original establishment was at No. 22, St. John's-square, where it continued until 1805, when it was removed to 124, St. John-street, where it remained until 1819, when it was removed to a large and handsome house in King-street, from whence it was subsequently removed to Woodbridge-street. The district comprised by the dispensary is from the north-east end of Gray's Inn-lane to Holborn; from thence eastward along Holborn and Skinner-street to Giltspur-street; thence in a north-east line across Smithfield, along Long-lane, Barbican, Beech-street, Chiswell-street to Finsbury-square; thence northward up the City-road, including the parishes of St. Luke's and Islington, up to the Thatched House and Cross-street; the whole of Pentonville; and terminating at the north-east end of Gray's Inn-lane. From the commencement of this institution to the present time very many thousands of persons have been relieved by it, and large numbers of patients now annually receive its inestimable benefits.

Prior to the year 1771 Woodbridge-street was famously known as Red Bull-yard. On a plot of ground at the south-west corner of Nicholson's distillery stood, in Shakspeare's time,

THE RED BULL THEATRE.

Of the erection of the Red Bull Theatre we have no certain record, but from allusions made to it in the dramatic literature of the period of Elizabeth it is assumed to have been built towards the close of her reign. In size this theatre vied with its contemporaries, the Globe and the Fortune, of Shaksperian celebrity, and for some time it was in good repute, but it was "chiefly frequented by the citizens." At the commencement of the reign of James I., the queen's servants, who had been the Earl of Worcester's players, exhibited here.

[1] S. Warner's MS. Notes.

In 1613 a satirist of the time, George Wither, in his "Abuses Stript and Whipt," speaks disparagingly of the Red Bull. In no great respect, in his first satire he introduces a gallant courting his mistress, and of him observes—

> His poetry is such as he can cull
> From plays he heard at Curtain or the Bull.

In 1614 "The Hector of Germany" was "publicly acted at the Red Bull and at the Curtain, by a company of young men of the City." From this performance it would appear that the queen's servants, the "players of the revels," as they were called, were exhibiting elsewhere.

The plays exhibited at this theatre were subject to the smart criticism of rival dramatists. Their vagueness is alluded to in "Albumazar," which was performed at Cambridge, in 1615, in which Trinculo says:—"I confound her with compliments drawn from the plays I see at the Fortune and the Red Bull, where I learn all the words I speak and understand not." About this time the "Four Prentices of London," by Thomas Heywood, was acted at the Red Bull by the queen's servants.

In 1617 a person of no less note than Edward Alleyn, "the protodramatist of his time," and the founder, in 1614, of that wealthy institution, Dulwich College, appeared on this stage, but from a memorandum which he has left, written in his account-book, it would seem that he was not content with the remuneration which he obtained for playing his part. The entry runs as follows:—

"Oct. 1, 1617.—I came to London and went to the Red Bull	0	0	2
"Oct. 3, .—I went to the Red Bull and received for The Younger Brother but ..	3	6	4
"Water	0	0	4"

What expense was covered by twopence is difficult to say; the price of admission to some parts of the house was that sum.[1]

In 1620 "Swetman, the Woman Hater arraigned by Women," was acted at the Red Bull. This anonymous old play contains some fine writing, and is a highly creditable performance. The following couplet, which closes the second scene of the fourth act, is one of the noblest and justest images in our language.

> Justice like lightning ever should appear
> To few men's ruin but to all men's fear.[2]

In the epilogue Swetman enters muzzled, and hauled in by women; he promises to employ the remainder of his life in the defence of the female sex.[3]

On the 19th of August, 1623, Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, licensed Prince Henry's servants at the Red Bull to perform an old play, called "The Peaceable King, or Lord Mendall;" and on the 28th of November license was given "For a strange company at the Red Bull" to play "The Fayre Fowle One, or the Bayting of the Jealous Knight." Shakspeare's plays were for some time acted at this theatre, by an independent company, of whose success the king's company became jealous; and they sought to keep to themselves the right of exhibiting the unrivalled productions of our immortal bard, by obtaining an injunction from the Master of the Revels, on the 16th April, 1627, to forbid the playing of Shakspeare's plays by the Red Bull company; for which injunction they paid £5.

It has been supposed that the first female performances on any stage were at the Red Bull Theatre; this, however, seems not to have been the case, for on the 4th of November, 1629, "certaine vagrant French players, who had been expeled from their owne countrey, did attempt, thereby giving just offence to all vertuous and well-disposed persons in this towne, to act a certaine lascivious and unchaste comedye in the French tonge at Blackfryers; and glad I am to say," writes Browne "they were hissed and hooted, and pippin-pelted from the stage." This unpleasant reception did not discourage them from coming before the public again, as on the 22nd of November, 1629, the Master of the Revels received £2 in payment, "For allowinge of the Frenche at the Red Bull for a day."

[1] *Memoir of E. Alleyn*, by J. P. Collier, p. 108, MSS. Birch, 4291.
[2] Collier's *Dramatic Poetry*, vol. iii., p. 385.
[3] Geneste *History of the Stage*, vol. x., p. 101.

From Prynne's "Histrio Mastix," written in the year 1633, we learn that the Red Bull, together with the Fortune, had been "lately re-edified and enlarged." It is probable that up to this period it was not a suitable place for the drama, to which it was not exclusively devoted, and it being, as is thought, an inn yard, in the midst of which a stage was erected, and from the surrounding galleries, so common in old inn yards, the more respectable portions of the audience were enabled to witness the performances of the actors, in their proper costumes, there being no scenic representation whatever. In the yard below, which had neither floor nor benches, stood the common people, "groundlings," as Shakspeare calls them. "O! it offends me to the soul, to hear a robust, periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of groundlings."[1] The stage, which was strewed with rushes, or matted upon extraordinary occasions, was separated by a paling from the "understanding gentlemen of the ground," who, with their superiors in the galleries, usually came after dinner to the theatre, to laugh at some droll farce, or to have their passions aroused by a startling tragedy. The groundlings paid a penny for their standing, and those in the gallery twopence.

> I'll go to Bull or Fortune, and there see
> A play for twopence and a jig to boot.[2]

There was usually in the rear of the stage an upper stage or balcony, in which a sham audience sat when a play was exhibited within a play (as in "Hamlet"); on which occasions the actors, addressing themselves to their fellows in the balcony, used to turn their backs upon the real audience. From beneath this balcony the performers made their entrances and exits through a pair of curtains, which opened in the centre, and slipped backwards and forwards by means of rings upon an iron rod.[3] These curtains were at first of worsted, but afterwards a more costly fabric was used; the Red Bull had its stage curtains of "Pure Naples silk." After its re-erection, this theatre was no longer open to the sky, but was covered in, and candle-light performances took place there; sconces for candles depended from the roof, and small flat candlesticks, each holding two lights, were ranged along the front of the stage as footlights.

In 1638 "'The Seven Champions of Christendom,' by John Kirke, was acted at the Red Bull, in St. John-street."

In 1640 "A prologue upon the removing of the late Fortune players to the Bull" was spoken by J. Tatham, in which, addressing the audience in behalf of the players, he says:—

> We would request you to forbear
> Your wonted custom, banding tile and pear,
> Against our curtains to allure us forth.
> I pray take notice, these are of more worth;
> Pure Naples silk, not worsted. We have ne'er
> An actor here has mouth enough to tear
> Language by the ears.

About this time the audiences and the performers at the Red Bull were abused in round terms by a poet and a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, T. Carew, in some commendatory lines on a play called "The Just Italian," written by his friend Sir William Davenant:—

> ——————— they'll still slight
> All that exceeds Red Bull, or Cockpit flight.
> These are the men in crowded heaps that throng
> To that adulterate stage, where not a tongue
> Of th' untun'd kennel can a line repeat
> Of serious sense.

The outburst of Puritanism, and the distracting civil wars of the reign of Charles I., obstructed the progress of the drama and occasioned an order for the suppression of the theatres, in 1647. In

[1] *Hamlet*, act iii., sc. 2nd.

[2] Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*, 1656.

[3] Malone's *Shakespeare*, edited by Boswell, vol iii., p. 108.



THE STAGE OF THE RED BULL THEATRE (FAC-SIMILE OF AN ENGRAVING PUBLISHED IN 1662).

the "Mercurius Antepragmaticus," No. 18, Jan. 27th, 1648, mention is made of an order of the House of Commons in these words:—

"And that the disobedient of what rank soever may be regulated upon information given to the House, that many stage plaies are acted in several parts of the City and county of Middlesex notwithstanding they were prohibited from their foppery by a former ordinance, they ordered that an ordinance should be drawne up for the suppressing of all stage plaiees, and for the taking down of their boxes, stages, and seats whatsoever, that so there might be no more plaies aeted, and indeed these are no times to have publike interludes permitted, when the hand of God lies so heavy upon us, and all the powers in hell are in action against us; if those proud parroting players cannot live let them put their hands to worke, they are most of them a sort of superbious ruffians, given to all manner of wiekednesse, and because sometimes the asses are cloathed in lion's skins the dolts imagine themselves somebody, walk in as great state as Cæsar, and demeane themselves as loftily as any of the twelve noble-spirited beasts of the wildernesse; away with them and their actions on the publicke stage.

"For sinee we have suppress our adjutators,
Let's part the aetors and the rude spectators.'

We read in "Whitelocke's Memorials":—

"20 Dec., 1619.—Some stage players in St. John-street were apprehended by troopers, their elothes taken away, and themselves earry'd to prison."[1]

The drama was strictly prohibited; but at the Red Bull a mixed kind of entertainment, consisting of feats of activity and select scenes from plays, under the name of Drolls, was permitted. A collection of these drolls was afterwards published by Francis Kirkman, an actor at the Red Bull, under the title of "The Wits, or Sport upon Sport, a curious collection of several drolls and farces presented and shewn for the merriment and delight of wise men and ignorant, as they have been sundry times acted in public and private; Written I know not when, by several persons, I know not whom; but now newly collected by your old friend to please you."

The frontispiece to "The Wits, or Sport upon Sport," printed for Henry Marsh, 1662, represents the interior of the Red Bull Theatre, supposed to be taken from the front of the stage, the point of sight being on a level with the footlights; the spectators are also ranged along the sides of the stage, on which stand Falstaff and the Hostess, Clause, the French dancing master, and Simpleton, the smith, while the Clown, with the words "Tue Quo Que," from the play of that name, is coming from behind an arras traverse curtain at the back of the stage. Above this traverse is another striped curtain, which covers the balcony. On either side of this curtain are three boxes with spectators in them. Besides the footlights, the stage is illuminated by two chandeliers, which hang from the ceiling on each side of it.

In a preface to this rare work the compiler gives, perhaps, the most graphic description extant of the Red Bull playhouse, and the amusements there while the regular drama was under interdict:—

"When the publique theatres were shut up, and the actors forbidden to present us with any of their tragedies, beeause we had enough of that in earnest, and eomedies, because the vices of the age were too lively and smartly represented, then all we eould divert ourselves with were these humours and pieces of plays, which, passing under the name of a merry, eonceited fellow, called 'Bottom, the Weaver,' 'Simpleton, the Smith,' 'John Swabber,' or some such title, were allowed us, and that by stealth too under the pretence of rope-daneing or the like; and these being all that was permitted us, great was the eonfluence of the auditors; and these small things were as profitable, and as great get-pennies to the actors as any of our late famed plays. I have seen the Red Bull play house, which was a large one, so full that as many went baek for want of room as had entered; and as meanly as you may think of the drolls, they were acted by the best comedians then and now in being; and I may say by some that exeeeded all now living, by name, the incomparable Robert Cox, who was not only the principal actor but the contriver and author of most of these farces. How I have heard him cryed up for his 'John Swabber,' and 'Simpleton, the Smith,' in whieh latter, he being to appear with a large piece of bread and butter, I have known several of the female spectators and auditors long for it, and onee that well-known natural simpleton, Jack Adams,[2] of Clerkenwell, seeing him with bread and butter on the stage, and knowing him, cried out 'Cuz, Cuz, give me some! give me some!' to the great pleasure of the audienee."

[1] Whitelocke's *Memorials*, ed. 1732, p. 435.

[2] *Vide* page 109.

An extract from one of these drolls will serve to show the nature of the performances which drew the Clerkenwellers and other people from far and near to the Red Bull Theatre. The following is the bread and butter scene just before referred to, taken from a droll entitled "The Conceited humours of Simpleton, the Smith, Argument needless, it being a thorow farce and very well known" :—

"Enter Old Simpleton.

"If ever dog was weary of his day, then have I cause to be weary of my life, I am a blacksmith by my trade, I have been counted a good workman, too, but I could never yet forge or hammer out means enough to satisfie the insatiate gut of my son, Simpleton; he hath a stomach maye well defye a gyant or the great eater of Kent, for no sooner is his head out of the ale than his nose is in the cupboard. But I have thought upon a course which I shall either take in hand or grase with Hob my horse. Sirrah! Simpleton, where are you?

"Young Simpleton, within.—Here, here, father.

"Old Simpl.—Where, where, sirrah?

"Y. Simpl.—At the cupboard, father; at the cupboard.

"O. Simpl.—I thought as much, but come you hither, sirrah, or I shall make your ears sing prick song for you.

"Enter Young Simpleton, with a great piece of bread and butter.

"Y. Simpl.—'Tis a miserable condition that a man cannot eat a little bit for his afternoon's luncheon but he must be disturbed in the best of his stomach.

"O. Simpl.—A bit! dost thou call it? O! my conscience, this devouring rascal old as I am would eat me if he found me in the cupboard.

"Y. Simpl.—I do not think there is such a genteel smith in the town that hath such an old niggardly coxcomb to his father as I; he knows I have no better stomach than a young green-sickness girl, and yet he grutches me every bit I eat.

"O. Simpl.—Leave off your muttering."[1]

During the Protectorate the regular drama was partially revived by a company composed of such of the London players as had escaped with their lives from the civil wars. "They used at Christmas and Bartholomew Fair to bribe the officer who had command of the guard at Whitehall," it having been the custom to employ soldiers to disperse them, "and were thereupon connived at to act for a few days at the Red Bull. And presently after the Restoration the King's players acted publicly at the Red Bull for some time, and then removed to a new built playhouse in Vere Street, by Clare Market."

The Red Bull Theatre is thus noticed in No. 13 of a burlesque periodical entitled "Mercurius Fumigosus," published in 1654:—

"The news from St. John-street is that the Turk danced so high in capering on the upper rope, discovered a myne of gold in the ayre, which hangs in a island right over Cheapside cross, which gold (the old philosophers are of opinion) was attracted by the heat of the sun into a cloud, where it became sperme or seed of gold, which hath since engendered and become a mountaine of gold, as big if not bigger than Highgate-hill, hanging about 35 miles in the skie."

We read in the same periodical, No. 69, 1655, that—

"The players at the Red Bull, and all the Jack puddings of Southwarke Faire, last Friday listed themselves for souldiers a little after a great rowt was given. Some prisoners were taken, which presently paying their ransoms were released."

Pepys, who seems to have visited the Red Bull after the removal of the royal players, writes censoriously upon what he saw on the 23rd of March, 1662:—

"To the Red Bull, where I had not been since plays came up again. Up to the tireing room, where strange the confusion and disorder that is among them in fitting themselves, especially here, where the clothes are very poore and the actors but common fellows. At last into the pit, where I think there was not above ten more than myself, and not one hundred in the whole house. And the play, which is called 'All's lost but Lust,' poorly done, and with so much disorder; among others in the musique room, the boy that was to sing a song not singing it right, his master fell about his eares and beat him so that it put the whole house in an uproar."

This confusion and uproar, "a scene of myrth, a double comedy," did not prevent Pepys from again

[1] Kirkman's *Drolls*, pp. 98-9.

resorting for amusement to the Red Bull, for on the 26th of May, in the same year, he saw performed there "Dr. Faustus," but "so wretchedly and poorly done," says he, "that we were sicke of it."

The drama as enacted here, it is plain from these unfavourable critiques, must have greatly degenerated; and eventually the house was closed, as we learn from Sir William Davenant's "Playhouse to be let," published in 1663, that it was entirely abandoned. "The Red Bull," says he, "stands open for fencers, there are no tenants in it but spiders." Some masters of defence took the hint, and afterwards opened the house for the exercise of their "noble science;" and Pepys, the gossiping secretary of the Admiralty, who seems to have been inordinately fond of public amusements, again went on the 25th of April, 1664, "to the Red Bull, and there saw the latter part of a rude prize fight." On Whitsun Monday, the 30th of May, 1664, at the Red Bull, was a trial of skill, with eight several weapons, to be performed betwixt two scholars of Benjamin Dobson and William Wright, masters of the noble science of defence, beginning exactly at three o'clock in the afternoon, "and the best man to stake all." The weapons fought with were backsword, single rapier, sword and dagger, sword and buckler, half pike, sword and gauntlet, and single faulchion.

Here the history of this old playhouse abruptly ends; it had ceased by this time to be used for the performance of the regular drama, and the house was doubtless soon afterwards converted to another use, and was at length pulled down, and not a vestige of the building now remains to mark its exact site.

A short account of the stage at the time when the Red Bull was used as a theatre may be here aptly given. The drama flourished in early times in England; thus we find that from 1570 to 1629, when the playhouse in Whitefriars was finished, no less than seventeen playhouses had been built in London,[1] viz., St. Paul's singing school; the Globe on the bank side, Southwark, which was destroyed by fire; the Swan; and the Hope there; the Fortune, a large round brick building between Whitecross-street and Golding (now Golden) lane, which was the first playhouse erected in London,[2] and was burnt down in 1621; the Red Bull, in St. John's-street; the Cross Keys, in Gracechurch-street; Tuns; the Theatre; the Curtain, in Shoreditch, which had originally as its sign a striped curtain hung out; the Nursery, in Barbican; one in Blackfriars; one in Whitefriars; one in Salisbury-court; the Cockpit and the Phœnix, in Drury-lane. Prynne, in his "Histrio Mastix," published in 1633, mentions a playhouse in Bishopsgate-street, and another on Ludgate-hill called the Bell-Savage; the one in Bishopsgate-street was probably the Curtain, in Shoreditch. It has been said that the playhouse in Whitefriars was no other than that in Salisbury-court; that the Cockpit and the Phœnix were the same playhouse; and that which was called the Theatre was the playhouse in Blackfriars. Taylor, the water-poet, mentions another called the Rose.[3] Beside the theatre-actors, the children of the revels, and of the chapel, acted plays; there were likewise royal comedians; many noblemen kept companies of players; plays were also acted by the lawyers in the inns of court, by the students in the halls and colleges of the universities, and by the London 'prentices; so that the old saying was almost literally true, "*Totus mundus agit histrionem.*"

Most of the old playhouses were only large rooms in noted ale-houses, or slight erections in places contiguous, or in gardens, the pits of which were unfloored, where the spectators either stood, or were badly accommodated with benches to sit on, and the music was mean and despicable.[4] Tobacco, wine and beer were in those days the usual refreshments of the theatre, as they were at Sadler's Wells, early in the present century. With regard to the old prices of admission, the playhouse called the Hope had five different priced seats, from sixpence to half-a-crown; some houses had penny benches; there was a twopenny gallery; and seats at threepence and a groat. The general price of what is now called the pit—probably from one of the playhouses having been a cockpit—seems to have been a shilling. The time of exhibition was early in the afternoon, the plays being generally acted by daylight. Even in the reign of Charles II. plays began at three in the afternoon. All female parts were performed by men, no actress having been ever seen on the public stage before the civil wars.

[1] Reed's *Preface to Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays.*
[2] Maitland.
[3] *True Use of the Waterman's Suit concerning Playhouses,* 1613.
[4] Sir John Hawkins's *History of Music.*

As for the playhouse furniture and ornaments, they had no other scenes or decorations of the stage but old tapestry, and the stage strewed with rushes.[1] The actors used vizards, "partly to supply the want of players when there were more parts than there were persons."[2]

In the locality of the Red Bull Theatre, at the commencement of the last century, lived one who was a poet, a prosaist, and a publican, Edward Ward, familiarly known as Ned Ward, the author of the "London Spy." He was by no means an educated man, but he was naturally gifted with a lively fancy and exquisite humour. He was a prolific writer of Hudibrastic verse, and his poetical effusions fill six duodecimo volumes of average thickness. He kept a public-house in Red Bull Yard, and sold to his customers ale of his own brewing. To his patrons and friends he once addressed the following poetical description of his house, and the varied entertainment that it afforded; it is described as being "At the great gates in Red Bull Yard, between St. John Street and Clerkenwell Green" :—

There on that ancient venerable ground,
Where Shakspear in heroic buskins trod,
Within a good old fabriek may be found
Celestial liquors fit to charm a god ;
Rich nectar, royal punch, and home-brewed ale,
Such as our fathers drank in time of yore,
When beef and bacon and salubrious cale
Were food and physic for the rich and poor.
Commodious rooms with Hampstead air supplied ;
Obliging usage for each civil guest;
A garden spot, whose fertile banks provide
Refreshing salads to delight the taste ;
No bacchanalian ensigns at the door
To give the public notice are displayed,
Yet friends are welcome : We shall say no more,
But hope their friendship will promote a trade.

In those days of political animosities, occasioned by the Hanoverian succession, when the strife of contending parties often led to blows and a physical struggle for mastery, Ward's ale-house was for some time a great resort of the high churchmen, whose political opinions he held. He oftentimes vigorously expressed in his poems his strong aversion to Whiggism. Pope unworthily has given our hero a place in the "Dunciad," in which, alluding to the yearly sale of his writings in the Plantations, he bids the reader not to

———sail with Ward, to ape and monkey climes,
Where vile mundungus trucks for viler rhymes :
Not sulphur tipt, emblaze an ale-house fire ;
Nor wrap up oranges, to pelt your sire !

This satire upon himself Ward smartly and successfully retorted. He was a near neighbour and intimate friend of the musical small-coal man, Thomas Britton,[3] and an *habitue* of his concerts. When that musical celebrity died the large collection of music and musical instruments which he had made were sold by auction at Ward's house, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th days of December, 1714. Subsequently he removed from Red Bull Yard, and kept a punch house in Fulwood's Rents, within one door of Gray's Inn, where he would entertain any company who invited him with the stories and adventures of poets and authors whom he knew. Here he died on the 20th of January, 1731, and he was buried on the 27th, in Old St. Pancras churchyard, with one mourning coach for his wife and daughter to attend his hearse, as he had directed in his poetical will.

[1] Flecknoe's *Love's Kingdom*, 12mo., 1674.

[2] Puttenham's *Art. of English Poets*, 1589, p. 23. *Vide* Chalmer's edition of *The Tatler*, vol i., p. 214, and vol ii., p. 153, *et seq.*

[3] *Vide* Aylesbury-street *post.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, CLERKENWELL.

Division of the Parish of St. James—St. John's Parish Constituted—Historical Sketch of the Knights Hospitallers—Rules for the Government of the Order, framed by Raymond de Pay—Precise Regulations as to Dress therein—Manner of Making a Knight—How Degraded—The Peculiar Privileges enjoyed by the Knights Hospitallers—The Magnificent Style in which they lived—Their Possessions—Their Hampton Estate—Lease thereof to Cardinal Wolsey—Their Arrogance Reproved—Their Mode of Living in Clerkenwell—One Year's Household Expenses—The Corrodaries or Pensioners—The Water Supply of the Priory—List of the Grand Priors of England—Notices of Priors, Sir Thomas Docwra, Sir William Weston, and Sir Thomas Tresham.

In 1723 the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, was apportioned by Queen Anne's Commissioners for Building New Churches, and a new parish called St. John was constituted by them. By the division 856 houses were left to the old parish of St. James, and 763 assigned to the new parish of St. John.[1] Until the passing of the Metropolis Local Management Act, 18 and 19 Vict., c. 120 (amended by 19 and 20 Vict., c. 112), the latter parish had its own vestry, and managed its own affairs; but since the passing of the before-mentioned statute the parochial government of both parishes has been vested in one body—viz., the vestry of Clerkenwell, the whole of which place has, for the purposes of self-government, been divided into five wards, each of which sends representatives to the vestry. The vestry of the parish of St. John exists now only for ecclesiastical purposes.

The district of St. John's Church includes a most ancient portion of the *vill* of Clerkenwell. Nearly in its very midst there formerly stood one of the most celebrated of monastic institutions, the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, long the abode of a military religious order, the members of which, by their valorous deeds of arms in the wars of the Crusades, won for themselves both admiration and esteem. St. John's Gate, which was the great south gate of the priory, and the crypt of St. John's Church, remain to tell of the glory which has departed.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

——— warriors strong,
Whom neither marching far, nor tedious way,
Nor weighty arms, which on their shoulders hong,
Could weary make, or death itself dismay.[2]

Some account of the rise, progress, and development of this renowned military and religious order, which for upwards of four hundred years had its *chef lieu* in Clerkenwell, from which circumstance the parish itself has obtained a peculiar distinction, can hardly fail to interest those who love to read of the days of chivalry, and of the valiant deeds of arms done by their ancestors,

[1] *Vide* page 13.

[2] FAIRFAX.

it mayhap, whose names they bear, and whose shields of arms they now claim by hereditary right. This once powerful and wealthy confederation was of lowly origin, and at its beginning was neither ambitious of wealth nor covetous of power. The origin of the order was as follows.

In the middle of the eleventh century some Italian merchants, called Amalphanti, from Melphi, a city of Naples, while trading in the East, observed the privations and dangers to which pilgrims to the holy places were exposed. Compassionating them the merchants obtained leave of the Mahomedans for the Latin Christians to build an asylum for the sick and needy among the pilgrims, near to the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem. On the ground assigned to them the traders built a chapel, dedicated to St. Mary de Latinos, in which some Benedictines officiated. Near this they built two hospitals for the reception of travellers and pilgrims of both sexes, whether hale or infirm; the first of these houses of hospitable entertainment, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, was for women, and the other, for which the tutelage of St. John, the Almoner, was invoked, was for the reception of men. This St. John was neither the Evangelist nor the Baptist, but a certain Cypriat, surnamed the Charitable, who had been patriarch of Alexandria.[1] In the seventh century, when Jerusalem first fell into the hands of the Saracens, he sent money and provisions to the afflicted Christians, and supplied such as fled into Egypt.[2] Subsequently, when the order became military, the knights renounced the patronage of the Almoner, and placed themselves under the more august tutelage of St. John the Baptist.[3]

Some pious lay persons from Europe devoted themselves in the before-mentioned religious houses to the service of the poor pilgrims, who were supported by the alms of the faithful, collected in Italy by the pious merchants, and regularly forwarded to those who had so magnanimously devoted themselves to the pious work of tending the sick pilgrim and the exhausted traveller. This house, which may be looked upon as the cradle of the order of St. John, served afterwards as a place of security and retreat for pilgrims. The Latin Christians were there entertained and provided for without any distinction of nation or condition. There they clothed again such as had been stripped by robbers; there the sick were treated with care; and every kind of misery found in the charity of these hospitallers a new kind of mercy to relieve it.[4]

In 1076 the Seljukian Turks made themselves masters of Palestine, surprised the city of Jerusalem, massacred its inhabitants, and plundered the Hospital of St. John; and having obtained possession of the holy places, extorted from the pilgrims a heavy tribute for permission to visit them, besides treating the faithful with shameful indignity. The cry of these persecuted ones aroused the anger of Europe, and a vast army of 700,000 men of all nations, united in a common cause, set out under the banner of the cross to relieve their persecuted brethren, and to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the infidel. Rending the air with the cry "*Dieu le veut*," "It is the will of God," they, in an overwhelming host, passed over the continent of Europe. Jerusalem was taken by storm, but its captors disgraced their Christian profession by an indiscriminate massacre of above ten thousand of the inhabitants, to whom they had promised quarter. Everything swam in blood, and the conquerors, tired at last of the slaughter, looked upon themselves with horror. Many of the crusaders who had been wounded in this bloody conflict were removed to the Hospital of St. John, and in gratitude for the kindness which was shewn them upon their recovery they devoted themselves to the service of the poor pilgrims in this house. Godfrey de Bouillon, by whose valour this last great victory had been achieved, in the year 1099 was chosen King of Jerusalem. The brethren of the hospital and their superior, Gerard, had co-operated with the besiegers, and won the favour and esteem of the king elect, who, enamoured of their virtues, bestowed upon them his lordship of Montboire, in Brabant. Gerard, who may be regarded as the founder of the noble order of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, proposed to the brethren and sisters of the institution, of which he was the secular administrator, to adopt a regular habit; and he was himself appointed rector or master of the order. "When the Holy Land began to grow famous by the expeditions of

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i., p. 54.
[2] Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vol. i., p. 274.
[3] Mills' *Hist. of Crusades*, vol. i., p. 317.
[4] Vertot *History of the Knights of Malta*, vol. i., p. 8, ed. 1728.

Christian Princes, this Order of the Hospitallers had its beginning, or rather restoration, by Girardus; for the original is attributed to Johannes Hircanus Machabeus, or John, Patriarch of Alexandria, who, for his liberality to the poor, was surnamed Eleemosynarius."[1]

In 1104 the brethren of the hospital first assumed their distinguishing habit—a black robe or mantle, to which was secured a white linen cross—and conformed in their religious practice to the rule of St. Augustine.

Raymond de Pay, who in 1118 succeeded the pious Gerard as master of the order, proposed to the brethren of the hospital, as being soldiers of Christ, to resume the arms which most of them had thrown aside to serve him. This proposition was joyfully acceded to by the knights, who still retained the ardour of their military profession; and their Director, as he was styled, made salutary rules for their guidance. In this we trace the first constitution of a religious-military order, thenceforth to be distinguished as the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. There is no record of the time when they first engaged in conflict, but in 1130 the exploits of the hospitallers against the infidels won for them the admiration of Europe. These warriors, who were so fierce and terrible in battle, were quite different men when they returned to the convent; scarce had they laid aside their arms when they resumed with their regular habit all the exercises of their first profession. Some applied themselves to the service of the sick, others were engaged in entertaining pilgrims, some cleaned their arms or mended the accoutrements of their horses, and all, in their respective employments, observed a religious silence; but as wealth poured in upon them, they declined from these austere observances, and a haughty demeanour became their reproach.

The brave Saladin, in 1187, retook Jerusalem after fourteen days' siege, having previously made its sovereign, Guy de Lusignan, a prisoner. When Saladin entered the city and heard of the tender care with which these military friars treated the sick, he kindly allowed ten of the order to remain in their hospital until they could complete their work of humanity.

Expelled by the conqueror from the holy city, and aroused to activity by their misfortunes, the knights were ever ready to engage with the host of Saladin in the field or the fortress; and they distinguished themselves at the siege of Ptolemais, which place they took on the 12th of July, 1191. This seaport they retained for nearly two centuries. By them its ancient name of Akka was augmented to that of St. Jean d'Acre, by which it is still famous in the annals of European history.

The numbers of the hospitallers being much decimated by their frequent conflicts with the infidel foe, help was sought from home; and succour was sent to them. "In 1237," writes the old monkish chronicler, Matthew Paris, "the Hospitallers sent their Prior Theodoric, a German by birth, and a most clever knight, with a body of other knights and stipendiary attendants, and a large sum of money, to the assistance of the Holy Land. They having made all arrangements set out from their house at Clerkenwell, and proceeded in good order, with about thirty shields uncovered, with spears raised, and preceded by their banner through the midst of the city towards the bridge, that they might obtain the blessings of the spectators, and bowing their heads with their cowls lowered, commended themselves to the prayers of all."[2]

It is said that on the return of the English crusaders to their native country the Knights Hospitallers and Knights Templars, on the 3rd of October, 1247, presented King Henry III. with a beautiful crystalline vase, containing a portion of the blood of our Saviour, that he had shed on the cross for the salvation of mankind; the genuineness of the relic being attested by the seals of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates of the Holy Land.[3]

In 1292 St. Jean d'Acre was besieged, and so obstinately was its possession contended for by its brave defenders, the Knights of St. John, that they were nearly all exterminated; only seven remained alive, and this small remnant of their once numerous body escaped on shipboard to the island of Cyprus, the prince of which, in compassion for their losses, permitted them to reside at

[1] Hugh Clark, *History of Knighthood*, vol. ii, p. 57. [2] Matthew Paris, vol. i., p. 63, Bohn's ed.
[3] Whelan's *Hist. of Little Maplestead*, pp. 92, 93.

the seaport of Limisson. While they were there they energetically sought to retrieve the past by turning their attention to the state of the order, which the events of the past had greatly disorganised. Their statutes were amended, and other judicious regulations were made to suit the altered position of their society, the grand master summoning a general chapter of the knights of the several languages of Europe, into which they were classed. In 1310 these "warrior monks," still panting for the fray, attacked the island of Rhodes, under the conduct of their grand master, Fulk de Villaret, and on the 15th of August in that year, after a hot contest, landed as victors. About the same time seven neighbouring islands fell into their hands. The grand master, as a politic governor, developed the commercial resources of the country, and made the port of Rhodes free to the nations of Europe. These Knights of Rhodes, as they were now called, greatly enriched themselves by privateering or cruising against all Mahomedan vessels which they deemed piratical, and every knight was bound to make at least one such cruise or caravan, as it was called, in a year. This kind of life was soon found to be inconsistent with the vows and rule of the order. When they returned laden with the spoil of some piratical craft they indulged in excesses, which made the "religious city of Rhodes look very like a profane Plymouth or Portsmouth in war time."

In 1344 the knights attacked and took Smyrna, which they maintained as an outpost. This place they held for fifty-six years, at the end of which time they were dispossessed of it by Tamerlane, "the Great Mogul," who took the Castle of Smyrna by storm in 1400.

Retaining their maritime supremacy the knights continued to distress the Turks and Egyptians, so that at last scarcely a vessel bearing the Mahomedan flag could put to sea without being taken and carried to Rhodes. In vain did the Musselmen try to dislodge the knights from the isles: four times were they signally worsted. Once, in 1444, the Egyptians effected a landing at Rhodes with 18,000 men, but after forty days they were obliged to relinquish the siege, and re-embark. In 1492 this stronghold of the knights was assailed by the forces of Mahomed II., who, after laying siege to it for eighty-nine days, was repulsed with great slaughter. The Turks, fleeing to their galleys, left nine thousand of their number dead before the walls of Rhodes. In this gallant defence Pierre d'Aubusson, the grand master of the order, received five wounds.

In 1502 Henry VII. of England was elected Protector of the Knights of Rhodes, in consequence of his writing a letter to the Pope, in which he thus expressed himself:—"I will be as redie to the defense of the Christen Faithe as any prince cristened; and in this behalfe nother to spare goods, richesse, nor men, nor yet in my own propre person yf it be nede."[1]

Some time after, when Solyman IV., called the "Magnificent," held a despotic sovereignty over the East, that potentate determined upon the conquest of Rhodes, "let it cost what blood it might;" and having assembled an army of 300,000 men, in June, 1522, he appeared with his prodigious armament before Rhodes. Before commencing the siege Solyman summoned the knights to surrender. To this they deigned to give no reply, "save such as should be spoken by the mouths of their cannon." When the siege began, the knights destroyed the works of their assailants, overturned their artillery, and by sudden sorties cut many hundred Turks to pieces in the trenches which they were making. The resistance of the knights was most obstinate and determined. When the siege had lasted four months, and the city was no longer tenable, the grand master was asked to capitulate, but the heroic L'Isle Adam, a venerable old man, declared he would be buried in the ruins of his palace rather than surrender; and for two months longer did the garrison hold out against the beleaguering forces of the infidel. Their resources being now quite exhausted, and the sultan offering terms which were thought worthy of acceptance, L'Isle Adam, and such as survived of the noble band of heroes, prepared to quit the scene of contest to seek some more peaceful shore, they having the conqueror's permission to do so. Previously to L'Isle Adam leaving Rhodes Solyman had an interview with him, upon which occasion the latter treated him with profound respect, "assuring him that he might embark his effects at his own leisure, and that should the time agreed upon for that purpose in the articles of capitulation not be sufficient, he would willingly prolong it."

[1] Porter's *Knights of Malta*, vol ii., p. 312.

Solyman upon leaving L'Isle Adam turned to his general officer, saying, "It is not without some degree of pain that I force this Christian at his time of life to leave his dwelling." Upon saying this he left the grand master, exhorting him to support with courage this reverse of fortune. For nearly two centuries had the Knights of St. John held possession of Rhodes, and during this period they had rendered it one of the strongest places in the world. The loss of life which took place at its capture (Solyman himself acknowledging that he had lost 80,000 men by the hands of the knights, and as many more by disease) made Rhodes the dearest conquest which the Turks had ever made. L'Isle Adam upon embarking from Rhodes carried the archives of the order with him; a storm dispersed his fleet, and many of the ships were stranded on the coast of Candia. After repairing the mischief occasioned by the tempest, he set sail for Italy, landed at Gallipoli, and there established an hospital. The grand master was well received at Rome after his defeat.

L'Isle Adam applied to Henry VIII. of England, who was desirous of seizing upon the possessions of the order, entreating him to remember that the riches belonging to it had always been employed in protecting the Christian faith. Henry was so much affected by the venerable appearance of the grand master, and the zeal which he displayed, that he confirmed all the ancient privileges of the knights, and presented him, in the name of the queen and himself, with a "golden basin and ewer enriched with precious stones;" in addition to this gift he promised him twenty thousand crowns, the value of which he afterwards paid in artillery and fire-arms.[1]

L'Isle Adam still entertained hopes of being enabled to recover the possession of Rhodes, but upon the Emperor Charles V. ceding to the order the Island of Malta, and the territories appertaining to it, all warlike preparations were abandoned. For this new possession the grand master of the order paid yearly to the King of Spain a falcon, in acknowledgment that they held it from him.[2]

The esteem which Henry VIII. affected for L'Isle Adam, and the military order of which he was supreme director, was merely a hypocritical show; he coveted the wealthy possessions of the order in England, and when he had dissolved most of the religious houses throughout the land, he took occasion to suppress the Knights Hospitallers in England, under the plea that their being in subjection to the Pope was injurious to his interests as "Supreme Head of the Church on Earth." This was done by Act of Parliament, 32 Henry VIII., c. 24, which ordained the total suppression of the order of the Knights Hospitallers in England and Ireland. In the bill for the suppression of the order in England they were charged with having

"Unnaturally and contrarie to the ducty of their allegeaunces sustayned and maynteynid the usurped powere and auctoritie of the Bishop of Rome, and have not only adhered themselfes to the said Bishop, being comon enemy to the King our souvraine Lord and to his realme, untruely upholding, knowleging, and affirmyng maliciously and traiterously the same Bishop to be supreme hed of Christe's Churche, by Goddis holy wourde, intending thereby to subvert and overthrow the good and godly lawes and statutes of this realme, their naturall contrey, made and grounded by the auctoritie of the Holy Churche, by the most excellent wisedome and polyce and goodnesse of the Kinge's majesty."

Those belonging to the various establishments were forbidden to wear the dress of the order; and the statute abolished all assumed names and dignities, for it was enacted that they "shal be callid by their awne propre chren names and surnames of their parentis, without any other additions towching the said religion;" it rescinded "all priveleges of Saincturies heretofore used or claymed in mansion houses and other places coenly called Saincte Johne's holde;" it absolved the knights from their allegiance to the Pope; and vested in the king all their possessions, viz., their castles, honours, manors, churches, houses, mesnes, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, woods, underwoods, pastures, meadows, &c.; and it granted in lieu of these certain annuities to the prior and brethren of the order. William Weston, knight, prior of the said hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, during his lifetime was to have such reasonable portion of the goods and chattels belonging to the priory as the king might appoint, and also an annual sum of £1000; Clement West, £200; T Pemberton, £80; G. Russel, £100; G. Ailmer, £100; J. Sutton, £200; E. Belingam, £100;

[1] Vertot.

[2] Fuller's *Holy War*, ed. 1639, p. 237.

E. Browne, £50; E. Huse, 100 marks; Ambrose Cave, 100 marks; W. Tirel, £30; J. Rawson, 200 marks; A. Rogers, Oswald Masingberd, and eight others, each of them £10 yearly, with portions of the goods as the king might limit, so that the pensions appointed to this single house of the hospitallers came to £2870 yearly.[1]

"The suppression of the Hospitallers," remarks Fuller, "deserveth especial notice, because the manner thereof was different from the dissolution of other religious houses, for manfully they stood out to the last in despite of several assaults. The Knights Hospitallers (whose chief mansion was at Clerkenwell, nigh London), being gentlemen and soldiers of ancient families and high spirits, would not be brought to present to Henry the Eighth such puling petitions and public recognitions of their errors as other orders had done; wherefore like stout fellows they opposed any that thought to enrich themselves with their ample revenues, and stood on their own defence and justification. But Barnabas day itself hath a night, and this long lived order, which in England went over the grave of all others, came at last to its own." "Their deare friends persuaded them," continues Fuller, "to submit to the King's mercie, and not to capitulate with him on conditions, nor to stop his favour by their own obstinacy. This counsel, harsh at first, grew tunable in the ears of the Hospitallers; so that contented rather to exchange their clothes for worse than be quite stript, they resigned all into the King's hands."[2]

Some of the knights retired to Malta, and several who remained in England suffered death for their contumacy. Sir Thomas Dingley for denying the king's supremacy was attainted of high treason on the 29th of April, 1539, and beheaded together with Adrian Fortescue, a knight of the same order. The portrait of Fortescue is still to be seen in St. John's Church, Malta, with a sprig of palm in his hand as an emblem of his martrydom.[3] Sir David Genson, also a Knight of St. John, having refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the crown, was condemned to die, and being drawn on a sledge through Southwark, was hanged and quartered at St. Thomas Watering, on the 1st of July, 1541.[4]

Shortly after Queen Mary ascended the throne of England she restored to the Knights Hospitallers all their estates which her father had annexed to the crown, and further by royal letters patent, dated at Greenwich, on the 2nd of April, 1557, she incorporated the bailiffs, commanders, and knights of St. John, by and under the name and title of "The Prior and Cobrethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England," giving them as a corporation a common seal, and ordaining for the crown, its heirs and successors that the knights of the order in England should for ever have and enjoy their name, style, and dignity, with all their ancient privileges and prerogatives. Sir Thomas Tresham, of Rushton, was nominated Grand Prior of St. John *Anglice*. Queen Elizabeth was not over busy upon first coming to the crown, and for some months she permitted all things to remain in *statu quo*. In the first parliament of her summoning she sent her writs to the "aforesaid Lord Prior Tresham," as premier baron of the realm. After the territorial possessions of the order in England had been again confiscated by Elizabeth, the grand prior, Sir Richard Shelley, who succeeded Sir Thomas Tresham, retired with the various commanders and knights to the Island of Malta, then the *chef lieu* of the sovereign order.

The history of the order from the period of its settlement in the island of Malta to the time of its expulsion from that stronghold by Napoleon Bonaparte, is one military exploit and maritime adventure, and the scope of it is far too extensive to be embraced by a work like the present. Those who wish to further pursue the history of this once renowned order of chivalry may consult with advantage Captain Whitworth Porter's "History of the Knights of Malta," a work of recent date. One final episode in the history of the order must not be left untold, as it serves to show how degenerate this powerful confraternity in the end became; it is the closing scene of their eventful history. "On the 19th of May, 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte set sail from Toulon with a magnificent armament. The 10th of June brought the armament before Malta, once the citadel of Christendom,

[1] Stow's *Annals*.
[2] Fuller's *Holy War*, book v.
[3] Porter's *History of the Knights of Malta*, vol. ii., p. 327.
[4] Dodd's *Church History*, vol. i., p. 198.

and garrisoned by those intrepid knights, who, half warriors and half priests, opposed the infidels with the enthusiasm at once of religion and chivalry. But those by whom the order was now maintained were disunited among themselves, lazy and debauched voluptuaries, who consumed the revenues destined to fit out expeditions against the Turks in cruizes for pleasure, not war, and in balls and entertainments in the seaports of Italy." Bonaparte, secure of a party among the French knights, with whom he had tampered, landed his troops, and took possession of the almost impregnable fortresses with so little opposition, that Cafferelli said to Napoleon, as they passed through the most formidable defences, "It is well, general, there was some one within to open the gates for us. We should have had more trouble in entering the place had it been altogether empty."[1] The sum awarded to the grand master, Hompesch, for his baseness, was 600,000 francs. On quitting the island which he had not the courage to defend, he further disgraced himself by kissing the hand of the conqueror who had despoiled him of his dominion.[2]

Between the years 1826 and 1831 some steps were taken in London with a view to the re-establishment of the Langue of England as one of the component branches of the sovereign order of St. John, and as an independent corporation, still subsisting under the royal letters patent of Philip and Mary, dated the 2nd of April, 1557.[3] Matters were consummated on the 29th of January, 1831, in accordance with the deliberations and instructions of the French, Spanish, and Portuguese authorities of the order. On this occasion, at a Chapter of the Knights then constituting the British Langue, at which was present an envoy extraordinary representing the continental authorities, Sir Robert Peat was installed into the office of Grand Prior of St. John Anglia, together with the officers forming the executive council. By proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, on the 24th of February, 1834, before Sir Thomas Denman, Knt., Lord Chief Justice of England, the grand prior formally revived the corporation of the sixth Langue, under the royal letters patent of Philip and Mary, and took the oaths *de fideli administratione*. And since that period the baillies and commanders forming the executive council of the corporation have been presided over successively—first by Sir Robert Peat, who died in the month of April, 1837; next by the grand prior, Sir Henry Dymoke, seventeenth Hereditary Champion of the English Crown, who demitted office in June, 1847, to the Hon. Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, Bart., since deceased. Admission to the order in this kingdom is declared to be wholly irrespective of political feeling, and although essentially Protestant in its character, differences in Christian faith will not of themselves form grounds of exclusion from it. Its objects are the promotion of the cause of charity, and of those hospitaller-virtues which presided over the order at its inception in Palestine. Grave doubts exist as to the legitimacy of this revived branch of the English Langue. The authorities in supreme governance over the order at Rome refuse to recognize it as an integral branch of the venerable order of St. John.[4]

THE RULES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN.

Raymond de Pay made the following rules for the order, which were confirmed by Pope Boniface in the sixth year of his pontificate:—Poverty, chastity, and obedience; to expect but bread and water and a coarse garment. The clerks to serve in white surplices at the altar. The priests in their surplices to convey the host to the sick, with a deacon or clerk preceding them, bearing a lantern and a sponge filled with holy water. The brethren to go abroad by the appointment of the master, but never singly, and to avoid giving offence. No females to be employed for or about their persons. When soliciting alms, to visit churches or people of reputation, and ask their food for charity; if they received none, to buy enough for subsistence; to account for all their receipts to the master;

[1] Scott's *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*.
[2] Thibaudeau, tom. ii., p. 65.
[3] Sir Richard Broun's *Synoptical Sketch of the Knights Hospitallers*, &c., p. 25.
[4] Porter's *Hist. of the Knights of Malta*, vol. ii., p. 338.

and he to give them to the poor, retaining only one-third part for provisions, the overplus to the poor. The brethren to go soliciting only by permission, to carry candles with them, to wear no skins of wild beasts, or clothes degrading to the order. To eat but twice a day on Wednesday and Saturday; and no flesh from Septuagesima until Easter, except when aged or indisposed. To sleep covered. If incontinent in private to repent in privacy, and do penance. If the brother was discovered, he was to be deprived of his robe in the church of the town after mass, severely whipped, and expelled from the order; but if truly penitent he might be again received; but not without penance, and a year's expulsion. If two of the brethren quarrelled they were to eat only bread and water on Wednesday and Friday, and off the bare ground for seven days; if blows passed, and to those who went abroad without permission, this discipline was extended to forty days. No conversation when eating, or after retiring to the dormitory; and nothing to be drunk after the ringing of the Compline. If a brother offended and did not amend after the third admonition, he was compelled to walk to the master for correction. No brother was to strike a servant. The twenty-second rule of this monastic code was both revolting and disgraceful to any community; it ordered that if a brother died without revealing what he possessed, his money should be tied about the body's neck, and it was to be severely whipped in the presence of the members of the house. Masses were sung thirtydays for deceased brethren, and alms given in the house. In all decisions they were to give just judgment. They sung the epistle and gospel on Sundays, made a procession, and sprinkled holy water. If a brother embezzled money appropriated to the poor, or excited opposition to the master, he was expelled. When a brother's conduct was found to be too bad, another was to reprove him, but not to publish his faults; if amendment did not follow, the reprover was to call the assistance of others, and ultimately report his crimes to the master in writing; but those accusations were to be supported by proof. The brothers were universally to wear the cross on their breasts.

The order was that of St. Augustine. He who wished for admission came before the chapter on Sunday, and humbly expressed his hope that he might be received. If no objection was made, a brother informed him that numbers of men of consequence had preceded him; but that he would be entirely deceived in supposing that he should live luxuriously; for that instead of sleeping he would be required to wake, and fast when desirous to eat, to visit places he would rather have avoided, and, in short, have no will of his own; the exordium concluded with a demand whether he was willing to do these things. Upon answering in the affirmative, an oath was administered, by which he bound himself never to enter any other order, declared himself a bachelor without having promised marriage, that he was free from debt, and a freeman, that he would live and die under the superior whom God should place over him, to be chaste and poor, and a servant to the sick. He who received the new brother then promised him bread and water and coarse garments, and a participation in all the good works of the order.

Whoever wished to be received into the brotherhood was required to prove his nobility for four descents, on his mother's as well as his father's side; to be of legitimate birth (an exception being made only in favour of the natural sons of kings and princes); to be not less than twenty years of age, and of blameless life and character.

The following ceremonies were performed at the creation of a knight:—

"1st. A sword was given to the novice in order to show him that he must be valiant.
"2nd. A cross hilt, as his valour must defend religion.
"3rd. He was struck three times over the shoulder with the sword to teach him patiently to suffer for Christ.
"4th. He had to wipe the sword, as his life must be undefiled.
"5th. Gilt spurs were put on, because he was to spurn wealth at his heels.
"6th. He took a taper in his hand, as it was his duty to enlighten others by his exemplary conduct.
"7th. He had to go and hear mass, where we'll leave him."[1]

In the season of its prosperity this renowned order included in its fraternity men of eight different nations, of which the English were sixth in rank.

[1] Fuller's *Holy War*.

The languages were those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, England, and Germany. The Anglo-Bavarian was afterwards substituted for that of England, and that of Castile was added to the number.

Cowardice on the battle-field involved the severest of all penalties—degradation and expulsion from the order. "We place this cross on your breast, my brother," says the ritual of admission, "that you may love it with all your heart, and may your right hand ever fight in its defence and for its preservation! Should it ever happen that in combating against the enemies of the faith you should retreat and desert the standard of the cross and take flight, you will be stripped of the truly holy sign according to the customs and statutes of the order, and you will be cut off from our body as an unsound and corrupt member." A knight when degraded had his habit torn from off him, and the spurs which he received at his investiture were hacked off.[1]



KNIGHT OF ST. JOHN.

The statutes of the Order of the Knights of St. John are full of regulations respecting dress. One of these is remarkable:—"It becomes a religious man to be polite in body as well as mind, and therefore we enjoin our brothers to dress themselves decently and handsomely, forbidding them expressly for the future to wear any dress that is not fit for their condition, particularly short clothes, unless they are on a journey, shipboard, or on guard." "Such as go abroad without the habit, or do not wear the linen cross sewed upon it in such a manner as to be seen by all the world, shall be condemned for the first time to quarantine, for the second offence he shall be imprisoned in the Tower for three months, for the third offence shall be deprived of the habit." —Claude de Sengle. The manner of inflicting the punishment of quarantine was ordained by statute of the order to be as follows:—"He that is condemned to it shall fast forty days together, and on Wednesdays and Fridays shall have nothing but bread and water; he shall eat upon the ground, and undergo discipline in the following manner:—He shall appear before the priest without any clothes on, naked and barefoot, and whilst the priest is lashing him over the shoulders with a rod, he shall say the psalm *Misere mei Deus*."[2] The original dress of the order was a long, black, coarse habit or shirt, having upon the left side the Jerusalem cross, a white linen cross of eight points, in token of the eight beatitudes, the virtues commended in Our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, which they were expected to remember and observe. Of the Jerusalem cross, the four minor crosses are emblematical of the wounds of our Saviour's hands and feet, whilst the large or central cross shows forth his death—the four extremities pointing respectively to the four quarters of that world for which he died.[3]

Between the years 1278 and 1289 an alteration was made in the dress of the knights. The grand master and his council enacted that while the brethren of the hospital were engaged in military duties they should wear over their clothes a red military cassock with a white cross straight.

[1] Mills' *Hist. of the Crusades*, vol. i., p. 356.
[2] Statutes of the order appended to Vertot's *History of the Knights of Malta*, vol. ii, p. 113.
[3] *Explicit liber de Cruce Vaticana*, by Stephen Borgia, Sec. to Propoganda, 1779, note cap. 8.

The long black mantle could never be dispensed with in the house; it was intended to be symbolic of the garment worn by John the Baptist in the wilderness.

Pope Innocent commanded that the standard of the knights should be *gules* a full cross *argent*.[1]

When a brother died he was buried in the black habit of the order, and it was strictly forbidden that any one should appear in mourning at the funeral of a brother, or even of the grand master himself.

Pope Pius II., in the year 1461, altered some of the rules of the order, especially those which related to the duty of fasting, which had become exceedingly severe. The knights were now permitted to speak at table and in bed, and to sleep with a light in their rooms, from which privilege they had been up to this time debarred.[2]

These hospitallers, claiming the privilege of burying any persons who had given them alms during life, Edward I., in the first year of his reign, caused inquisition to be made for proof of the same upon the following accident:—Certain felons having been executed at Ivelcestre, the servants of the hospital went to the gallows, none of the sheriff's officers being there, and took them down. Adam Mester, one of the felons, being by them laid in his grave, came to life again, and took sanctuary in the church, where he continued until he abjured the realm. For this reason the sheriff of Somersetshire imprisoned the servants of the hospitallers; and to decide the controversy between him and the knights, the king ordered the said inquisition to be taken concerning their right.

The tenants of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers set up crosses in their houses and in their lands, as marks that they were exempt from many duties and services. There was a law against those who did this when they were not entitled to those privileges, which was a common fraud.[3]

One of the most important and peculiar privileges enjoyed by the order was the right of sanctuary, the power of receiving persons under sentence of excommunication. By the rule of this order those persons who had been denounced might take refuge in the churches of the hospitallers, where lights were directed to be kept continually burning. The brethren of St. John, especially protected from excommunication themselves, might administer the sacrament to those individuals when all access to other religious houses was denied them. In sickness the interdicted might receive the visits and derive comfort from the spiritual advice of the hospitallers; and their bodies were permitted upon their decease to have the solemn rites of burial in the churchyards belonging to the commanderies.[4] If the hospitallers passed through an interdicted place, they alone at that awful time had privileges of causing mass to be said in any of the churches. If even a city or a whole province was suffering under this terrible sentence, there still remained as a last comfort and resource to the excommunicated the sanctuary of the commanderies; and when these wretched people, these aliens of society, to whom no man durst bid a "God speed," were excluded from the fellowship of the church, the anathema could not prevent them from seeking and receiving consolation from the ministers of this favoured order. In those days of darkness the denunciation was clothed in terrors of no ordinary description. "Let them be excommunicated and accursed," concludes one of these interdicts, "let them be separated from all human society! let them be prevented from entering into our holy mother church, where there is forgiveness of sins! let them be anathema maranatha for ever, with the devils in hell. *Fiat, Fiat, Fiat*, amen."

THE MANNER OF LIVING OF THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS.

"The Knights Hospitallers at their first institution," says Camden, "and long after were so lowly all the while they continued poore, that their Gouvenor was stiled Servant to the poore Servitours of the Hospital of Jerusalem; like as the Master of the Temple, who shortly after arose, was the humble Minister of the poore knights of the Temple. By solemn profession they were

[1] Edmondson's *Heraldry*.
[2] Whelan's *Hist. of Little Maplestead*, pp. 115-116.
[3] Gibson's *Codex*, vol. i, p. 613.
[4] R. Taylor's *Index Monasticus*, p. 11.

bound to serve pilgrimes and poore people in the Hospital of St. John at Hierusalem; and to secure passages thither, they charitably buried the dead, they were continual in prayer, mortified themselves with watchings and fastings; they were courteous and kinde to the poore, whom they called their masters, and fed with white bread, while they themselves lived with browne, and carried themselves with greate austerity."[1] "Infinite were the donations of all sorts of people to this Fraternitie," says Weever. "But above all their benefactors they held themselves most bound to Roger de Mowbray, whose liberalitie to their order was so great that by common consent, in their chapiter, they made a decree that himselfe might remit and pardon any of the brotherhood whomsoever, in case he had trespassed against any of the statutes and ordinances of their order, confessing and acknowledging withall his offence and errour. And also the knights of this order, in token of thankfulnesse to John de Mowbray, Lord of the Isle of Axholme, the successor of the foresaid Roger, that himselfe and his successours, in euery of their couents and assemblies, as well in England as beyond the seas, should be receiued and entertained alwaies in the second place next the king. Through the bounty of good princes and private persons, admiring their piety and prowesse, they rose to so high an estate and great riches, that after a sort they wallowed in wealth, for they had aboute the yeere of our Lord, 1240, within Christendome, nineteen thousand Lordships or Manours; like as the Templars nine thousand (the revenewes and rents whereof fell afterwards also to the Hospitallers). And this estate of theirs, growne to so great an height, made way for them to as great honours."

The knights were in a position to lend money, for we find that in an issue roll of 44 Edward III. occurs the following entry:—"To the Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, In money delivered to him in discharge of 200 marks which he lent to the Lord the King at the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 13 July last past, as appears in the roll of the receipts, £133 6 8."[2]

In 1211 Joan, Lady Grey, relict of Sir Robert Grey, of Hampton, left by her will the whole manor and manor-house of Hampton to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. This manor, which was a wide, sandy level of some thousand acres, on the banks of the Thames, was reputed to be the most healthy one about London, for which reason Cardinal Wolsey bargained with the Prior of St. John, Sir Thomas Docwra, for a lease of it. At that time a small manor-house and chapel accommodated in the humblest manner a prior and a few brethren. The lease was granted on the 12th of January, 1514 (6 Henry VIII.), for a term of ninety-nine years, from the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist then last, at an annual rent of £50. The lease is among the Cottonian MSS., in the British Museum, and a copy of it is given in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for January, 1834. The following copy of it is interesting, as it shows the extent of the knights' possessions at Hampton:—

"This Indenture made between Sir Thomas Doewra, priour of the hospitall of Seynt John Jerusalem, in England, and his bredern knights of the same hospitall upon that oone partie, and the moost reverend fader in God Thomas Wuley Archebisshop of Yorke and Primate of England upon that other partie, Witnessith that the said priour and his bredern with theire hole assent and auctorite of their Chapitur, have graunted and letten to fferme to the said Archebusshop, their manor of Hampton courte, in the countie of Midd., with all landes and tenementes, medowes, lesnes,[3] and pastures, rentes, and services, vewe of ffranciplegis, perquesites of courts, ffisshing and ffisshing weres, and with the waren of conys, and with all manner proufites and commodites and other thinges what so ever they be in any manner of wise to the forseid manor belonging or apperteigning. To have and to holde the forseid manor with the appurtenaunces to the foreseid most reverend ffader in God Thomas Wuley Archebisshop of Yorke, and to his assignes, ffro the ffest of the Nativite of Saint John Baptist last past before the date herof unto thend and terme of lxxxxix yeres than next folowing, and fully to be ended, yielding and paying therfor yerely to the seid priour and his successours in the tresoury of there hous of

[1] Camden's *Britannia*, by Phil. Holland, ed. 1637, p. 433.

[2] Devon's *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, p. 197.

[3] Lesnes is derived from a Saxon word meaning pastures. "Pastures called by the English Saxons *Leswe*."—Camden. "Leswes which signifieth pastures."—Lambarde.

seynt Johns of Clarkenwell beside London, fifty poundes sterling at the ffestes of the purification of our Lady and of Seynt Barnabe thappostle, by even porcions. And also payeing and supporting all manner of charges ordinary and extraordinary due and goying oute of the seid manor, with the appurtenances during the seid terme. And the seid Archebusshop and his assignes yerely during the said terme, shal have allowaunce of the seid priour and his successours in the paymentes of the rent and ferme of fifty poundes aforeseid iiij*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.* sterling, at the ffestes aforeseid, by even porcions, towards and for the exhibition of a preste for to mynister divine service within the chapell of the seid manor. And the seid priour and his brethern for them and their successours graunten the seid Archebusshop and his assignes yerely during the seid terme shalhave and take at their libertie foure loades of woode and tymber able for pyles for the reparacion and sustentacion of the were called Hampton were, the same woodes and tymber to be felled and conveyed at the costes of the said Archebusshop and of his assignes in and fro Seynt Johns woode in the seid countie of Midd. Also it is agreed that the seid Archebusshop and his assignes at their libertie at all tymes during the seid terme shall take downe, alter, transpose, chaunge, make, and new byeld at their propre costes any howses, walles, mootes, diches, warkis, or other thinges within or aboute the seid manour of hamptoncourte, with the appurtenaunces, without empechement of wast and without any payne or punysshment to be or ensue to the seid Archebusshop and his assignes during the seid terme. And the seid Archebusshop and his assignes shall bere all manner of reparacions of the seid manour with the appurtenaunces during the seid terme, and in thend of the seid terme all the same shall leve to the seid priour and bredern and to theire successours sufficiently repared. Ffurthermore the seid Archebusshop and his assignes shal leve the seid priour and his successours m*l.* couple of conys in the waren of the seid manour, or elles for every couple that shall want iiij*d.* And moreover the seid priour and his bredren graunten that the seid Archebusshop and his assignes shalhave and occupie during the seid terme all suche parcells as be conteyned upon the bak of this endenture, and in thend of the same terme all the same shall leve and delyver to the seid priour and his successours, or the value of the same. And if it happen the seid yearly fferme or rent of l*li.* during the seid terme of lxxxxix yeres, to be behynde and not payed in part or in the hole after eny terme of payment beforspecified which it ought to be paid by the space of two hole yeres, that then it shalbe lawful to the seid priour and his successours to re-enter into the same manour and othre the premisses dimised, and theym to have ayen as in their first and pristinat estate, this endenture or any thing therin conteigned notwithstandyng. And the seid priour and his bredren promitte and graunte for theym and theire successours, and theym bynde by thies presentes to the seid Archebusshop, that when so ever the seid Archebusshop or his assignes at any oone tyme within the terme of this present leas shall come to the seid priour and his bredren or to their successoures, and demaunde to have a newe graunte and leese of the seide manour of hamptoncourt with thappurtenances to theym to be graunted under their common seale of the seid hospitall for the terme of other lxxxxix yeres next ensuyng this present terme, that then the seid priour and his bredren nowe being or their successours than for tyme beyng for that oone tyme shall graunte and make a newe leesse of the seid manor of hamptoncourt with the appurtenances to the seid Archebusshop and to his assignes under the common seale of the seid hospitall for the terme of othre lxxxxix yeres after the forme, tenour, and effecte of the seid covenauntes and agrementes conteyned in this present endenture, the substaunce therof in nowise chaunged nor mynyshed. And at the delyverie of the same new endenture this endenture to be cancelled if it shall then rest and be in the keping of the seid Archebusshop or his assignes. And if the said endenture fortune to be lost and be not in the keping of the seid Archebisshop or his assignes, nor in the kepying of any person to their uses, then the seid Archebisshop or his assignes, before the seid newe graunte or lease to be made, shall surrendre and so promytte by thies presentes to surrendre all suche title and interest as they or any of theym have, or may have, by reason of this formar lease at all tymes after suche surrendre and newe lesse made utterly to be voide and of no effecte. In witnesse wherof to the oone part of thies presente endenturs towardes the seid Archebusshop remaynyng, the seid priour and his bredren have put their common seale. And to that othre part of the same endenturs towards the seid priour and his bredren remaynyng the said Archebusshop hath put his seale. Yeven in our Chapitur holden in oure house of seynt Johns of Clarkenwell beside London, the xj*th* day of Januarie in the yere of our lord god a thousand fyve hundreth and fourtene, the sixt yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lord king Henry the eight.

"*In the Chapel,* First, a chalesse of silver, a pix of copur for the sacrament, ij alter clothes, a corporaxe, ij candlestikes of laton, a masse-booke, a porteux, a pewterbotil for wyne, a crewet of pewter, a crosse of tynne, a paxbrede of tree, an alter clothe of whyte and blue lyke unto armyn, an ymage of our lord of tree, an ymage of our lady of tree, an ymage of saint John, an ymage of saint Nicholas, an ymage of the crosse paynted on a borde, ij alterclothes, ij pewes with a chest of wynscott, an holy waterstok of laton with a stryngel of laton, ij bells in the towre, one of them broken. Of *bedsteldis* in all xx*ti*, ii towrned chyars.—*In the parlour,* a table of Estriche bourde with ij tristells.—*In the haule,* ij tables dormant, and oon long table with ij tristells, a close cupbourde, iiij fourmes, iiij barres of yron about the harthe.—*In the kechen,* a pot of bras cont v galons, a cadron sett in the fournace cont xx galons, a spyt of yron, ij awndyrons, a trevet, ij morters of marbil, a cawdron of iij galons di. a stomer of laton, a flesshehoke, a frying pan, ij pailes, a barre of iron in the kechen to hange on pottes, a grete salting troughe, a steping fatte, an heire of the kyln of xxiij yerdes, ij gretebynnes

in the kechyn, a bynne in the buttry, a knedying troghe.—*In the stable*, a pitchfork, a dongfork. A presse in the *towrechambre*, a great coffar in oon of the towre chambres ; a parclosse in the towre, a parclose in the parloure."

Upon the granting of this lease Wolsey pulled down the manor-house and chapel, and commenced a palace for himself upon their site.

"The Cistercians, the Templars, and the Knights Hospitalers were the only three orders exempt from the general payment of all tithes whatsoever," says Fuller, "I leave it to others to render reasons why." Templars and hospitallers being mere laymen have this privilege to be exempted from tithes. "But we remember that they were sword men, and that aweth all in obedience." Their continually increasing wealth made them forget their humble profession, and a monk of the thirteenth century bitterly taunts them with pride, arroganee, and the want of charity. "I have lived with them at Jerusalem," says Guyot de Provins, "and have seen them proud and fierce. Besides, since by name and foundation they ought to be hospitable, why are they not so in reality? A monk in vain leads a very hard life, fasts, labours, chants, and reads the Scriptures, if he is not charitable. It is only an unhabited house where the spider weaves its web."[1] While the order was very young and poor, humility of spirit and oatmeal porridge were considered to have a sort of necessary connection, but as it grew old, rich venison and claret were not found incompatible with the fundamental virtue. So offensive did the haughtiness of the knights become that it provoked even the ire of royalty itself, for we find King Edward III., by letters patent in 1334, constituting Richard de Everton Visitor to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and commanding him to reprove the brotherhood for their insolence. "Rex constituit Ricardum de Everton visitatorem Hospitalis S. Joannis Jerusalem in Anglia, ad reprimendam Religisorum insolentiam, et ad observandem Religiosorum honestatem."[2]

One of the charters of the order having been infringed by Henry III., the prior had an audience with him, and complained in sharp words of the injury he had done the order; he at the same time shewed the king the charters which his predecessors had granted to the order. Henry, being thus taunted, said with an oath, "You religionists (but especially the Hospitalers and Templars) enjoy too many liberties and charters, and are thereby rendered proud and half witted. I have prudently revoked those which were imprudently granted, and," added he, "the Pope has frequently placed restraints upon you without your daring to complain. I in a like manner will infringe your privileges at pleasure and deprive you of those charters my predecessors have foolishly given you." To this the prior remarked, "As long as you observe justice you are indeed a king, but when you disregard it you are no longer entitled to the name." Upon this, Henry smartly retorted by saying, "You English are desirous of hurling me from my throne as you did my father from his, and having done so, to slay me."[3]

Of the enormous wealth, and the shameful prodigality and mismanagement of the estates of this famous order, a complete disclosure has been made, by the publication, in 1856,[4] of a manuscript which was discovered in the public library at Valetta, in the island of Malta, by the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, Vicar of Ryarsh, Kent, and contains an account of the receipts, payments, and expenses of the Priory of England, addressed to the Grand Master, Elyan de Villanova, dated from London, July 20th, 1338. It relates the measures which Leonard de Tybertis, Prior of Venice, and a "special agent" had taken to rescue the English Priory from the ruin threatened by the unskilful if not dishonest management of Thomas L'Archer, the prior, who was incompetent through age and mental infirmity, and was persuaded to make room for his active assistant. Leonard cut down the woods, and thus raised £1000, then equal in value to £20,000 now; he gathered in five times as much more from the tenants in arrear, and granted leases, corrodaries and pensions, on any terms for ready money. He secured the favour of the king, the queen, and the magnates by judicious presents of some of the valuable jewels which he had brought from Italy, and he pawned others, which gave him cash in

[1] Fosbrooke's *British Monachism*, ed. 1843, p. 66.
[2] Pat. 4, Edw. III, p. 1, m. 3, vol. 4.
[3] Wallen's *History of the Church of Little Maplestead*, p. 98.
[4] Vol lxv. Camden Society's Publications.

hand. He then paid off the "men in possession," quieted others with advantageous bargains, and bribed the judges for their good offices in procuring for his order the forfeited lands of the Templars, although the sages of the law had a few years before solemnly affirmed that the king and lords might well and lawfully, by the laws of the realm, retain the same lands as their escheats. Having accomplished this last feat, and apparently saved the order, he resigned his post about the year 1337, and was succeeded by Philip de Thame.

At this time the Knights Hospitallers had as their possessions thirty-five preceptories, bajulia, baliwicks, or manors, as they are called in the MS., twenty-six commanderies acquired from the Templars, and nine cameræ, which appear to have been demesne lands, where no expensive establishment was kept up. To each class some subordinate members or "limbs" were attached, bringing the whole number up to about 140. The cameræ seem to have been managed by a mere farm bailiff, or sometimes let to tenants; the same may be said of most of the commanderies, although some for special reasons appear to have had a preceptor and his confrator, and corrodaries or pensioners, persons who for a consideration long before gone and spent, received board and lodging, and often money, in the shape of an annuity. A few of the commanderies had the appearance of being separate corporations, so much so as to have a common seal, but the greater part were no more than farms or granges.[1]

Each house paid its current expenses, except the Preceptory of Clerkenwell, which had so many pensioners, and so many dignified guests to entertain owing to its proximity to the Court, and by reason of the grand prior having his residence therein, and the splendid hospitality afforded at his table. In one year, viz., 1337, it spent more than its entire revenue, which was at least £8000, and became chargeable on the general funds to the amount of £21 11s. 4d., or nearly £500 of our present currency.

The grand prior was allowed twenty shillings, equivalent to as many pounds of our present money, which was charged, when he was at home, on Clerkenwell, but when on a visitation it was charged to the places which he visited. One hundred and forty marks a year are set down in the knights' balance-sheet for the robes of the grand prior's train, which were so costly that they far exceeded that of other preceptories, in the accounts of which this item, although the highest, was scarcely so many shillings. Reference is made to the dress of the Prior of St. John's in an old statute, 24, Hen. VIII., c. xiii., 1532, entitled, "An Acte for the Reformacyon of Excess in Apparel," by which it is ordained that none are to wear "silke of the collour of purpure (purple), ne any cloth of golde of tissue but onley the Kynge, the Queene, the Kynge's moder," and the royal family; an exception is made in the case of dukes and marquises, and it is also permitted "for Viscountes, the Pryour of St. John's of Jertm. within this realm, and the Baronets to wear in their Dublettes or sleveless cootes clothe of golde, silver, or tynsell."[2]

In the roll of the Procession to the Parliament, the 3rd of Henry VIII., the Prior of St. John of Jernsalem is represented in a robe of sable, double ermine collar, with the cross on the left side of his gown, argent, his stockings red, and his shoes black.[3]

The consumption of the good things of the earth in the Preceptory of Clerkenwell, by the brotherhood, the pensioners, guests and servitors, was enormous. In one year, besides fish and fowl from its demesnes, it expended 430 quarters of wheat, 413 quarters of barley, 60 quarters of mixed corn (draget), 225 quarters of oats for brewing, 300 quarters of oats for horse feed; they used eight quarters of oats and four quarters of peas for pottage, and laid out *in expensis coquine*, in the expenses of the kitchen, £121 6s. 8d. The next item shows that in the midst of their excesses they had not forgotten to be hospitable: "For 20 qrs. of beans distributed among the poor on St. John the Baptist's Day according to custom—at 3s. per quarter, 60s."

Many of the corrodaries or pensioners in Clerkenwell were more amply and liberally treated than the brethren; for instance, it is stipulated that "William de Langeford is to have his commons with

[1] Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi., p. 800.
[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iii., p. 430.
[3] Fiddes's *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, 1724, p. 302.

the convent or brotherhood whenever it is his pleasure to dine in the hall; and if the said William shall please to dine out of the hall he shall receive a fixed allowance of four white loaves, two loaves of ration bread *(panis carpentorium)*, two loaves of black bread, three flagons of the bitter sort of beer, two flagons of the second sort, and from each service of the kitchen one whole dish, on the same footing as a brother; and for his chamberlain one whole dish of the sort supplied to free servants; and for his aforesaid garciones one whole dish of the sort served to garciones; and every night for his chamber one flagon of the best beer, and at the season of the year every night four candles and one faggot of small wood; hay, litter, a shoe and nails, and half a bushel of oats for his two horses. And all these things he is to have at his own will from day to day for the term of his life, by virtue of the Charter of the Chapter granted him in the time of Thomas L'Archer and brother Leonard de Tybertis."

"Item, Brother William Brex takes daily two white loaves, one ration loaf, one black loaf, two flagons of the best beer, and his kitchen as two brothers."

"Item, Alan Gille takes daily three white loaves, three loaves of ration bread, two black loaves, two flagons of the best beer, and one of the second quality, allowance from the kitchen as for two brothers, or twopence a day for the kitchen, and if there should happen to be pittance he is to be served at the rate of two brothers, or to have one penny in the name of pittance; and every year four wain loads of bush and seven quarters of charcoal, one wain load of litter, and four wain loads of hay; and every night half a bushel of oats, and candle as much as two brothers have; and when the convent happens to drink wine he is to have the allowance of two brothers." This Alan Gille had as his corrody by virtue of a charter of brother Thomas L'Archer, whose improvident management of the affairs of the order greatly impoverished it.

William de Whitby, who was the procurator-general of the order, fared sumptuously with his clerk, his two servants, and his two horses, at the cost of the house; he had a robe and two pensions, and a lease of 200 acres in Leicestershire, for ten marks a year.

Thomas Isaac, a Jew, had a pension and robe, and who, if he were sick, was to have an ample allowance in his chamber. This indulgence was stipulated for by several other pensioners. In the account of these corrodaries there occur several married couples, a widow, and two spinsters, who had two white loaves, and two gallons of good ale each. One lady was so fortunate as to enjoy a handsome annuity of 52s. beside; and a man and his wife had one of thirty marks.

A sufficient water supply for the use of the priory was very requisite. Fortunately for the hospitallers it could be obtained in great abundance from sources which existed in one of their near possessions. In the fields of the Commandery Mantells, now Pentonville, there were numerous springs, the issuings of which, diverted to one head, were by means of a channel or aqueduct constructed of stone conveyed to the conduits, and from thence the water was distributed by means of quills or small leaden pipes in the direction required. In the register of the priory some memorials of these ancient conduits have been preserved. It informs us that "in the year 1417 was made the Lower House (*i.e.*, conduit) of the aqueduct in the Commandour's Mantell, having from the said house up to the lavatory in the cloister of the said Hospital 150 leaden quills or pipes. And in 1424 was constructed the middle house of the aqueduct, into which house (conduit) the water runs down by a valley over against the wrestling place by a certain stone gutter. Also in 1442 was made a new aqueduct in the said Commaundour's Mantell." These watercourses intersecting the fields in various directions must have added greatly to their beauty and fertility by the process of natural irrigation. It was considered necessary that they should be "thoroughly examined every year by reason of dirt and other noisome things happening in the same." It would also appear that these water works were constructed on novel principles, as one John Boston is named in the register as the inventor and architect.

[1] *De Cursu Aqueductus in le Commaundores Mantell*, fol. 10, MS. Cott. Nero, vi.

THE GRAND PRIORS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

The Prior of St. John of Jerusalem was *primus baro Angliæ*, "because," says Selden, "being last of the spiritual barons he chose to be first of the temporal. He was a kind of otter, a knight half spiritual and half temporal."[1] He was summoned to parliament, where by virtue of his dignity he took the precedency of the spiritual lords. By a writ of the 4th Henry VI., the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England with others was summoned to attend with all possible haste at the said king's parliament at Leicester, and money was paid to him out of the king's exchequer for his expenses of going and returning.[2] This was when the parliament was itinerant, and before it was permanently located in one place.

There is still preserved a very curious illuminated drawing upon vellum of the House of Lords in the reign of Henry VIII., in which the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem is represented seated at the head or right hand of the temporal barons.[3] "Sane Baro, Truly a Baron, or, A Baron indeed," was the proud motto borne by the Lord Priors of St. John, but pompous as it certainly was, it accorded with the high dignity which they enjoyed.

In Scotland the Preceptors of Torphichin had seats in parliament as Lords St. John.

The following is a list of the priors of St. John of Jerusalem in England :—

Garnarius, Garnerius de Neapoli was prior before 1162.

Richard de Turk, after 1190.

Ralph de Dyna.

Alan. He was consecrated Bishop of Bangor on the 16th of April, 1195.

Gilbert de Vere, 1195.

Hugh de Alneto.

Robert the Treasurer, or Thesaurarius.

Tevric de Nussa or Mussa. This name occurs in 1237 and 1238.

Robert de Manneby was prior in 1251 and 1262.

Roger de Vere died prior, in 1270.

Joseph de Chauncy. This name occurs in 1274 and 1280.

William de Henley was made prior the 10th of February, 9th Edward I., A.D. 1280. His name occurs in 1288. "Frater Josephus de Chauncy fuit Prior in 1274 et 1280. Iste fieri fecit Capelam Domni Prioris in domo de Clerkenwell, tempore Edwd. I. Frater Will de Henley factus Prior in 1280. Fieri fecit Claustrum de Clerkenwell."[4]

Peter de Hakham or Hagham. This name occurs in 1291 and 1293.

William de Tothale. This name occurs in 1297. He died the 12th of October, 1318.

Richard de Paveley, in 1318 and 1321.

Robert de Dyna.

Thomas L'Archer. This name occurs in 1323. He died the 28th of August, 1329.

Leonard de Tybertis succeeded in 1329, and his name occurs in 1332. It was during his rule that the possessions of the templars were given to the hospitallers.

Philip de Thame. This name occurs in1335 and 1353.

John de Paveley was prior in 1355. His name occurs again in 1371. He was admiral in one of the king's fleets in the 49th Edward III., and again in 1377.

Robert de Hales was prior in 1372. In 1380 he was Treasurer of the Exchequer.

John de Radington. This name occurs in 1382, and again in 1406.

Walter Grindon. This name occurs in 1408, and again in 1416.

[1] *Table Talk.*

[2] Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 396.

[3] Engraved in Fidde's *Life of Wolsey*, ed. 1724, p. 302.

[4] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, ed. 1708, vol. i, p. 669.

William Hulles was prior in 1417. His name also occurs in 1431

Robert Mallore. This name occurs in 1432.

Robert Botyll was prior in 1439. He vacated the priorate in 1469.

John Langstrother became prior on the 9th of March, 1469. Sir John Longstrother, Bailiff of the Eagle, and Seneschal of the Reverend High Master of Rhodes, was elected Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England in the year 1469, and swore fealty to King Edward on the 18th of November that year, and again to King Henry on the 20th of October, 1470. Being a zealous Lancasterian, he was on the same day appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer. On the 16th of February following King Henry sent him to conduct the queen and prince from France to England, and granted him "of our Treasoure ec. mare to have of oure yefte by way of rewarde for his cost and expenses in that behalve;" and on the 14th of the same month, in conjunction with John Delves, Esquire, he was appointed Warden of the Mint. He returned out of France with Queen Margaret in April, 1471, being at that time called Treasurer of England.[1]

William Tournay was prior in 1471 and 1474.

Robert Molton. This name occurs in 1474 and 1476.

John Weston was prior in 1477. His name occurs again in 1485.

John Kendall was prior in 1491. He died in the month of November, 1501.

Thomas Docwra succeeded on the 1st of May, 1502. His name occurs again in 1519.

William Weston was the last prior before the Reformation. He died on the 7th of May, 1540.

Newcourt mentions Simon Botard, Elias Smethton, Stephen Fulborn, and Walter, as priors of the hospital, but without attaching dates to their names, although he believes them to have been priors in the reign of Edward I.[2]

Sir Thomas Tresham was made prior on the re-erection of the house, on the 30th of November, 1557. The order in England was restored to its rights by Philip and Mary; and these sovereigns, in 1557, incorporated the Prior and Brethren of St. John, with a common seal, in perpetual succession. In this charter Sir Thomas Tresham of Rushton is named as lord prior, and as such he was summoned to the first and second parliaments of Queen Elizabeth.

Sir Richard Shelley succeeded him in 1566.

The Bailli Ferretti held the office of prior in 1577.

The Bailli Nari held the same office in 1588.

Sir Andrew Wise was grand prior in 1593. He was nominally Prior of England in 1598. Being reduced to the greatest extremity, the Roman Pontiff decreed that the langue of Castile and Leon should allow him out of its revenue a thousand ducats a year. The Spanish knights, objecting to pay this sum, there was a trial before the grand master to enforce it.[3]

During the following century the Bailli Zambeccari and the Bailli Lomellino were successively grand priors of England.

Field-Marshal the Duke of Berwick, in 1682, received at Malta the cross from the hands of the grand master, with the title of Grand Prior of England.

Henry Fitz-James, Duke of Albemarle, succeeded him. This grand prior, who in 1687 first visited Malta, along with the Duke of Grafton, Lord High Admiral of England, went in 1703 to Rome, in the quality of Ambassador Extraordinary.

Sir Thomas Docra, Docura, or Docwra, second son of Richard Docra, of Bradsville, in the county of York, and his wife, Alice, daughter of Thomas Greene, of Gressingham, in the same county, was Grand Prior of England, A.D. 1504. He was much distinguished as a diplomatist, having represented the order at most of the courts of Europe. It is said that L'Isle Adam gained his election to the grand mastership by a majority of only three votes over Sir Thomas Docwra, his near relative.

[1] Notes on a Chronicle of the Lincolnshire Rebellion in the year 1470. Edited by J. G. Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., *Camden Miscellany*, vol. i.

[2] Dugdale's *Monasticon*, p. 799, vol. vi., pt. 2, fol. ed. 1830.

[3] *Notes and Queries*, vol. vii, p. 192.

There exists among the Lansdown MSS.[1] the memorandum of a civil marriage which took place in the buttery of the priory, between a kinsman of the Grand Prior Docwra and Margaret Turpin, which, from the youth of the contracting parties, and the mode of the celebration, possesses considerable interest. It is inscribed on the flyleaf of the register of the priory, and runs as follows:—

"The iij. de day of Novembere, the xiij. yere of Kynge Henry the eighth, within the howse of Sanete John's, Clerkenwell, in the buttery of the same, my lord Sr. Thomas Docwra priour, ther byng the same tyme present John Docwra, of Kyrkeby Kendall, in the counttie of Westm'land, gentleman, beyng of the age of xviij. yeres and more, and Margaret Turpyn, seeond daughter and heire of Edward Turpyn, late departed, of the counttie of Leyeeytour, gentlewoman, being of the full age of xiij. yeres and more, of ther mere free will and mynde w'oute fere, drede, or eompulsion of any man, the seid John took unto his wiff the foreseid Margaret, and the seid Margaret toke unto her husband the foreseid John, and therennto either to other plighte and gave ther feyth and trewthe, desiryng and requyrynge witness for the same Dame Elizabeth Chomley, Rowland Burgh, Thomas Chicheley, John Docwra, Thomas Darke, and William Bardesey, with dyv'se other at that tyme beyng present."

From the foregoing it appears that the age of thirteen was "the full age" for females at the date of this marriage. The inquisition shows that the bride was sixteen years old. It is also evident that males were considered to attain their majority at the age of eighteen, from the expression, "beyng of the age of xviij. yeres and more."[2]

Sir Thomas Docwra was buried in the church of the Priory of St. John.[3]

Sir William Weston, who succeeded Docwra as grand prior, was the second son of Edmund Weston, of Boston, Lincolnshire. He was one of the most celebrated knights of the age in which he lived, and commanded in person the English defences at the siege of Rhodes. He was not the first of his family who had worn the habit of the hospitallers; his father's two brothers were both Knights of St. John, the former having been Lord Prior of England, and General of the Galleys, in 1470. Richard Weston, an elder brother of Prior Sir W. Weston, was one of the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber, and Master of the Court of Wards. At the dissolution of the priory King Henry shewed Sir William Weston a preference over the superiors of other religious houses, by graciously awarding him a pension of £1000 per annum, but he did not live to accept the king's bounty; the suppression of the renowned order of which he was the chief, in England, broke the noble spirit of this valiant knight. "It fortuned," says Weever, "that on the 7th day of May, 1540, being Ascension Day, and the same day of the dissolution of his house, he was dissolved by death, which strooke him to the heart at the first time when he heard of the dissolution of his order. Soul smitten with sorrow, gold, though a great cordial, being not able to cure a broken heart."

In a "London Chronicle in the times of King Henry the Seventh and King Henry the Eighth," kept apparently by a citizen of London, between 1500 and 1515,[4] we read, under the record made during the mayoralty of Sir William Hollis, as follows:—"That yere dyid my lorde of Saynte Jhons in his bed, whois name was William Weston; and that yere was new sargeantes of the queff[5] made and kepte ther Feste at Saynt Jhons." Prior Weston was buried in the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell, in which was a beautiful monument to his memory.[6]

Sir Thomas Tresham, who was of ancient family, possessing large estates in Northamptonshire, greatly distinguished himself in the contest about the succession to the crown on the decease of Edward VI., by proclaiming the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., as the rightful heir to the crown. She, on her accession, in gratitude for his services in her behalf, conferred upon him the title and office of Lord Prior of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, and his investiture took place at Westminster, on the 30th of November, 1557; and he was solemnly inducted to his place. The tenure of his office was short, for in little more than a twelvemonth he sickened and died. He was buried in the parish church of Rushton, Northamptonshire, on the 16th of March, 1559. "The xvj.

[1] MSS. Lansd., 200, on the first flyleaf.

[2] Nichols's *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. vi., p. 90.

[3] Harl. MS. 1534.

[4] *Camden Miscellany*, vol iv., p. 15; edited, from the original MS. in the Cott. Lib. Brit. Mus., by Clarence Hopper, Esq.

[5] Coif.

[6] *Vide* pp. 38-39.

day of Marche was bered in Northamtonshire, Ser Thomas Tresssam, lord of Sent Jones, with iiij. banner rolles and a grett baner of armes, and a standard elmett, target and sword, and cott armur, and viij. dosen of schocheons, and iiij. dosen of torchys, and iiij. dosen of penselles, and ij. whyt branchys, and many morners in blake, and ij. harolds of armes, master Clarenshux, and master Somerset." [1]

Fuller makes mention of having seen one of Sir Thomas Tresham's fingers, from which he inferred that the prior was a man of large stature. He also saw his signet ring, both relics being in possession of his kinsman, William Tresham, of Newton, in Northamptonshire. Of this family was Sir Francis Tresham, who was concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, and whose mysterious letter to his friend Lord Monteagle led to its timely discovery. We find that Sir William Tresham was residing on Clerkenwell-green in 1619.[2]

By way of postscript to this chapter the Editor may add that the order of the Knights Hospitallers still exists in a Protestant branch, with numerous knights and large possessions in Prussia.

[1] *Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, vol. xlii., p, 192.

[2] *Vide* page 106.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, CLERKENWELL—Continued.

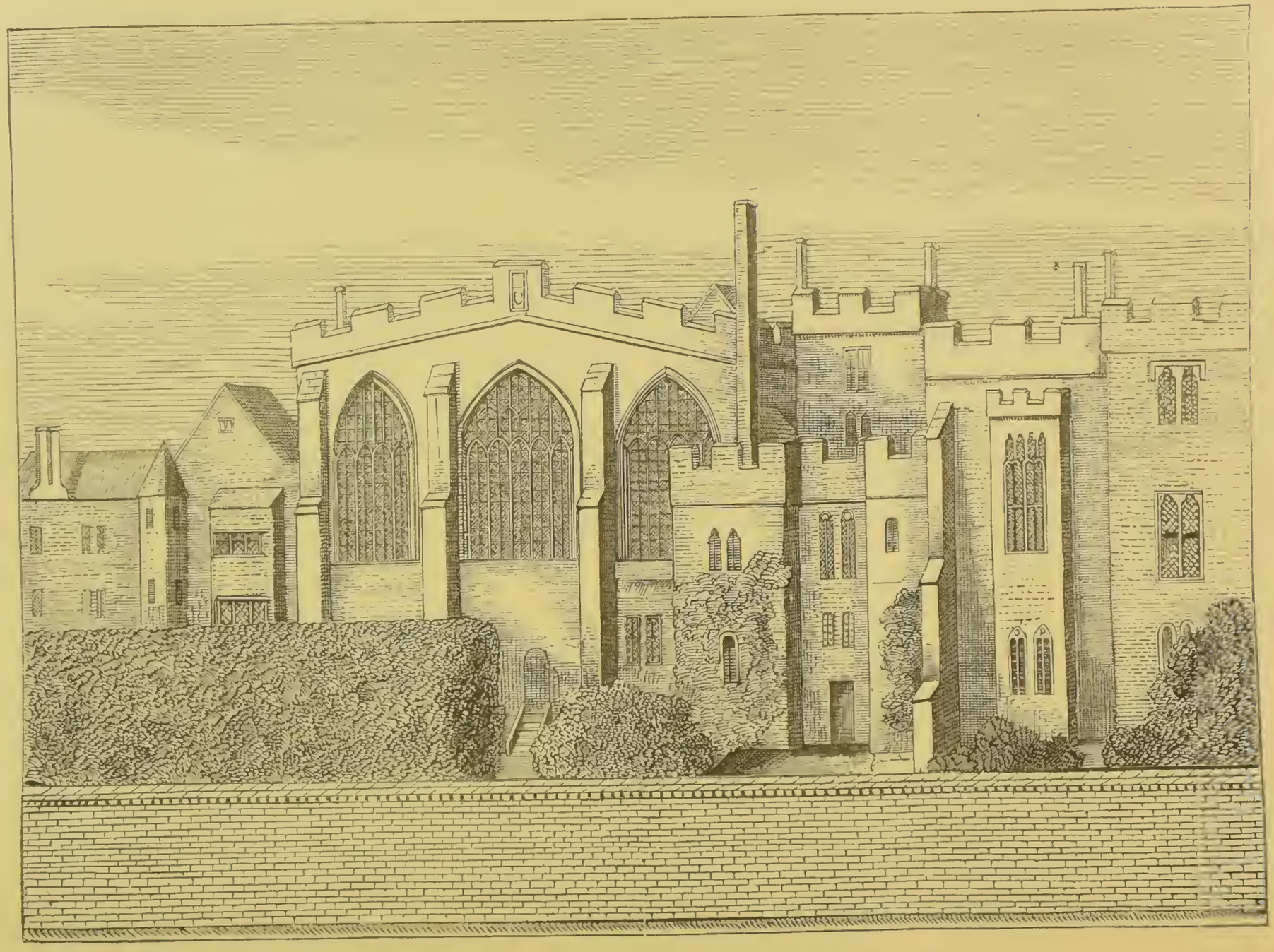
The Priory of St. John of Jerusalem: When Founded—Its Founder—The Dedication of the Priory Church—The partial Destruction of the Priory by Fire—Its Re-building by Sir Thomas Docwra—The Body of the Church and Side Aisles Destroyed in the time of Edward VI., by the Protector Somerset—The Choir Repaired by Cardinal Pole—The Merchant Taylors' Company attend Mass at St. John's—A Royal Council held at the Priory in the year 1185—King John stays for a Month at St. John's—Prince Edward and Eleanor of Castile visit the Priory—Henry, Duke of Lancaster, stays there for fifteen days—Henry V. lodges at St. John's—A Council of Citizens convened in the Great Hall of the Priory by Richard III.—The Princess Mary makes the Priory her Residence—Her Splendid Progresses—Grand Banquet of the Serjeants at Law at St. John's—The Priory becomes the Office of the Master of the Revels—Is in part used as a Theatrical Wardrobe—Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels—The Priory granted by the Crown to Ralph Freeman—Subsequently to Sir William Burleigh—The Choir of the Church is Repaired by the Countess of Exeter—The Priory becomes the Property of Robert Bruce, Earl of Aylesbury. Aylesbury Chapel: Made the Parochial Church of St. John, Clerkenwell—The Interior of the Church—Discovery of the Skeleton of a Child Entombed in the Walls—Monument of the Founder—The Organ—The Turret Clock—Head of Beadle's Staff—Portable Baptismal Bowl—Rectors and Lecturers of St. John's—Notice of Dr. Langhorne—Love Song set to Music by Stubley, Organist of this Church—David Henry married to Mary Cave here—The Crypt beneath the Church—The Story of the Cock Lane Ghost—Dr. Johnson's Visit to the Crypt—Churchill's Satire on the Visit—Walpole's Visit—Scratching Fanny's Coffin—Immense Spider's Web—The former extent of the Church.

THE PRIORY AND CHURCH OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

The Priory of St. John of Jerusalem was the principal house in England of that famous military order, the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, and owed its original foundation to the pious zeal of Jordan Briset, the munificent founder of the Priory of St. Mary, Clerkenwell.[1] Some difference of opinion exists as to the priority of the foundation of these religious institutions, which so nearly adjoined each other. In the first charter of the nunnery as contained in the register, the founder says that he gave to Robert, his chaplain, fourteen acres of land, &c., "free from all incumbrances, so that the Hospitallers might claim nothing of them." From the tenor of this deed of gift the earlier foundation of the two would appear to have been the Hospital of St. John; but this rational assumption is opposed to the testimony of the Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in which the following counter-statement is made in Latin:—"Jordanus Briset, Baro tempore regis Hen. primi circa an. Dom. 1110, fundauit domum ac Hospitale S. John's de Clerkenwell: Hic etiam erat Fundator domus Moniatium de Clerkenwell, ac abeis emit decem acras terre, super quas dictum Hospitale ac domum fundauit: et pro illis decem acris terre, dedit illis Momalibus viginti acras terre, in Dominico suo de Willinghale in com Cant," &c.[2] Lord Jordan Briset, in the reign of Henry I.,

[1] *Vide* p. 25.

[2] Register Munimentorum et Evidentarum, Camerarum Preceptoriarum Placearum et Locorum Prioratus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia. Inceptum Anno Domini millesimo cccexliij., (1443), et tempore fratis Robert Botitt, prioris dicti Hospitalis, anno secundo.—Cott. MS. Nero, E. VI.



Remains of St. John's Priory, from St. John Street, 1661.

about the year of our Lord 1110, founded the House and Hospital of St. John, of Clerkenwell. He was the founder also of the Nun's House of Clerkenwell, and purchased of them ten acres of land (on which he founded the said hospital and house), and for those ten acres gave to the same nuns twenty acres in his lordship of Willinghale, in the county of Kent, &c. No writer, so far as we can ascertain, has attempted to explain this apparent contradiction, which can be accounted for only by supposing the two foundations to have been nearly contemporaneous. No separate deed appears to exist for the foundation of St. John's Priory, for the first charter in the register of it is only a recapitulation of the "carta prima" of St. Mary's Nunnery.

Of the erection of the first buildings of the hospital, and the means employed to obtain the necessary funds for raising so costly a pile, no record has been preserved. The register of St. John's, already cited, and which is the only original source of information, makes no mention of the progress of the buildings, but refers only to the dedication of the Priory Church by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem:—"In ye yere of Christ, 1185, ye vj of the Ides of Merche, ye dominical lettre being F, ye chyrche of ye Hospitall of St. John's of Jerusalem was dedicatyd to ye honor of S. John Baptiste by ye worshipful fader Araclius, Patriarke of ye ressurection of Christe; ye same dey was dedycated ye high Altre, and ye Altre of S. John Evangelist by ye same Patryarke."

Subsequent additions were made to this structure in the time of Edward I. Between the years 1274 and 1280, Joseph de Chauncy, the then prior, built a chapel for the use of the lord priors in their house at Clerkenwell; and William de Henley, who was made prior in 1280, and died in 1284, erected a cloister at Clerkenwell. From this we may infer that the church and priory were then incomplete, and that the lord priors added, probably at their own cost, such buildings as were necessary to carry out the general design of the establishment.

In the accounts of the Preceptory of Clerkenwell, rendered, in 1338, to the grand master of the order, there is a charge of xls. "in emendatione, sustentatione, et reparatione domorum," for the repairs of the house,[1] which in less than fifty years after (1381) was destroyed by the rabble under Wat Tyler. "They went streight," says Grafton, in his "Chronicle," "to the goodly hospital of Rhodes, called St. John's, beyond Smythfeld, and spoyled that, and then consumed it with fyre, causing the same to burne for the space of seven dayes after." Of the amount of damage done by this calamitous fire no record has been preserved. Some portion of the priory was doubtless afterwards rendered tenantable, as the rebuilding proceeded but slowly, for it was not until the year 1504 that the restoration of the hospital to more than its original dimensions and grandeur was completed by Thomas Docwra, and that the grand south gate was erected. Such was the architectural beauty of this second building that Camden says of it, "that it resembled a palace, and had in it a very faire church and a towre steeple, raised to a great height, with so fine workmanship that it was a singular beauty and ornament to the city."

It continued in the possession of the Knights Hospitallers until the 32nd year of the reign of Henry VIII., 1546 (many years after the general dissolution of religious houses throughout the kingdom), when by a particular statute, 32 Henry VIII., c. 24,[2] the priory was suppressed, and its estates were confiscated to the crown, it being enacted by this statute "that the Kinges Majestie, his heirs and successours, shall have and enjoye all that Hospitall, Mansion house, Churche, and all other houses, edificions, buyldinges, and gardiences of the same belonging, being nere unto the Citie of London, in the Countie of Midd., called the house of St. John of Jertm in England." A few years afterwards the king granted to John Dudley, Lord Viscount Lisle, and Lord High Admiral of England, "as well in consideration of his service, as for the sum of £1000 sterling, the site, circuit, and precinct of this Hospital or priory of St. John; only the lead, bells, timber, stone, glass, iron, and other things of the church, were specially reserved for the kings majesty."[3] "The Priory, church, and house of St. John were preserved from spoil or pulling down," says Stow, "so long as Henry VIII. reigned, and was employed as a store house for the king's toils and tents for hunting and for the

[1] *The Knights Hospitallers in England*, vol. lxv. Camden Society's Publications.
[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iii.
[3] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, 1708, vol. i.

wars."[1] In the second year of the reign of Edward VI., that monarch, in pursuance of the will of his royal father, granted to his sister, the Princess Mary, by letters patent, the "scite, circuit, ambit, precinct, capital messauge and house late of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell."[2] "But in the third year of Edward VI.," says Stow, "the church for the most part, to wit, the body and side aisles, with the great Bell Tower (a most curious piece of workmanship, graven and gilt and inameled to the great beautifying of the city, and passing all other that I have seen) was undermined and blown up with gunpowder; the stone thereof was employed in building of the Lord Protector's House in the Strand (old Somerset House)." Sir Henry Spelman, the celebrated historical antiquary, in the preface to a treatise from his pen, "De non Temerandis Ecclesis," recounting the sacrilegious acts of which the Protector Somerset had been guilty, and the retribution that overtook him, observes in reference to his use of the stone taken from St. John's, Clerkenwell, that, "as the leprosie with the Jews, so the curse of sacrilege cleaves to consecrated stone, and they become unsuccessful, so as the builder doth not finish his house nor doth his son inherit it." The Protector Somerset was beheaded for high treason; and the stately palace which he had reared out of the ruins of churches reverted to the crown. The stone which was used to build the porch of the church of Allhallows, Gracechurch-street, was taken from the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, as was also the frame for the bells.[3] We can hardly suppose that the Princess Mary, who was a devout Catholic, gave her consent willingly, if at all, to this ruthless destruction of the church of the hospitallers; but we may attribute it to the arbitrary power exercised by the Protector Somerset, during the minority of Edward VI., over the royal possessions. The choir, all that now remained of this magnificent structure, to use the words of Fuller, was in a "pitiful plight," the walls being much shattered by the explosion.

"In 1551 Sir Antoni Browne, sargant of the lawe, wyth dyvers others, for herynge of masse in my lady Mary's curte at sent Jones, were imprisoned in the Fleet."[4]

When Cardinal Pole, on the re-establishment of the Catholic religion by the accession of Mary to the throne, assured of her intended restoration of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, effected such repairs as were necessary to render the church suitable for the celebration of the Catholic ritual, the building was foreshortened, and a west front was built, probably at the intersection of the nave and transepts, and the side chapels were repaired. Sir Thomas Tresham was made lord prior;[5] and some of the original possessions of the order were restored.

"On xxix. day of August (1555), which was the day of Decolacyon of Sant John Baptyst, the Marchand tayllers kept masse at Sant Johnes, beyond Smythfeld, and my lord of Sant Johnes dyd offer at masse, and ser Hare Hubylthorne, ser Thomas Whytt (Wyatt), and master Harper althermen, and all the clothyng. And after the iiij. wardens of the yeomanry, and all the compene of tayllers, a 1d. a pesse; and the quyre honge with cloth of arres, and after masse to the Tayllers' halle to dener." What a glorious aspect must the old church of St. John have presented on this day, the choir being hung with the rich tapestry, its high altar gleaming with the splendour of the sacred vessels, and its vast area thronged by a brilliant company.

Posterity is indebted to Henry Machyn, a citizen and merchant tailor of London, for having preserved in his "Diary," meagre as it is, the only information to be found concerning the church during the priorate of Sir Thomas Tresham. It appears to have been customary for the Merchant Taylors to observe the festival of St. John the Baptist, and to go to mass in a body on that day to make an offertory. "On the xxix. of August" (1557), Machyn has recorded in his diary, "my lorde Mayre and ser Thomas Whytt, and master Harper, sherrif, and master Row, and all the cloythyng and the iiij Wardens of the yeomenne, and the compene hard masse at St. John's in Smythfeld and offered every man a pene."

Divine worship after the manner of the Roman Catholic ritual did not long continue to be

[1] Toils were nets to encompass or take deer.

[2] Pat. 2, Ed. VI., p. 5, m. 32.

[3] Stow's *Survey*, by Thoms, p. 76.

[4] *The Grey Friars' Chronicle of London, to the year* 1556, edited by J. G. Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., Camden Society, vol. liii.

[5] *Vide* page 214

performed in this venerable edifice, for the order of St. John was abolished on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and the re-establishment of Protestantism in England.

The knights are dust,
And their good swords rust,
And their souls are with the saints, we trust.

The place that once knew them knows them no more—nay, many a race since theirs has died out and been forgotten in the very land which they occupied with all the authority of feudal lords and proprietors.

The grand priors of the Preceptory of Clerkenwell often for many days entertained kings at their sumptuous and hospitable board, and the great hall of the priory was on several occasions used for royal councils. One of the earliest of these aulic councils, held at St. John's, was in the year 1185. Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, at this time sent the Masters of the Hospitallers and Templars, together with the patriarch Heraclius, into Europe to solicit aid against the infidel. Upon the arrival of the Grand Master of the Hospitallers and Heraclius in England (the Master of the Templars having died by the way), King Henry II. went as far as Reading to meet them, and upon Heraclius presenting to him a letter from the Pope on the subject of a contemplated crusade, the king proceeded with them to London, and summoned the barons to meet him at the Priory of St. John, Clerkenwell. "At this meeting he declared that Heraclius (then present) had stirred compassion and tears at the rehearsal of the tragical afflictions of the eastern world, and had brought the keys of the places of Christ's nativity, passion, and resurrection; of David's Tower and the Holy Sepulchre; and the humble offer of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the standard of the kingdom as duly belonging to him, as grandson of Fulk of Anjou."[1] The barons, after deliberating upon the matter, determined that the king ought not to venture his person in the crusade, but recommended a grant of money being made towards the same. Heraclius, displeased at the result of his application, broke into open abuse against the king, saying, "Here is my head, treat me, if you like, as you did my brother Thomas (meaning a'Becket[2]); it is a matter of indifference to me whether I die by your orders or in Syria by the hands of the infidels, for you are worse than a Saracen."[3] The Master of the Hospitallers was extremely hurt at the behaviour of the patriarch Heraclius, but the king took no notice of his insolence.



SEAL OF ST. JOHN'S PRIORY.


SEAL OF ST. JOHN'S PRIORY.

In the year 1212, King John, as we learn from his "Itinerary," remained at the Priory of St. John during the month of March, enjoying the splendid hospitality of its lord prior; and on Easter Sunday, at table, he knighted Alexander, the son and heir of the King of Scotland, of which transaction the following record has been preserved in the roll of the fourteenth year of King John:—"The expenses

[1] Speed's *Chronicles*, p. 522.

[2] Thomas a'Becket was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral by four of the attendants of Henry II., December 29th, 1170, about fifteen years before this meeting at St. John's. The king was accused of a participation in the murder by the Papal authorities, but he took a solemn oath that he "neither commanded, nor consented to the assassination," and afterwards walked barefoot to a'Becket's tomb, where he was scourged by the monks of Canterbury, and did penance. We see by the words of Heraclius, that he, as one of the Roman Catholic body, believed the king to be guilty.

[3] Rapin.—Henry II.

of Alexander, son of the King of Scotland, which he incurred at Clerkenwell when he was made knight, on Sunday in Mid Lent, 4 March, 1212, amounted to £14 4s. 8d."[1]

In 1265, Prince Edward, afterwards king, and his devoted wife, Eleanora of Castile, were for a short time entertained with bed and board at the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. They had been married early, she being about ten years old. In 1256, Prince Edward passed over to Bordeaux with his young bride, where she went to complete her education, and the young prince led the wandering life of a knight errant, "haunting tournaments" wherever they were given. He was at Paris tilting at a very grand jousting in 1260, when news was brought to him of the violent dissensions between the English barons and his father, which led to the fearful civil wars that convulsed England for more than three years. After the heroic efforts of Prince Edward had freed his father, and restored him to his throne, and the country breathed in peace after the dreadful strife of Evesham, the royal ladies of England ventured to return. On the 26th of October, 1265, Eleanor of Provence, Queen of England, with her daughter-in-law, Eleanora of Castile, landed at Dover, where they were received by Henry III. and Prince Edward; from thence they were escorted to Canterbury, where the royal party was magnificently entertained by the archbishop. Prince Edward had left his wife an uninformed girl, she was now a lovely young woman of twenty, to whose character the uncertainty of fortune had assuredly given a favourable bias. The prince conveyed his restored wife to St. John's, Smithfield, after a magnificent welcome by the citizens.[2]

In the year 1399 we find another distinguished royal personage taking up his abode with the lord prior, and faring at his sumptuous table, viz., Henry, Duke of Lancaster, then on the eve of his accession to the throne as Henry IV. Returning from his successful wars, in which the despotic Richard II. was taken prisoner, "the Duke entered London," says the chronicler, "by the chiefe gate, and rode through the Cheape to St. Paule's, where he was after lodged in the Bishop's Palace five or six days, and after at St. John's, without Smithfield, where he remained fifteen days right willingly."

Quant le Duc Henry arive
Fu à Londres nouvellement,
A Saint Pol à la droitement,
Et puis à Saint Jehan apres,
Qui est hors des murs assez pres.
C'est un hospital des templiers.
La fu le Duc moult voulntiers,
Quinze jours tous plains sans partir.

When the Duke Henry was newly arrived in London he went straight to St. Paul's, and thence to St. John's, which is hard by without the walls. It is an hospital of the Templars, and the duke staid there right willingly fifteen days.[3] A short time after, when Richard II. had been formally deposed in a full parliament on a charge of tyranny and misconduct, Henry was proclaimed king.[4]

In 1411 "kynge (Henry V.) was lyvinge at Sent Jones."[5] In the year 1485 a royal council was held at St. John's. Public indignation was aroused by a well-founded rumour of the intended espousal by Richard III. of Elizabeth of York, his niece, his queen, Anne, being then lately dead. "Richard perceiving the public disgust, gave up the idea of marrying Elizabeth, and immediately after the funeral of his wife was over, called a meeting of the civic authorities in the great hall of St. John's, Clerkenwell, just before Easter, and in their presence distinctly disavowed any intention of espousing his niece, and forbade the circulation of the report as 'false and scandalous in a high degree.' The chronicler relates that a convocation of twelve doctors of divinity had sat on a case of marriage of uncle and niece, and had declared the kindred was too near for the Pope's bull to sanction."[6]

[1] Hardy's *Description of the Patent Rolls in the Tower, to which is added an Itinerary of King John*, published by the Record Commission, p. 159. *Roger of Wendover*, vol. ii., p. 257. Bohn's ed.

[2] Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol iv., pp. 422, 423.

[3] Translation of a French metrical *History of the Deposition of Richard II.*, Archæologia, vol. xx., p. 190; Harl. MS., 1319.

[4] E. Howe, *Annales*, fol. 1631, p. 323.

[5] *The Grey Friars' Chronicle of London, to the year* 1556, edited by J. G. Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., Camden Society, vol. liii.

[6] Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iii., p. 408.

By the will of Henry VIII. the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem became the inheritance of his daughter, the Lady Mary, afterwards queen, and she removed her household there, and in these comfortable quarters, the ancient seat of a faith and practice to which she was so ardently devoted, she lived in semi-regal style, occasionally going abroad with much pomp. Sometimes she visited her youthful brother Edward VI., but such visits were but seldom and were always arranged in solemn state. Her cortege was usually thronged with the chief Catholic nobility in England, who accompanied her from St. John's to the court at Westminster. Some memorials of her splendid progresses have been preserved in the diary of a contemporary, Henry Machyn, whose record of public events extends over a period of thirteen years, viz., from 1550 to 1563. In 1551 the diarist relates:—"The xvij. day my lade Marie rod thrugh from Saynt John's thrugh Flett-strett unto the court to Westmynster, with many nobull men of lordes and knyghtes and gentyllmen; and at the court gatte she a lyttyd, and M. Wingfield, the comtroller of the kynge's howse, and mony lordes and knyghtes, and so she was browth thrught the halle unto the chamber of pressens, and so she tared there, and ade a goodly banquet. ij. and sone after she toke her horse and rod unto Synt John's, and ther she laie all nyght, and on the morrowe her (grace) rod to Nue Hall in Exex, and ther byd yn grasse (grace) with honor thank be God and the kyng her brodur. The xv. day the Lady Mary rode through London unto St. John's, her place, with fifty knights and gentlemen in velvet, coats and chains of gold afore her, and after her iiij. score gentlemen and ladies, every one having a peyre of bedes of black, (to make a profession of their devotion to the mass). She rode thrugh Chepe-syde, and thrugh Smythfeld." In 1552:—"The xj. day of Juin came rydyng to London my lade Mare is grase, through London unto Saynt John's with a goodly company of gentyllmen and gentyllwomen." That being summer time we are not surprised to find that a few days after her arrival at St. John's she was out again for a day's pleasure on the water. "The xiij. day of Juin," writes Machyn, "rode thrugh London unto the Towre warffe my lade Mare grase, the kynge's syster, and toke her barge to Grenwyche, the kynge's courte[1]; and so came again at vj. a cloke at nyght, so landyd at the Towre, and so unto Saynt John's, beyond Smythfeld." On the occasion of the new year, 1553, we find her again leaving St. John's attended by a brilliant cortege, on a state visit to her brother at Westminster. In her train were many lords, knights, and great ladies; of these were "Frances Brandon, the Duchess of Suffolk[2]; Anne Stanhope, the Duchess of Northumberland; my lady Marquess of Northampton; and the Countesses of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Arundel; my Lady Clinton (the fair Geraldine); and my Lady Browen, and many more ladies and gentlemen." These were the lordly dames and nobles who occupied occasionally the palatial chambers of the priory, and were the usual attendants upon the Princess Mary, heir apparent to the throne.

Soon after the expulsion of the Knights Hospitallers from their *chef lieu*, and two months after the death of their grand prior, Weston, on the eve of Saint Peter, the 28th of June, 1540, ten newly made serjeants at law, as was customary after their investiture, gave a grand banquet at St. John's, "withal plentie of victuals," says the chronicler, "at which feast were present all the lordes and commons of parliament, besides the maior and alderman, and a great number of the commons of the citee of London."[3] In the "London Chronicle in the times of King Henry the Seventh and King Henry the Eighth," before referred to,[4] we read under the record made during the mayoralty of Sir William Hollis, as follows:—"And that yere was new sargeantes of the queff[5] made and kepte ther Feste at Saynt Jhons." We have no particular account of

[1] Mary was born at Greenwich Palace on February 8th, 1515; it was a residence of the royal family from the time of Edward IV. to that of William and Mary.

[2] A copy of this lady's will has been published lately (1863) by the Camden Society (*Wills from Doctors' Commons*, edited by J. G. Nichols, Esq., and John Bruce, Esq., p. 56); the sole purport of it was to place all her property unreservedly in the hands of Adrian Stockes, whom she had married, he being previously her master of the horse. She died on the 21st November, 1559, twelve days after the execution of her will. She was the daughter of Charles Brandon, wife of Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset, to whom she conveyed her father's dukedom, and mother of Lady Jane Grey.

[3] Hall's *Chron*, p. 213.

[4] *Vide* page 214.

[5] Coif *(Coifa)*, the lawn coif which serjeants-at-law wear on their heads when they are created, hence they are called serjeants of the coif; and the use of it was anciently to cover *tonsuram clericalem*, otherwise called *corona*

this entertainment at which so many great personages were bidden guests, but from the details preserved of similar festivities we may form some idea of its magnificence, and the "plentie of victuals" provided for the table.

Every serjeant at law was bound on his accession to that distinction to give a great dinner, but as there were usually several created at the same time it was found most convenient for them to club together to give one common feast.[1] Stow's account of the provision made for one of these feasts in 1531 reads more like the account of an entertainment for the people than a serjeant's dinner. There were provided "thirty-four great beefes, at 1 6 8 a piece," "one carcase of an oxe," valued at £1 4s., "one hundred fat muttons, at 2s. 10d. a piece," "fifty-one great veals at 4s. 8d. a piece," "thirty-four porks or boars, at 3s. 3d.," "ninety-one pigs at 6d. a piece;" there were capons, cocks, and "thirty-seven dozen of pidgeons," at 10d. per dozen, three hundred and forty dozen of larks, at 5d. per dozen, and lastly in this expensive bill of fare there is set down fourteen dozen swans, the prices of which are not recorded. The other items of expenditure on these occasions were gold rings, one of which was given to every important personage present at the investiture, and to the sovereign, and new suits or liveries of cloth by the household and friends of the newly made serjeant. The rings bore a motto upon them, not the serjeant's family motto, but one which he adopted for the occasion.[2]

In the time of Queen Elizabeth the old priory was converted to a use which, even considering the mutations of mundane things, could hardly have been anticipated. We have seen that it had been employed as a "store house for the king's toils and tents for hunting and for the wars," but now it became the head-quarters of the drama in England, under the immediate patronage of royalty. The Master of the Revels, who had to provide for the amusement of the queen and her court, resided in St. John's, and supervised the office of the revels there, which "consistethe," says the master, Edmund Tylney, "of a Wardropp and other several Roomes for Artificers to work in, viz., Taylors, Imbrotherers, Properti-makers, Paynters, Wyredrawers, and Carpenters, togeather with a convenient place for ye Rehearsalls and settinge forthe of Playes and other Showes for those Services."[3] The appointment of this master Tylney took place on the 24th July, 1579, and he continued to regulate the stage for the long period of thirty-one years. He beheld the dawn and midday splendour of Shakspeare's dramatic genius, and in his official capacity he enjoyed the opportunity of licensing not less than thirty of his dramas, commencing with "Henry IV.," and ending with "Antony and Cleopatra." He died at Leatherhead, in October, 1610.[4]

The rehearsals before mentioned took place in the "Great Hall at St. John's;" and in the accounts of the revels at court in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James,[5] from 1571 to 1612, several entries are made of the incidental expenses incurred in respect of them. Amongst many other items are the following:—1573, "Cariage from the water syde to saint Johns, vj*d*." "For cariage of certeyne peec of the wagon and mownte from the Warderob to saint Jones, ij*s*." "Itm more for new Presses to be made thorowowte the whole store howse for that the olde were so Rotten that they coulde by no meanes be Repayred or made any waye to serve agayne. The Queenes Maties store lyeng now on the ffloore in the store-howse wch of necessitie must presently be provyded for before other wrks can well Begin. Whiche press being made as is desyred by the Officers wilbe a greate safegarde to the store presently remayning and lykewise of the store to coom whereby many things may be preserved that otherwyse wilbe utterly lost & spoyled contynually encreasing her Maties charge. Sm*a* *li*. not allowed for so moch as the same presses are not begon." "Richard Gryme & others for cariage of the fframes for the howses that served in the playes & other stuf & apparell for the playrs and Maskers, wt theier attendances daye & nighte sundry

clericalis, because the crown of the head was close shaved, and a border of hair left round the lower part, which made it look like a crown.—Blount.

[1] Dugdale's *Origenes Juridicales*, fol. 1671, p. 131.

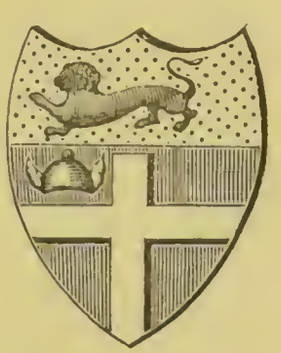
[2] Fortescue, c. 50. 3 *Cro.* 1. Dyer, 72. 2 Inst. 213, 211.

[3] Lansdowne MSS. 136, folio 358.

[4] Drake's *Shakspeare and his Times*, 4to., 1817, vol ii, p. 203.

[5] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I.* Edited by Peter Cunningham, Shakspeare Society, 1842.

tymes at Set Johns & at the Coorte betweene Christmas and the Munday after twelfe daye; xxvj*s*. Richard Tayler & Roger Atkenson; ij*s*. Geordge Hankinson & sundry others; vj*s*. xxxiiij*s*." 1576, "For Cariadge of the same (fframes & stuff) from the water side to St. Johns; ij*s*." "For the Cariadge of the Maske from St. Johns to the Courte; xij*d*." "For the Cariadge of the partes of ye well conterfeit from the Bell in gracious strete to St. Johns to be pformed for the play of Cutwell; x*d*." 1578, "Two Carres to carry the Mask from Pawles wharfe to St. Johns; xviij*d*." "11 of January to John Garret and Dwaryns Martyn for carryage of the Armoure from Greenewitch to St. Johnes to be guylded, 2*s*, and from St. Johns to the Water side, 16*d*." "13 of Januarie for ij wherryes to carry the greate cheste and the two hamps wth candlesticks from the courte to London; v*s*. And from the waterside to Sainte Johnes; viij*d*." "Edmond Tyllney Esquier Mr of the said office having by graunte from her Matie by her Lres patents dated the of Julie in the xxjth yeare of her Mates Raigne the office of the mastership of the said office, and a mansion howse wth thappnanes. The same office being specially appointed continued and used wthin the howsing and peincte of St. Johnes where all the store and furniture of the said office have bene and is kept and remaynyng. The howsing and romes there appteynyng to him being Imploied that he cannot yet convenyently have the same, But is driven to hire an other. He is to be allowed for the rent wherof from Christmas, 1578. A° 21° R. Regine pred untill mydsomr 1579 A° R. Rne, pd 21° by the space of one-half yeare after (the rate) of xiij*li*. vj*s*. viij*d*. p annu; xj*li*. xiij*s*. iiij*d*." 1580, "For Carryage of a Load of tymber from the Court to St. Johns bote hier for the straunger that Brought Cawles; xvj*d*." 1581, "For mending of a small braunch at St. Johns; vj*d*." "For cariage of ij hamps to St Johns; viij*d*." 1584, "For wood and cole laid into the office; at St Johnes for rehersalls airings & works done; vij*li*." "For cotten candles of all sorts for the rehersalls and works at St Johnes & for the Mrs Chambr and office at the Courte; lxvj*s*." "For rushes for the great hall at St Johnes the Mrs Chamber & office at the Court; xxij*s*." 1587, "The Porter of St. Johns Gatt. lxiij*s*." "Itm for rushis aswell for strawinge of the greate hall, at St Johns as also the office at the Courte; x*s*." "Dancey, Porter of St Jhons gatte for Candells & lanterne duringe the rehersalls; x*s*." "John Dancie, porter of St. Johns; 20 dayes. xx*s*." "The Mr of the office at iiij*s*. a daye; 20 dayes. iiij*li*." "The Clarke-controler at ij*s*. a daye; 20 dayes. xl*s*." "The Clearke at ye leke rate; 20 dayes, xl*s*." "The Yeoman at the leke rate; 20 dayes. xl*s*. 1605, "Richerd Prescot porter of St. Johns demaundeth for his attendaunce for ye Rehersalls and Ayrings as hath bin allowed to ye former porters xij*d*. the day for 60 dayes in the yeare; iij*li*. Furder he demaundeth for mendinge the locke of the backe gatt ij*s*. For a padlocke and boullt for ye backe gaitt iij*s*. For mending the locke of the fouregatt ij*s*. For ij keyes for the same gayt iij*s*. For turning the stones att the cuming into ye gaitt to a Mason xvj*d*. For the pavinge the gaitt xij*d*. For mending the wicket iij*s*. iiij*d*. For iij lodes of Gravell ij*s*. vj*d*. Sma lxxviij*s*." The charge for "ayringe," which refers to the theatrical wardrobe, is a common one, and there is sometimes joined with it, "Repayringe, perusing, amending, brushing, spunging, rubbing, wyping, sweeping, making cleane, putting in order, and safe bestowinge of the garments, vestures, apparell, disguisinges, properties, and furniture of the same from tyme to tyme," which are represented as having been necessary in order "to keepe the same in Redynes for service, wch els wold be mowdly, mustie, motheten, and rotten by meanes of the dankenes of the howse, and want of convenyent Presses and places requysite." Thus proving how very ill adapted was the abode of the noble Knights Hospitallers for the preservation of the tawdry and tinsel of theatrical pageants.



ARMS OF THE OFFICE OF THE REVELS.

In 1612, James I. gave the house of St. John to Lord Aubignee or Aubigny, and allowed Alexander Stafford, clerk, Comptroller of the Tents and Revels, £15 per annum, for house rent in lieu of it.[1] The Revels Office was then removed to St. Peter's-hill.

[1] MS. Cott. *An Abstract of all his Majesties expences for one half year ending March* 25, 1612.

Amongst the Audit Office Enrollments we find the following warrant:—

"After Our hearty Commendations—Whereas William Hunning and Edward Kyrkham Officers of the Revells are by these Lettres patent under the great Seale of England to have the use of such houses and lodgings as anciently did belong to either of their places,—And whereas upon his Mats. gift of the house of St. Johns to the Lord Aubigny they have been dispossessed of the houses and lodgings formerly appointed to their offices, and by means thereof are forced to provide themselves of others at a yearly rent untill some other places shall be assigned to them for that purpose, and thereupon have been suitors unto us for some such allowaunce in regard of their said houses and lodgings as we in Our discretion should think meet and convenient for them: These are therefore to will and require you to allow unto either of them fifteen pounds by the year in the Accounts of the Master of the Revells to be yearly passed before you in respect of their said houses and lodgings so taken from them as aforesaid by his Mats. said Grant to the lord Aubigny and according to the same rates of fifteen pounds by year to either of them to make allowance unto them for two whole years ended at the feast of All Saints now last past, and the same to continue hereafter until they shall be otherwise provided for by His Highness. And this shall be your Warrant and Discharge in that behalf, from Whitehall the 10th of November 1610.

"Your very loving friends,

"R. Salisbury.

"Jul. Cæsar.[1]

"To Our Loving Friends Francis Goston and Richard Sutton Esquires, Auditors of the 'Prests."[2]

In the "Accounts of the Revels" for the year ending October, 1612, we find the following item:—

"Willm Honyng Clark of ye Revells demandethe in this Accoumpt for A Rent of his house of xv*li.* a year wch he was dispossessed of in St. Johns wch the Auditors hath warrant fro the Lord Threseror & the Chancellor of ye Excheker to allowe of . . . xv*li.*"

We also find that a similar amount was claimed by "Edward Kirkham Yeoman of ye Revells," who had been appointed to that office by letters patent, dated 28th April, 28th of Elizabeth.

By letters patent, dated the 9th of May, 1607, "the scite or house of the late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, &c., having therin one great mansion, and one great chapel, &c., containing by estimation 5 acres, was granted by King James I. to Ralph Freeman and his heirs in free and common soccage."

It subsequently came into the possession of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and Earl of Exeter, grandson of the famous Lord Treasurer Burleigh, whose countess, Elizabeth Drury, "was very forward to repair the ruined choir," says Fuller. Doctor Joseph Hall preached at the solemn re-opening thereof on St. Stephen's day, 1623, taking for his text Hag. ii. 9, "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts."

In the fifth year of Charles I., 1641, the house came by marriage with Diana, daughter of the Earl of Exeter, into the possession of Thomas, Lord Bruce and Earl of Elgin. The church served as a private chapel for this noble family. "At this day," says Fuller, writing about 1655, "though contracted, having the side aisles excluded (yet so that the upper part is admitted affording conveniences for attention), it is one of the best private chapels in England, discreetly embracing the mean of decency betwixt the extreames of slovenly profaneness and gaudy superstition, and belongeth at this present to the truly noble Thomas, Earl of Elgin."[3] This nobleman's son, Robert Bruce, afterwards Earl of Aylesbury, subsequently became possessed of the property; and in his family it continued until the year 1706. The church until that period being used for the family and household to worship in, was thence designated Aylesbury Chapel. From an engraving by Hollar, in 1661, of the west front of the church whilst still in use for the private devotions of this noble family, it seems until that period to have retained somewhat of its Gothic character, with the exception of one or two barbaric additions and alterations. The principal entrance was approached by a flight of steps, and the arched doorway was disfigured by a façade, consisting of two Ionic

[1] Sir Julius Cæsar, Under Chancellor of the Exchequer in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. *Vide* Lodge's *Life of Sir Julius Cæsar, Admiralty Judge, Master of the Rolls, and Privy Councillor to James and Charles; also of his Family and Descendants.* Royal 4to., fine portraits. 1827.

[2] *Audit Office Enrollments*, vol. ii., p. 108, *vide* also vol. vi., p. 131.

[3] Fuller's *Church History*, ed. 1655, bk. v.

columns, on square pedestals, supporting a moulded pediment; over this was a broad, obtusely-pointed window of four lights, and above this, and from the centre of an embattled parapet, projected a sun-dial. The handsome doorway on the left or north side was an entrance to Aylesbury House, in which was included part of the north aisle of the church.

Aylesbury Chapel is referred to by Patterson, in his "Pietas Londinensis," 1714, who describes it as built of brick and boulder, covered with lead, but through antiquity rent and decayed. Within it was neat and decent. "It was a Presbyterian meeting-house a long time, till it was somewhat wasted in March, 1710." At this time the deluded partisans of that virulent High Churchman, Dr. Sacheverell, who had made himself popular with the rabble by his railings at Dissenters and Low Churchmen, excited by his trial for sedition, which was then proceeding at Westminster Hall, went about in large numbers destroying the conventicles; and in turn came to St. John's, shouting, "The Church and Sacheverell!" and knocked down and insulted such as would not join in the cry. "There happened to be a meeting-house near me," says Burnet, a resident, "out of which they drew everything that was in it, and burned it before the door of the house."

This affair of Dr. Sacheverell is of such importance that we must digress in order to relate the particulars of it. On the 13th of December, 1709, a complaint was laid before the House of Commons by Mr. Dolben, against Doctor Henry Sacheverell, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, for having preached and published two sermons, containing several dangerous positions. Sacheverell was a clergyman of over-heated imagination, but narrow capacity, and took every opportunity of venting his animosity against the Dissenters. The complaint was seconded by Sir Peter King, and the sermons were voted malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, highly reflecting upon the queen (Anne) and government, the then late revolution, and the Protestant succession; and tending to alienate the people, and create divisions among them. In pursuance of this resolution the house ordered that Sacheverell, and Henry Clements, his bookseller, should attend the bar. Accordingly on the next day the doctor was brought to the bar, where he acknowledged himself to be the author of both the sermons, and declared that he had received encouragement from the Lord Mayor to print that entitled, "The Perils of False Brethren in Church and State." The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the Lord Mayor was asked if he had commanded Dr. Sacheverell to print the sermon in question. In answer to which, the Lord Mayor declared he had never desired, ordered, or encouraged the printing thereof. Upon this declaration, the Commons ordered Mr. Dolben to impeach Sacheverell at the bar of the House of Lords, in the names of all the Commons of England; appointed a committee to draw up articles against him; and commanded the usher of the black rod to take him into custody. On the 17th the doctor petitioned the house that he might be admitted to bail; but this was refused. The Lords, however, released him, that he might have an opportunity to answer the charge. This he did, denying some articles, and endeavouring to justify or extenuate others. The Commons having sent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the Lords appointed the 27th of February, 1710, for the trial at Westminster Hall. The trial commenced on that day, and lasted until the 23rd of March, during which time all business was suspended, and the metropolis thrown into the utmost ferment.[1] The doctor was attended to and from Westminster, during the time of his trial, by multitudes of people, who cried out, "God bless the Church and Sacheverell!" They even demolished several meeting-houses, one of which was, as we have seen, in St. John's; and made bonfires in the streets with the materials, at the same time shouting, "High Church and Sacheverell!" The debates in the House of Lords became so interesting, that the queen herself was present. The Earl of Wharton observed, that Sacheverell's doctrine of passive obedience might have the most serious and dangerous consequences; that the principle of resistance was the corner-stone of the

[1] The excitement of this trial is alluded to in the contemporary publication, *The Tatler*, Nos. 140, 141, 142, and 157, published between March 2nd and April 11th, 1710. In *The British Apollo*, vol. iii., No. 28, dated from May 29th to May 31st, 1710, a country lady, on a visit to London, is introduced, complaining that "the entertainments on visiting days were composed of noise, scandal, and confusion. . . . One lady highly commends the sermon at St. James's last Sunday, and thinks Dr. Sacheverell the handsomest clergyman she ever saw." Cibber tells us that the long trial thinned the audiences in the playhouses very considerably.—Cibber's *Apology*, vol i., edit. 1750, 12mo. Tickets were issued for admission to hear the trial, and some had the seals of the nobility on them.

revolution; that to suppose it unlawful, was to suppose a great part of the people, and the parliament itself, guilty of rebellion and injustice; that, of consequence, the then present government could not be considered as lawful, because the queen's right was wholly derived from the revolution. Bishop Burnet justified resistance from history, both ancient and modern. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was more a Tory in his principles than Burnet, agreed that resistance might be lawful in certain extraordinary cases. Several of the most distinguished Tories owned that the doctor's sermons were extravagant and absurd; but insisted that they were not sufficient to condemn him. He was, however, found guilty by a majority of seven votes; on which he was suspended from the pulpit for three years, and his sermons condemned to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. This sentence was thought so favourable by Sacheverell's party, that they considered it as a victory over the Whigs, and celebrated the triumph with bonfires and illuminations.[1] John Wesley informs us in his "History of England" that his father, Samuel Wesley, composed Dr. Sacheverell's celebrated speech before the House of Lords.[2] But Lord Macaulay sets up another claimant for the honour. In vol. ii. of his miscellaneous writings, pp. 216-217, article "Francis Atterbury," reprinted from the "Ency. Britannica," he says, Atterbury "bore a chief part in framing that artful and eloquent speech which the accused divine pronounced at the bar of the Lords."[3] Bishop Atterbury was a warm patron and friend of the younger Samuel Wesley, and probably assisted him in preparing the speech for Dr. Sacheverell.[4] Whilst Dr. Sacheverell was under the sentence which supended him from preaching, he made a sort of triumphal journey, and was received into some towns with ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of welcome and approbation. From a letter to "The Tatler," No. 187, June 20th, 1710, we learn that an article called a "religious handkerchief" was then much worn in England. This handkerchief was printed with a representation of Dr. Sacheverell. During the controversy numerous squibs for and against the doctor were circulated; they were collected and published as follows:—"A Collection of Poems, for and against Dr. Sacheverell. London, Printed in the year MDCCX." pp. 40; "A Collection of Poems, &c., for nad against Dr. Sacheverell. The Second Part. London, Printed in the year MDCCX.," pp. 40; "A Collection of Poems, &c., for and against Dr. Sacheverell. The Third Part. London, Printed in the year MDCCX.," pp. 40.[5] The proceedings on the trial of Sacheverell were printed and published by order of the House of Peers. The following is a copy of the title-page of the work:—"The Tryal of Dr. Henry Sacheverell, before the House of Peers, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors; upon an impeachment by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, in the name of themselves, and of all the Commons of Great Britain: Begun in Westminster Hall the 27th day of February, 1709-10, and from thence continued by several adjournments until the 23d day of March following. Published by order of the House of Peers. London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, at Gray's Inn Gate, in Gray's Inn Lane, 1710," pp. 456.

After the before-mentioned malicious outrage at Aylesbury Chapel, it was prepared for the use of the inhabitants of St. John's-square and its neighbourhood, and maintained by their private subscriptions and donations, and it was opened on Wednesday mornings for prayers at 10 a.m., and for three services on Sundays, at 10 a.m., at 3, and at 6 p.m. In 1716, "The remains of the once famous *Abbey* of Clerkenwell, called of late Aylesbury Chapel," were publicly advertised to be sold or let, and it was then suggested that the gallery was "as fit as any for a schoolroom, that will hold above two hundred scholars." In the year 1721, the chapel was purchased by Mr. Simon Michell, who at his own expense enlarged it, or that which was used as a chapel, being the middle aisle only, by restoring thereto the north aisle, which had been part of a dwelling-house, and also the south aisle, the upper part of which had been converted into a library, and the lower part separated by a wall from what was left to the chapel; and having likewise entirely newly built the west front, and new roofed the whole, and furnished the chapel with convenient galleries and pews, he proposed it, thus rebuilt and beautified, to the commissioners for building fifty new churches in and about London,

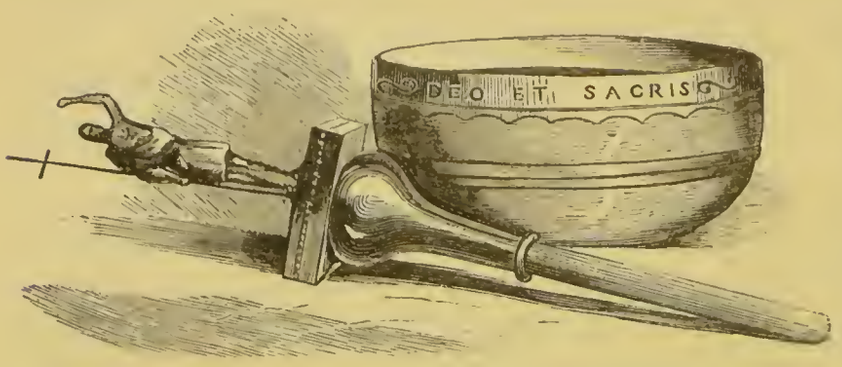
[1] Russel's *History of England*, p. 608. *Vide* also *Le Nouvelliste Philosophe*.
[2] *Vide Notes and Queries*, 3rd S. iii. p. 90.
[3] *Vide Notes and Queries*, 3rd S. iii. p. 175.
[4] *Vide Notes and Queries* 3rd S. iii. p. 238
[5] *Vide* page 163 *ante*.

to be converted into a parochial church for such an adjoining district as they should think fit to appoint for a parish to the same. In 1723, Sir John Phillips and Mr. Hiccocks reported to the commissioners that they had viewed the said chapel, and were of opinion that it would conveniently hold about 1000 persons, and of them about 700 in pews, and that the avenues leading to the chapel were very good. From the same report we learn that, on the 13th of July, the price agreed on between the commissioners and Mr. Michell was £3000; an abatement of £50, however, being made in lieu of a vault under the south-east corner of the chapel. An agreement of bargain and sale made between the commissioners and Mr. Simon Michell, and his trustee, Mr. Hutton, enrolled in Chancery, and bearing date the 29th of August, 1723, conveyed the chapel and the ground extending from the east end thereof to St. John-street, on the front part whereof next to St. John's stood two houses, to the said commissioners.

"On Friday, the twenty-seventh day of December, in the year of our Lord Christ, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, and in the tenth year of the reign of George, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, being St. John's-day, this church was consecrated and dedicated to the service of Almighty God by the Right Reverend Father in God, Edmund (Gibson), by divine providence Lord Bishop of London, by the name of the Church of St. John, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex."

Of the interior of the present church, it was observed by Malcolm, that "if all remembrance of its ancient grandeur were effaced we should think it a good Doric building," so greatly has its original character been deteriorated by alterations and improvements, for, to use a stereotyped phrase, it has been often "repaired and beautified." This church is commodious, but can hardly be considered handsome, by reason of the incongruities of style which have been adopted in fitting it for Protestant worship. Two rows of massive pillars of the Tuscan order, four on either side of the church, support an entablature decorated with triglyphs, above which rises a coved ceiling, panelled and otherwise ornamented. The galleries on either side have the fronts panelled, and the mouldings of the panels are gilt; the altar-piece, which is of classic design, is of carved oak, having the Lord's Prayer, Decalogue, and Creed written in gold upon it, the whole being surmounted with the royal arms carved and gilt. Of the three large pointed windows at the east end only the centre one retains its original appearance, the stone mullions of the others having been cut away, and a framework of wood substituted for them. There are still two pointed windows on the south side, which retain in some degree their first form and appearance. These have slender pillars and neat mouldings, with the usual characteristics of the perpendicular style. During the repairs in 1812, when the southernmost east window was enlarged, the skeleton of a child was found in a cavity of the masonry; it was suffered to remain undisturbed, and the cavity was again closed up. In the south and east walls of the present church are the remains of Prior Docwra's perpendicular work, and the pews stand upon capitals and rib mouldings and other remains of the former church. These discoveries were made during some judicious alterations and repairs in 1845, effected under the skilful direction of W. P. Griffith, Esq., who has done archæology good service in rescuing from oblivion and bringing to light the vestiges of the ancient priory. At this time the heavy square piers between the nave and aisles, which served to support the galleries, were removed; the high pews were lowered, with the addition of modern capping; and the marble font was removed from the south-west angle of the church, and placed in the nave underneath the western gallery. Mr. Griffith has favoured the Editor with the following extracts from his MS. notes upon St. John's Church:—"The external porches (of the present church) to aisles, next St. John's-square, were added in 1825, and the central porch was built in 1845. Upon removing the plaster from the inside of the east wall and central window, it was discovered that Docwra's masonry still existed from the ground to the middle of the said window arch, in altitude 27 feet, all of the wall above that having been rebuilt in brickwork by Michell. This window remains in the same state as shown in Hollar's view next St. John-street. It has still its stone mullions, but the foils are gone. In the south aisle the pews against the south wall were removed, and it was found that Simon Michell (when he partly rebuilt the church) used portions of the former church to support the pews; these consisted of ribbed mouldings, parts of shafts, portions

of the groining, capitals of clustered columns, coloured and gilt.[1] The pew-front (No. 82) opposite the window recess in south wall by west end, stands upon eight large clustered capitals with long flowing palm leaves: these leaves were gilt upon a blue ground. The south wall I found to have been built by Docwra on the remains of the early English wall, which latter now remains some few feet above the floor, and contains the narrow splayed openings of the original windows, and a doorway, that opened into Jerusalem-court. These are not visible without removing the pews. Docwra's wall contains large perpendicular windows. The upper part of the south wall was rebuilt by Michell. The north wall has been partly rebuilt, but still contains some of Docwra's windows. Upon taking down this wall, built by Docwra on the wall of the crypt, an interesting capital was discovered,[2] built in the wall. This capital belonged to the original church, and by referring to the plates of ornamental capitals in Billings's 'Account of the Temple Church,' it will be observed that the resemblance is striking; as they are of the same date, 1185, the same masons may have been employed on both churches. A small gilt capital was also found in the wall. In the central east window is a coat of arms (a chevron between three combs), in painted glass, stated[3] to be the coat-armour of Tunstall, of Tunstall, in Lancashire. They are, however, the arms of Prior Botyler. The east windows of north and south aisles have lost their stone mullions. The church was considerably injured and interfered with by the erection of houses on the south side, next Jerusalem-court, between 1600 and 1700. These contain the oak wainscoting of the period. The south entrance and windows of the church were unfortunately blocked up by these buildings, and many of our cathedrals and churches were formerly wantonly disfigured in this manner. The old gabled wooden building (shown in Hollar's view of the priory in 1661), next St. John-street, and adjoining the south side of the church, is still standing, and is occupied by St. John's Sunday Schools. Although much of the stone from the priory building was used in building Lord Somerset's house in the Strand, still a large quantity seems to have been locally employed. In November, 1862, the arch of the main sewer running east and west through St. John's-square, gave way (in the Wesleyan Chapel grounds), and I observed that the sides of the sewer had been partly formed with stone from the priory church, such as splayed quoins from windows, doors, &c." There are no monuments of particular interest in the church, except one to the modern founder of the building. It is a neat mural tablet of white marble, and under a small painted shield of arms is engraved the following inscription:—



OLD BAPTISMAL BOWL AND HEAD OF BEADLE'S STAFF BELONGING TO THE PARISH OF ST. JOHN.

"In a private and freehold vault at the south-east end of this church are deposited the remains of Simon Michell, Esq., of this parish (of St. John, Clerkenwell), and a Member of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn: descended from a family of that name, in Somersetshire: who died Aug. 30th, 1750, aged 74. He conveyed this Church to the commissioners for building fifty new churches, by a deed dated August 23rd, 1723, and enrolled in Chancery: reserving the organ, which, with the vault and adjoining house, he gave under certain conditions to this parish, by his will dated May 19th, 1748." (The inscription in conclusion notices the interment of his wife and that of other members of his family.)

The organ cost £421. The conditions annexed to its bequest by Mr. Michell were that it should be kept in repair, that the salary of the organist should be paid by the parish, and that if it should not be used for eight successive Sundays, or twelve within one year, his heirs at law should be at liberty to remove it with all the materials thereof.

The turret clock now in use formerly belonged to the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell.

[1] Mr. Griffith forwarded some of these, and other remains, to the Architectural Museum in 1850.
[2] It is now in the Architectural Museum.
[3] Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 150.

The head of the beadle's staff, a curiosity in its way, also belonged to the old church of St. James, and was in use in the time of James II. It has the following inscription :—"Anno dom. 1685. Anno of Regni Regis Jacobi." It is of silver, and a further inscription upon it informs us that it was made at "ye charge of ye inhabitants of ye east liberty of St. John of Jerusalem."

The portable baptismal bowl is antique, and once supplied the place of the marble font now in use. Round its rim is a text of Scripture, the name of the parish, and the Latin words, "Deo et Sacris."

THE RECTORS OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

1723 : Rev. Adam Batty, died 1738.
1738 : Rev. Stephen Aldrich, died 1769.
1770 : Rev. Roger Parry, died 1778.
1778 : Rev. E. W. Whittaker, died 1788.
1788 : Rev. Richard Harrison, died 1793.
1793 : Rev. Richard Lendon, resigned 1812.
1812 : Rev. John Evans, died 1813.
1814 : Rev. William Elisha Law Faulkner, resigned 1840.
1842 : Hugh Hughes, D.D., the present rector.

THE LECTURERS OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

1723 : Rev. — Scriven, died 1736.
1737 : Rev. John Fludyer, resigned 1747.
1747 : Rev. Nowes Lloyd, resigned 1752.
1752 : Rev. Edmund Warneford, resigned 1758.
1758 : Rev. Stephen Aldrich (rector), resigned 1759.
1759 : Rev. E. Warneford (re-appointed), resigned 1761.
1761 : Rev. Stephen Aldrich (re-appointed), died 1769.
1764 : Rev. John Langhorne.
1770 : Rev. Henry Waring, resigned 1774.
1774 : Rev. Benjamin Simmonds, died 1781.
1781 : Rev. John Butler Saunders, resigned 1789.
1789 : Rev. Richard Harrison (rector), died 1793.
1799 : Rev. Richard Lendon (rector), resigned 1814.
1814 : Rev. W. E. L. Faulkner (rector), resigned 1839.
1842 : Rev. Hugh Hughes, D.D. (rector), the present lecturer.

It will be seen that between 1793 and 1799 there is a chasm in this list. From the 25th of February, 1794, until October, 1799, the Rev. Richard Lendon, rector, officiated as lecturer without any formal election, but pursuant to a resolution of the vestry of the first-mentioned date, which declared any election (notwithstanding three candidates, the rector included, had been put in nomination) to be unnecessary. The churchwardens entered a protest against that resolution, and in May, 1797, the vestry rescinded it, and an election taking place in October, 1799, the late lecturer, by a vestry resolution, became such, being the only candidate, by election.[1]

John Langhorne, D.D., lecturer of St. John's Church in 1764, was eminent as a poet and miscellaneous writer; he was born at Kirby Stephen, in Westmoreland, in 1735, and educated at the school of Appleby. He left school in his eighteenth year, and being too indigent to proceed to the university, he had recourse to private tuition, took orders, and in 1760 entered himself as a ten year man at Clare College, Cambridge. Having fallen ardently in love with the daughter of a

[1] Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, pp. 149-150.

gentleman named Crauford, in whose family he lived, he offered her his hand in marriage, and on being delicately refused he relinquished his tutorship and came to London, where he obtained the curacy and lectureship of St. John's, Clerkenwell, in 1764; and by the exercise of his pen and his tongue he soon became favourably known and popular as an author and a preacher. He published two volumes of sermons in 1764;[1] upon which Chalmers critically remarks, "They abound in false pathos, and the reasoning, where any occurs, is very superficial; they have, however, this advantage to those who dislike sermons of every kind, that they are the shortest ever published." Dr. Hurd appointed Langhorne assistant preacher of Lincoln's Inn; and a short poem, called "Genius and Valour," written in defence of the Scotch against the coarse abuse of Churchill and others, obtained for him, from the University of Edinburgh, the degree of D.D., in 1766. Having thus made his way in the world, in 1767, after an interval of five years, he renewed his offer of marriage to the amiable Miss Crauford, whom in several pretty sonnets he had eloquently apostrophised, and was accepted. In the year following the living of Blagden, in Somersetshire, was purchased for him, but in the first year of his marriage his domestic felicity was interrupted by the death of his wife in child-bed. To solace his grief he undertook, in conjunction with his brother, the Rev. William Langhorne, curate of Folkestone, a new translation of "Plutarch's Lives," which was published in 1771, and established his reputation. In accuracy this edition has the advantage over Sir Thomas North's old version from the French of Amyot, but is inferior in spirit and effect. Langhorne married again, and was so unfortunate as to lose his second wife by death in child-bed. This double disappointment is said to have led him into intemperate habits. He died in April, 1779.

As a writer Langhorne appeared so frequently before the public that he secured a considerable degree of fame, the announcements of his works were received with eagerness, and what he published was read with pleasure. In a little work by his pen entitled "Effusions of Friendship and Fancy," 1763, first appeared that sweet song, addressed "To a Redbreast," commencing:—

Little bird, with bosom red,
Welcome to my humble shed.

Which poem, slightly abridged, has become and will continue to be an universal favourite with children. A lengthy poem of his, entitled "The Country Justice," has many excellencies. Some lines therefrom, in allusion to the dead soldier and his widow, were made the subject of a print by Bunbury, entitled "The Dead Soldier," under which was printed the following pathetic stanza:—

Perhaps on some inhospitable shore,
The houseless wretch a widowed parent bore;
Who then no more by golden prospects led
Of the poor Indian begged a leafy bed.
Cold on Canadian hills or Minden's plain,
Perhaps that parent mourned her soldier slain;
Bent o'er her babe, her eye dissolv'd in dew,
The big drops mingling with the milk he drew,
Gave sad presage of his future years,
The child of misery, baptised in tears.

Sir Walter Scott has mentioned that the only time he saw Burns, the poet, this picture was in the room, and Burns shed tears over it. Scott, then a lad of 15, was the only person present who could tell from whence the subscribed lines were taken.

Dr. Langhorne wrote the following epitaph on his brother William, before mentioned, who died in February, 1772, at the age of fifty-one, and whose memorial is to be seen in St. Mary's Church, Folkestone:—

In life belov'd, in death for ever dear,
O friend, O brother, take this parting tear!
If life has left me aught that asks a sigh,
'Tis but like thee to live, like thee to die.

JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

[1] Sermon xxiv. was preached at St. John's Church, Clerkenwell, on Sunday evening, March 11, 1764.

Of Langhorne's life be this memorial given,
Whose race was virtue, and whose goal was Heav'n;
Not through the selfish, drear, unfriendly road
Which ancient moralists and sophists trod,
But in an active sphere of Christian love,
He mov'd himself, and will'd mankind to move.
Enthusiasts' confidence, or sceptists' fear,
Affected not his equable career;
With evangelic eloquence he warm'd,
With reason won us, and with meekness charm'd;
Shew'd in his life, his converse, and his pray'r,
The friend's attachment and the pastor's care:
Oft would he, in the mines of ancient lore,
Historic truth and moral truth explore;
Yet was his aim to dissipate the night
Of Pagan doubts by Revelation's light;
The Christian's steady plan to recommend;
Just in its source, and happy in its end.
Thus to his flock, whom here he left behind,
Thus to his neighbours, who were all mankind,
He gave example to pursue with zeal
His Saviour's steps to everlasting weal;
And in the moment of expiring breath,
To give a rest of endless joy in death.

William Langhorne assisted his brother in the publication of "Plutarch's Lives," as before stated, and was the author of "Job," a poem; and also of a "Poetical Paraphrase on some part of the Book of Isaiah."

The "Gentleman's Magazine" for March, 1749, contains the following verses, under the pastoral signature of "Narcissus." In the number for June we find the verses "set to musick," by S. Stubley, organist of St. John's, Clerkenwell.

While pensive on the lonely plain,
Far from the sight of her I love,
To the clear stream I tell my pain,
And sigh my sorrow to the grove.

Echo—sweet goddess of the wood,
From all thy cells resound my care,
And Thames, along thy silver flood
Convey my murmurs to the fair.

Tell her, oh tell the charming maid
In vain the feather'd warblers sing,
In vain the trees extend their shade,
Or blooming Flora paints the spring.

When absent from her dearer charms,
Not all those beauties can invite;
But did she bless her Damon's arms,
E'en barren deserts would invite.

In the church of St. John, on the 15th April, 1734, was married David Henry to Mary Cave, the sister of Edward Cave, the first publisher of the "Gentleman's Magazine." Henry succeeded Cave as the proprietor of this periodical. He died in 1792, being at that time the freeholder of St. John's Gate.[1]

Several members of the Basire family were baptised and buried in St. John's Church. They have been engravers to the Society of Antiquaries and to the Royal Society for many years. Sarah Basire, of St. John's-lane, was buried here on the 7th of September, 1741. Isaac Basire, of St. John's-

[1] *Vide* Ch. x. *post.*

court, engraver, died in 1768. James Basire, engraver, his son, died on 6th of September, 1802, and was buried at Pentonville. James Basire, of this family, now engraves for the societies before named.

The church of St. John is remarkable for its fine Gothic crypt or undercroft, one of those subterranean chambers which, in the days of yore, served as a chapel and a tomb, being alike used for worship and sepulture. The entrance to this crypt is outside the church at its north-east angle, and the descent into it is by a short flight of stone steps, beneath a modern vestry. It appears to have been originally above ground, and not subterraneous; an entrance to it may be seen in Hollar's view of the east end as it appeared in 1661 from St. John-street, with the hospital gardens and boundary wall. In antiquity the crypt is coeval with the original church, and is therefore upwards of 700 years old, and yet its massive architecture is so well preserved that the mouldings, ribs, and capitals, with other details, appear, from the freshness of their surfaces, as if only recently the finishing strokes of the mason's chisel had been applied to them.

The original pavement of the crypt is 1 foot 5½ inches below the present level. The artificial ground appears to be clay, introduced in modern times to prevent the damp from rising.

The crypt comprises a central avenue 16 feet 3 inches in width, and 12 feet in height to the crown of the arch, with corresponding side aisles extending from east to west, and of the same length as the present church above. The west end of the crypt, at present bricked up, was found when an excavation was made in front of the church, in the year 1849, to have extended much farther westward than it at present does.

As we regard with wondering eyes the frowning strength and exquisite beauty of these finely-proportioned arches, we think of the founders, the valiant knights of old. Where are they? Perchance many of them lie entombed beneath the ground on which we tread; for ofttimes, in ages past, has this huge vault echoed the solemn dirge or funeral chant of some brave crusader, who languished and died beneath the stroke of that victor whom no prowess could resist, and was then, with solemn pomp, borne hither by his brothers in arms, who grieved his loss, and committed his frail body to the parent dust, in a few years no more to be remembered.

The general aspect of the vault is one of extreme gloom; scarce a ray of light enters its dark recesses save from a few small apertures pierced in the wall at one end for ventilation, and which suffice only to make "darkness visible." On the south side is the vault of Simon Michell, bricked up, and bearing a commemorative inscription, and his family arms carved in relief upon a shield. An opening in one of the supporting walls, at least four feet in thickness, adjoining the tomb of Simon Michell, leads into the south aisle, which formerly was well nigh full of dusty coffins piled one above another, and fast going to decay; one, however, apparently that of a child, was secluded from the rest, and placed over the entrance on iron brackets, which had become so much oxydised by the damp air of the place as to threaten at no very distant period to yield beneath their superincumbent weight.

"At the entrance of the vault of St. John's Church, on the right hand, is a place about seven or eight feet square, where the gravedigger kept his tools; in this place for many years if not now was a coffin, said to be arrested for debt."[1]

The central portion of the crypt consists of four severeys or bays: two are simple and plain, being semi-Norman, and two (towards the east) are Early English, and very perfect, the details and mouldings being worthy of a careful examination. The ribs of the Early English bays spring from triple-clustered columns 3 feet 9½ inches high in each angle of the bays, with moulded capitals and bases. The upper moulding is horizontally fluted similar to some Grecian Ionic bases. The central shafts of the clustered columns are pointed, and the diagonal ribs have three mouldings; the central one is pointed, and the outer are rolls. This pointed bowtell occurs frequently in semi-Norman and Early English work, and is coeval with the introduction of the pointed arch. Suspended from the keystone of each is an iron ring. On each side of the two western bays of the centre aisle is a

[1] S. Warner's MS. Notes.

deeply-recessed pointed window-opening, now bricked up. The opening was long and narrow, 3 feet 9 inches high, and 9 inches wide, and the inner splay is 7 feet 7 inches by 4 feet 2 inches wide; the wall is 4 feet thick

At the western extremity was a trefoil-headed doorway leading to the north aisle, which was also filled with coffins placed lengthwise in rows four and five deep, piled one above another, thickly covered with dust, and in various stages of decay. From some the black cloth that covered them hung in shreds, others had fallen to pieces, and left only the leaden cases exposed; whilst from several the ends had fallen out and there obtruded the fleshless feet of some poor "child of earth," whose spirit had long ago departed, it may be, to a better world. A few years back, whilst exploring this chamber of death, the sexton moved aside the lids of one or two coffins to show us their contents. How sad a spectacle is proud human nature in its humiliation and decay! There lay the shrivelled remains of one who had enjoyed all the pleasures of life—had been a man of like passions with ourselves—but what remained of him was hideous to look upon; the form of humanity alone was discernible; the brown skin, like parchment, still clung to the most protuberant bones; on the head yet adhered some patches of hair; the eyes had dissolved, and every feature of the face was obliterated. We gladly turned from the sickening sight, so loathsome and yet so full of silent admonition. "Around us here lie the bodies (of many generations) in peaceful habitations and quiet resting places. Here they have thrown off every burden, and are escaped from every snare. The head aches no more; the eye forgets to weep. The flesh is no longer racked with acute, nor wasted with lingering, distempers."

In the year 1862 the coffins which stood piled up in the crypt were hidden from sight in a very effective manner, but at the cost of some of the architectural features of the crypt. This spoliation was the subject of a communication to the "Builder" (vol. xx., p. 242, April 5th, 1862) :—

"The Priory Crypt of St. John's Church, Clerkenwell.—Among the numerous ancient crypts which you have from time to time engraved and described in the 'Builder' is that belonging to the ancient Priory of St. John, Clerkenwell; and, on January 23rd, 1860, an order in Council was made relating to the coffins contained therein, viz.;—'That the coffins contained in the public vaults be laid down on the floor, and covered with powdered charcoal and fresh earth.' You will regret to learn that during the past week the coffins, instead of being laid on the floor, have been piled up from the floor to the ceiling or arch in the aisles of the crypt, and the doorways bricked up. In this manner the Early English trefoil headed doorway, engraved in the 'Builder,' vol. xii., p. 519, has been obliterated. The crypt has been thus shorn of its proportions, and almost reduced to a central avenue; which might have been avoided if the coffins had been laid on the floor, as directed by the order in Council. The importance of placing these ancient crypts on record has been thus rendered evident; and I trust that, as far as possible, the interesting crypts remaining in London and elsewhere may be protected from a similar spoliation. The Cock-lane ghost was discovered in the crypt: her remains were turned quite black, and have been placed in the north aisle, and bricked up with the rest of the coffins.—W. P. Griffith."

In the "Builder," vol. xii., pp. 518-519, October 7th, 1854, will be found an account of the crypt of St. John's Church, from particulars supplied by Mr. Griffith; and engravings of the crypt, part of the north aisle, and the trefoil headed doorway before mentioned.

At the time of the closing up of the coffins Mr. Wright, the then churchwarden, made a list of the names of the persons whose remains were in them, and the dates of their deaths. By the courtesy of this gentleman the Editor is enabled to give a copy of the list.

A LIST OF THE COFFINS ENCLOSED IN THE VAULTS OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CLERKENWELL.

Elizabeth Tooke	1738	Thomas Tooke	1778
Sarah Perry	1757	William Story	1779
Margaret Clarke	1766	Mary Saubene	1780
Frederick Gamer	1773	Mary Seamore	1783
Thomas Tooke	1773	Frederick Seamore	1784
John Perry	1777	Thomas Kent	1788

LIST OF COFFINS—Continued.

Isaac Dunsdale	1789
Ann Wilks	1789
Thomas Davis	1790
Jane Dunsdale	1791
Robert Perry	1791
John Willks	1791
Molly Kent	1792
Frederick Chamelle	1793
Rev. R. Harrison [1]	1793
Robert Moody	1794
William Seamour	1794
Ann Horne	1796
Thomas Kent Lucas	1797
Catherine Bonell	1797
Jonathan Hayne	1797
F. S. K. Lucas	1797
Isaac Lucas	1797
Sarah Moody	1803
Bartholomew Sikes	1803
Margaret Mulo	1805
George Franklin	1808
Edward Gower	1808
Sarah Harvey	1808
Mary Herbert	1808
Samuel Moody	1808
Richard Pain	1809
Mary Mullett	1810
Robert Maxwell Ellerton	1811
Kitty Lucas	1811
Sarah Wild	1811
Uriah Bristow	1812
William Harper	1812
Amelia Lucas	1812
Isabella Lucas	1812
Mary Rigby	1812
Joseph Lucas	1813
Isabella Collambell	1814
Ann Miller	1814
Andrew Moody	1814
Mary Ann Wild	1814
Elizabeth Brooks	1815
William Hooper	1815
Julia Atkins	1816
Stephen Brooks	1816
Elizabeth Hooper	1816
Gill Moody	1816
John Pallant	1816
Francis Turvey	1816
Thomas Kent	1817
Bridget Wood	1817
Frederick Grendy	1818
George Hooper	1818
Ann Kent	1818
John Porson	1818
Anthony Collambell	1819
Fanny Harrison	1819
Elisha Wild	1819
Andrew Dovener	1820
William Augus	1821
Samuel Moody	1821
Mary Sikes	1821
Mary Bye	1822
James Moody	1822
James Nicholson	1822
Amelia Hooper	1823
Master James Nicholson	1823
Ann Elliston	1824
Britannia Faulkner	1824
Mary Lucas	1824
Sarah Tippett	1824
James Nicholson	1825
Hannah Owen	1825
Frederick Tanner	1825
Ann Whitelock	1825
Mary Bate	1826
Deodatus Bye	1826
Martha Hooper	1826
Elizabeth Prior	1826
John Flint	1827
Ellen Payne	1827
John Burder	1828
Frederick English	1828
Sarah Tilberry	1828
Julia Atkins	1829
Ann Simmons	1829
George Armstrong	1830
Emily Walker	1830
Michael Atkins	1831
Sarah Savage	1831
Catherine Lewis	1832
Charles Tanner	1832
Mary Warne	1832
Margaret Watkins	1832
Samuel Watkins	1832

[1] *Vide* page 229.

LIST OF COFFINS—Continued.

Thomas Edwards	1833
Rhoda Sampson	1833
Master John Nicholson	1833
John Armstrong	1834
Mary Ann Faulkner	1834
Donald Lambell	1834
Mary Ann Atkins	1835
Rev. Thomas Greenwood	1835
Ann Edwards	1835
Hester Foster	1835
David Ingram	1835
Cal Roberts	1835
William Robert	1835
Thomas Savage	1835
Ann Stoddart	1835
Mary Ann Armstrong	1836
Catherine Hayne	1836
Mary Moody	1836
Ellen Payne Nicholson	1836
Mary Ann Rider	1836
Francis Roberts	1836
William Spencer	1836
Eliza Horwell	1837
Richard Molineaux	1837
Philip Waterfield	1837
John Henzy Bate	1838
Elizabeth Gibbs.	1838
Kitty Bonell	1839
James Bonell	1839
Elizabeth Grimes	1839
Jane Tilberry	1839
Sarah Wetherall	1839
John Bate	1840
John Henry Bonell	1840
Thomas Mellwood Edwards	1840
Ann Hooper	1840
Elizabeth Hooper	1840
John Rushton	1840
Caroline Stoddart	1841
Master Stoddart	1841
Martha Cawston	1842
Thomas Moody	1842
Ann Brittle	1843
Alfred Hayne	1843
D. D. Lambell	1844
Robert Grimes	1846
Robert Brittle Bate	1847
John Barker Moody	1847
Jonathan Hayne	1848
Eliza Crawford	1849
Lucy Moody	1849
George Rushton	1849
Ann Brittle Bate	1851
Mary Edwards	1853
Robert Garner	1853

There were besides 154 coffins without plates, making in all 315.

In the year 1763, a nocturnal visit was made to this dreary vault by a party of gentlemen, on the invitation of the Rev. Stephen Aldrich, then rector of St. John's, for the purpose of testing the reality of spirit-rapping, and for the detection of a supposed imposture—"The Cock-lane Ghost," of whose actual existence many thousands of credulous persons felt assured, and who had promised by affirmative knocks to manifest itself to a gentleman of the party by knocking on the lid of the coffin which contained its body. Of course, no such manifestation was given; for Dr. Johnson, who was an ear witness, says that when the spirit was solemnly required to fulfil its promise, nothing more than silence ensued.

This memorable visit to the regions of the dead excited the mirthful satire of Churchill, a contemporary poet, who, in some admirable lines, has burlesqued this "expedition 'gainst a ghost," as he facetiously calls it, which—

> Thro' the dull deep surrounding gloom,
> In close array, t'wards Fanny's tomb
> Adventur'd forth ; Caution before,
> With heedful step, a lanthorn bore,
> Pointing at graves ; and in the rear,
> Trembling, and talking loud, went Fear.
>
>
>
> At length they reach the place of death.
> A vault it was, long time apply'd
> To hold the last remains of Pride.
>
>

Thrice each the pond'rous key apply'd,
And thrice to turn it vainly try'd,
'Till taught by Prudence to unite,
And straining with collected might,
The stubborn wards resist no more,
But open flies the growling door.
Three paces back they fell, amaz'd,
Like statues stood, like madmen gaz'd.

. . . .

How would the wicked ones rejoice,
And infidels exalt their voice,
If M—e and Plausible were found,
By shadows aw'd, to quit their ground?
How would fools laugh should it appear
Pomposo was the slave of fear?

. . . .

Silent all three went in; about
All three turn'd silent, and came out.[1]

The story is as follows:—In 1762, Parsons, the officiating clerk of St. Sepulchre's, London, observing one morning, at early prayers, a genteel couple standing in the aisle, ordered them into a pew; and was afterwards thanked for his civility by the gentleman, who asked if he could inform him of a lodging in the neighbourhood. Parsons offered his own house in Cock-lane, West Smithfield, which was accepted of. Some time after, in the absence of the gentleman in the country, Parsons's daughter, a child about eleven years of age, was taken by the lady (who went by the name of Miss Fanny, and was of good family, in Norfolk) to her bed. In the morning the lady complained to the household of both having been disturbed in the night by loud noises. Mrs. Parsons, at a loss to account for them, bethought herself of a neighbouring shoemaker, whom they concluded to be the cause of the disturbance. Soon after, on a Sunday night, Miss Fanny, getting out of bed, called to Mrs. Parsons to know whether the shoemaker worked on Sunday night. She, answering in the negative, was asked to enter the chamber and hear the noises herself. After this time other persons were invited to attend in the room and hear the continued sounds. Amongst the persons so invited was the Rev. Mr. Lindin, but he excused himself. The gentleman and lady removed into the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell (where the latter soon after died), and the noises discontinued from the time of their leaving until the month of January, 1763, when they recommenced. In this second visitation Parsons's child, upon certain knockings and scratchings, which seemed to proceed from beneath her bedstead, was thrown into violent fits and agitations. Parsons put questions to the ghost, as the cause of the sounds was supposed to be, and dictated how many knocks should serve for an affirmative and a negative answer. Although they had disturbed Miss Fanny before her death, they were now supposed to be the doings of her spirit. She in her rapping conversation charged one Mr. ———, whose first wife's sister she had been, and with whom she had cohabited, with having poisoned her, by putting arsenic into purl, and administering it to her when ill of the small-pox. The girl pretended to see the ghost, "without hands in a shroud;" and other persons affected to see the like apparition "with hands all luminous and shining." The fame of the Cock-lane Ghost and its unearthly manifestations spread far and wide, and thousands of persons of every rank and station came to see, or rather to hear the spirit.

"I went to hear it" (writes Walpole to Montague, Feb. 2, 1781), "for it is not an apparition, but an audition. We set out from the opera, changed our clothes at Northumberland House. The Duke of York, Lady Northumberland, Lady Mary Coke, Lady Hertford, and I, all in a hackney-coach, drove to the spot. It rained in torrents; yet the lane was full of mob, and the houses full. We could not get in. At last they discovered it was the Duke of York; and the company squeezed themselves into one another's pockets to make room for us. The house, which is borrowed, and to

[1] *The Ghost*, by Churchill, b. ii., line 705 to 808.

which the ghost had adjourned, is wretchedly small and miserable. When we opened the chamber, in which were fifty people, with no light but one tallow-candle at the end, we tumbled over the bed of the child to whom the ghost comes. At the top of the room are ropes to dry clothes. I asked if we were to have rope-dancing between the acts. We heard nothing. We staid till half-an-hour after one. Provisions are sent in like forage, and all the taverns and alehouses in the neighbourhood make fortunes."

No discovery could be made of the cause of the noises which attracted the crowds to Cock-lane. The girl was removed to other houses, but the noises still followed her; and wainscots and floorings were torn away to facilitate a detection of any imposture, which, however, was not discovered. By the more rational people it was thought that there was some fraud in the affair, and that the noises were produced by ventriloquism. Measures were taken to sift the matter, as will appear from the following advertisement:—"To the Publick. We, whose names are underwritten, thought it proper, upon the approbation of the Lord Mayor, received on Saturday last in the afternoon, to see Mr. Parsons yesterday, and to ask him in respect of the time when his child should be brought to Clerkenwell. He replied in these words, 'That he consented to the examination proposed, provided that some persons connected with the girl might be permitted to be there, to divert her in the daytime.' This was refused, being contrary to the plan. He then mentioned a woman whom he affirmed to be unconnected, and not to have been with her. Upon being sent for she came, and was a person well known to us, by having been constantly with her, and very intimate with this familiar, as she is called. Upon this he, Mr. Parsons, recommended an unexceptionable person, the daughter of a relation, who was a gentleman of fortune. After an enquiry into her character, he informed us that this unexceptionable person had disobliged her father, and was out at service. Upon this we answered, 'Mr. Parsons, if you can procure any person or persons of strict character and reputation, who are housekeepers, such will be with pleasure admitted.' Upon this he required a little time to seek for such a person. Instead of coming, as he promised and we expected, one William Lloyd came by his direction, and said as follows—'Mr. Parsons chooses first to consult with his friends, who are at present not in the way, before he gives a positive answer concerning the removal of his daughter to the Rev. Mr. Aldrich's.' (Signed) 'Will. Lloyd, Brook-street, Holborn.' Within three hours after we received another message from Mr. Parsons by the same hand, viz., 'If the Lord Mayor will give his approbation the child shall be removed to the Rev. Mr. Aldrich's.' The plan before mentioned was thus set forth in the publick papers; the girl was to be brought to the house of the said clergyman, without any person whatever that had or was supposed to have the least connexion with her. The father was to be there; not suffered to be in the room, but in a parlour, where there could be no sort of communication, attended by a proper person. A bed, without any furniture, was to be set in the middle of a large room, and the chairs to be placed round it. The persons to be present were some of the clergy, a physician, surgeon, apothecary, and a justice of the peace. The child was to be undressed, examined, and put to bed, by a lady of character and fortune. Gentlemen of established character, both clergy and laity (amongst whom was a noble lord, who desired to attend), were to have been present at the examination. We have done, and still are ready to do, everything in our power to detect an imposture, if any, of the most unhappy tendency both to the public and individuals. Ste. Aldrich, Rector of St. John's, Clerkenwell. James Penn, Lecturer of St. Anne's, Aldersgate."

On the night of the 31st of January, 1763, many gentlemen, eminent for their rank and character, were, by the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Aldrich, assembled at his house for the examination of the noises supposed to be made by the departed spirit.

About ten at night the gentlemen met in the chamber in which the girl supposed to be disturbed by a spirit had, with proper caution, been put to bed by several ladies. They sat rather more than an hour, and, hearing nothing, went down stairs, where they interrogated the father of the girl, who denied in the strongest terms any knowledge or belief of fraud.

The supposed spirit had before publicly promised, by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault under the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, where the body

was deposited, and give a token of her presence there by a knock upon her coffin; it was therefore determined to make this trial of the existence or veracity of the supposed spirit.

While they were inquiring and deliberating, they were summoned into the girl's chamber by some ladies who were near the bed, and who had heard knocks and scratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared that she felt the spirit like a mouse upon her back; and being required to hold her hands out of bed, from that time, though the spirit was very solemnly required to manifest its existence by appearance, by impression on the hand or body of any present, by scratches, knocks, or any agency, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited.

The spirit was then seriously advertised that the person to whom the promise was made of striking the coffin was then about to visit the vault, and that the performance of the promise was then claimed. The company, at one o'clock, went into the church; and the gentleman to whom the promise was made went with one more into the vault. The spirit was solemnly required to perform its promise, but nothing more than silence ensued. The person supposed to be accused by the ghost then went down with several others, but no effect was perceived. Upon their return they examined the girl, but could draw no confession from her. Between two and three o'clock she desired, and was permitted to go home with her father. It was the opinion of the whole assembly, "that the child has some art of making or counterfeiting particular noises, and that there is no agency of any higher cause."

To elude the force of this conclusion, it was given out that the coffin in which the body of the supposed ghost had been deposited, or at least the body itself, had been displaced, or removed out of the vault. Mr. ———, therefore, thought proper to take with him to the vault the undertaker who buried Miss Fanny, and such other unprejudiced persons as on inspection might be able to prove the weakness of such a suggestion. Accordingly on February 25th, Mr. ———, with a clergyman, the undertaker, clerk, and sexton of the parish, and two or three gentlemen, went into the vault; when the undertaker at once identified the coffin, which was taken from under the others, and easily known to be the same, as there was no plate or inscription on it; and, to further satisfy Mr. ———, the coffin was opened, and the body was found to be within it.

The girl was removed from house to house, and was said to be constantly attended by the usual noises, although she was bound hand and foot, her lips were motionless, and she appeared to be asleep. It was even said that the sounds could be heard in rooms at a considerable distance from where she lay. At length her bed was tied up in the manner of a hammock, about a yard and a half from the ground, and her hands and feet were extended and fastened as widely as they could be without doing her injury, for two nights successively, during which no noises were heard. The next day, being pressed to confess, and being told that if the sounds were not heard again she and her parents would be sent to Newgate, and half an hour being given her to consider, she desired that she might be put to bed to try if the noises would come. This was done, but no sounds were heard. On the following day, being told that only the approaching night would be allowed her for another trial, she concealed a small board under her stays. Having got into bed, she told the attendant gentlemen that she would bring the ghost at six o'clock the next morning. At the time named she began to knock and scratch upon the board, but the fact of its being concealed being known, she was searched and caught in her deception. Probably the organs with which she made the strange noises were not always in proper tone for the purpose, and, being intimidated by the threats, she thought she might be able to imitate the sounds on the board.

Mr. ——— thought proper to vindicate his character in a legal way. On the 10th of July, the father and mother of the child, one Mary Frazer, who acted as interpreter of the noises, a clergyman, and a tradesman, were tried at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield, by a special jury, and convicted of conspiracy. Sentence was deferred for several months in order to give the offenders an opportunity of making Mr. ——— some compensation in the mean time. Accordingly the clergyman and tradesman gave him several hundred pounds, and were thereupon dismissed with a reprimand. Parsons was sentenced to be placed three times in the pillory at the end of Cock-lane, and then to be imprisoned for two years in the King's Bench gaol. Strange to relate, the rabble, who usually assembled in large

numbers to witness and to assist in carrying out the former part of such a sentence, were in this case moved with compassion for the victim of the strong arm of the law, and refrained from offering him, while thus exposed, any insult either by word or deed, and a public subscription was afterwards raised for his benefit. Mrs. Parsons was sentenced to be imprisoned for one year, and Mary Frazer six months, with hard labour. Miss Parsons, the agent of the mysterious noise, and who doubtless acted under her father's instructions, was twice married, and died in 1806.

Mr. Timbs, the indefatigable collector of the "Curiosities of London," has preserved in his volume of odments the following interesting note by Mr. J. W. Archer:—

"While drawing the crypt of St. John's, Clerkenwell, in a narrow cloister, on the north side, there being at that time coffins, fragments of shrouds, and human remains lying about in disorder, the sexton's boy pointed to one of the coffins, and said that it was 'scratching Fanny.' This reminding me of the Cock-lane Ghost, I removed the lid of the coffin, which was loose, and saw the body of a woman, which had become adipocere; the face was perfect, handsome, oval, with an aquiline nose. Will not arsenic produce adipocere? She is said to have been poisoned, although the charge is understood to have been disproved. I enquired of one of the churchwardens of the time, Mr. Bird, who said the coffin had always been understood to contain the body of the woman whose spirit was said to have haunted the house in Cock-lane."

Since that time the vault has been set in order, and the above-mentioned coffin put away.

Malcolm, who visited this crypt between sixty and seventy years ago, complained of the effluvia arising from the decaying bodies as so offensive, that he was obliged to have recourse to a phial of lavender water. At present there is no perceptible odour, the practice of burying here in stone or lead coffins only, which has been adopted since 1815, and the fastening up of all the coffins in one crypt, having obviated the pernicious evil complained of.

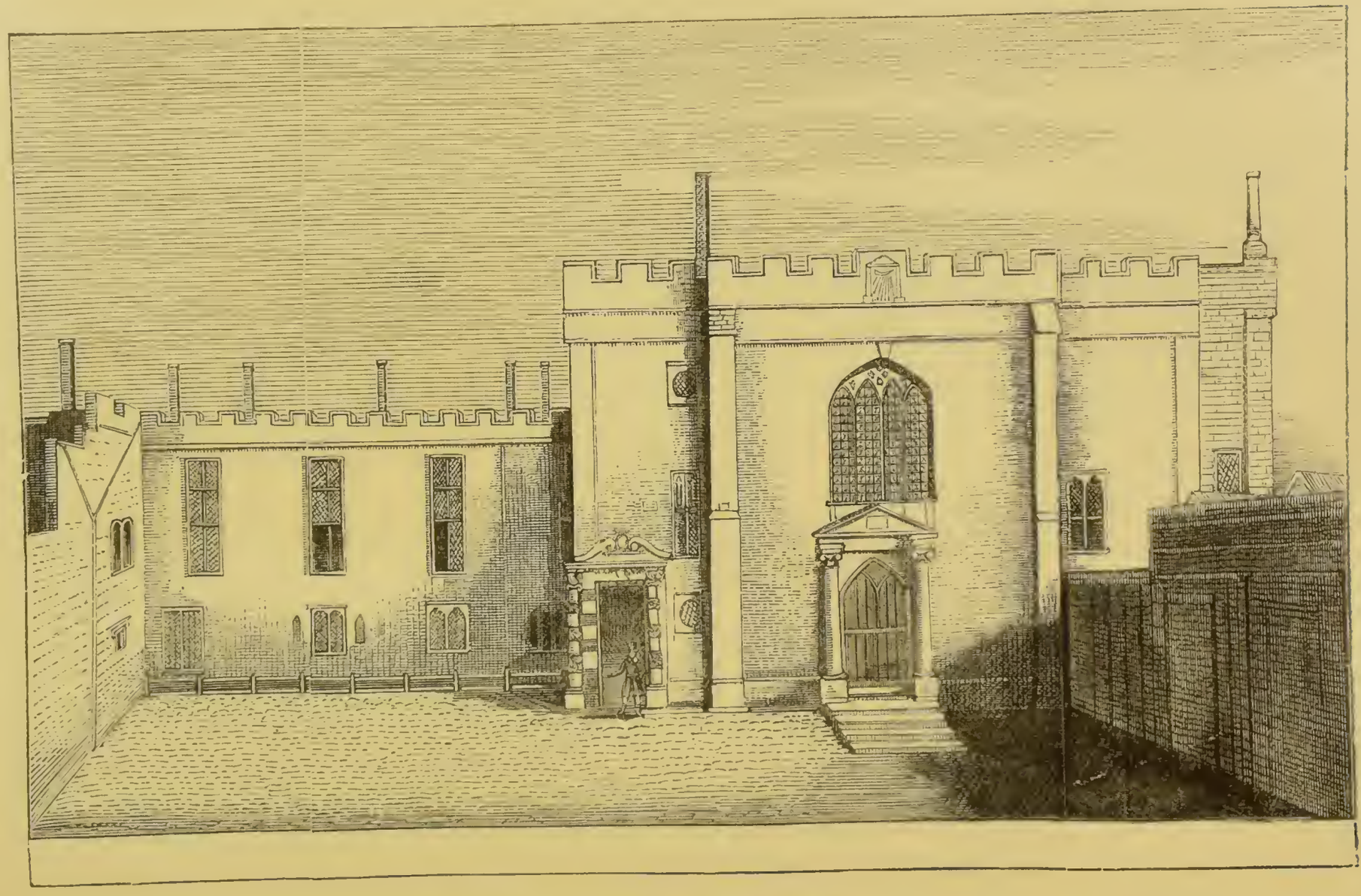
A committee of gentlemen, appointed in the year 1800 to report on the necessary repairs of the church, on descending into the crypt were much "surprised by the appearance of an immense spider's web, which like a vast sheet of dusky drapery was suspended from the higher coffins and the wall behind, and hung droopingly over those below. It varied from ten to fifteen feet in length, and its breadth in parts was scarcely less."

The discoveries which have been made of late years of the vestigia of the ancient priory and church confirm the testimony of Stow and other old topographers, and help us to form an accurate conception of the original magnificence of the monastic buildings of St. John of Jerusalem. Many years ago some workmen were employed in making a sewer beneath the square nearly in a line with Jerusalem-passage; at this spot the excavating was impeded by a wall seven feet in thickness, composed only of a rubble of chalk and flint, but so compact as almost to bid defiance to the operations of the wedge and pickaxe. "From the situation," says Cromwell, "this would appear to have been part of the substructure of the stately tower described by Stow." "From various sources of information," says Mr. Newton, "we learn that the church was about three hundred feet long, extending westward over the area of the present St. John-square; that its transepts stood in a direct line with the great south gate and the north gate or postern."

Mr. Griffith says in his notes on St. John's Priory:—"The enclosure-walls can still be traced on the north, south, east, and west sides, and the modern dwellings in St. John's-square are mostly built upon the old rubble walls of the hospital; fragments of the ancient buildings are frequently discovered. The northern boundary comprised the north postern and the priory buildings and walls extending from the north postern westward, towards Red Lion-street, and from the north postern eastward towards St. John-street. The foundations of the priory buildings and walls form the foundations of the cellars under No. 19, and the basements of Nos. 21 and 22, on the north side of St. John's-square. An opening was made in the basement wall between Nos. 19 and 20, St. John's-square, on September 12th, 1851, and the wall was found to be seven feet thick and formed of squared stone on the outer or north side, and chalk rubble within. Some of the stones had been used for windows, &c.; one stone was exactly similar in nature to the mantel stone found in the cellar by St. John's Gate, and was covered with black shining flinty particles, as if it had been subjected to fire. This wall was close by the northern postern. There are still in existence, beneath the houses on the

east side of the above postern, walls seven feet in thickness, and containing splayed openings. I tunneling beneath No. 46, St. John's-square, for the main drainage, solid concrete foundations of priory buildings had to be cut through. We are informed from the Minute Book of the Commissioners for Paving, &c., the Parish of St. John, Clerkenwell,[1] that permission was granted on May 19th, 1780, to Mr. Gabriel Gregory, the proprietor of the house adjoining (then about to be rebuilt), at the south-west corner of Jerusalem-passage, to take down the north postern and thereby leave the south entrance to the above passage 'open from the ground to the sky.' The north postern was therefore covered, and by the plan in the commissioners' book it appears to have been 17 ft. 10 in. long (inside measure), and 10 ft. 1 in. wide at the south end, and 10 ft. 9 in. at the north end; and enclosed next St. John's-square by a light enclosure with a gate 10 ft. 7 in. high, and at the other (north) end by a gate 5 ft. 5 in. wide and 8 ft. high. This was an outer gate in the north boundary wall, which latter was 3 ft. 6 in. in thickness at this part. The priory was enclosed on the south side from St. John's-street (eastward) towards Red Lion-street (westward), with St. John's Gate in the centre. Of the southern boundary there are St. John's Gate and 67 ft. of wall, extending westward from the gate, remaining. Of the eastern boundary Hollar has given a view as it appeared in 1661. It portrays the east end of St. John's Church, with the hospital gardens and boundary wall; all of which faced St. John's-street. Regarding the western boundary, there are remains of the old priory wall in Ledbury-place, being originally the west garden wall of Bishop Burnet's house, and in the west garden wall of Dr. Adam Clarke's house, which adjoins Burnet's house southward, and was the western boundary."

[1] The first meeting of this commission was held on May 13th, 1771; Sir George Booth, Bart., in the chair.



AYLESBURY HOUSE AND CHAPEL, CLERKENWELL. (FROM AN ENGRAVING BY HOLLAR IN 1661.)

CHAPTER X.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, CLERKENWELL—Continued.

St. John's Gate:—When Erected and by whom—The Materials used in its construction—The Arms upon the North and South Fronts of the Gateway—The Entrance to the Western Tower—Old Staircase in the Tower—The Roof of the Archway—Devices upon it—A Modern Painting of the Knights of St. John—Interior of the Gatehouse—The Hall—The Coffee Room—The Chair called Dr. Johnson's Chair—The Gate Repaired in 1845-6—History of the Gate—The Gate Porter—The Gate the Residence of Sir Roger Wilbraham and Edward Cave—Becomes a Printing Office—The "Gentleman's Magazine" first Printed and Published there—Dr. Johnson Employed by Cave at St. John's Gate—Garrick Performs there—Johnson's extreme Poverty—Mrs. Elizabeth Carter resides temporarily in the Gatehouse—The Visits of Savage, Lauder, and Dr. Hawkesworth to the Gate—Jedediah Buxton, an Extraordinary Mental Calculator, Resides in the Gatehouse—The Battlements of the Gate Mounted with Cannon—A Lightning Conductor set up on one of the Eastern Towers—The Printing Office of the "Gentleman's Magazine" Removed—Books Printed at St. John's Gate—A Biography of Edward Cave—Moses Browne—John Duick—Benjamin Foster—The Urban Club.

There is in the Metropolis no similar structure to St. John's Gate now that the old City gates have been removed. Few ancient buildings are of so much interest as this, chiefly on account of its time honoured associations. It stands alone in its hoary grandeur as a memorial of the past, and its stirring histories. May posterity so reverence this venerable monument of a powerful military order which once flourished in our midst as long to preserve it from ruin.[1]



SOUTH SIDE OF ST. JOHN'S GATE.

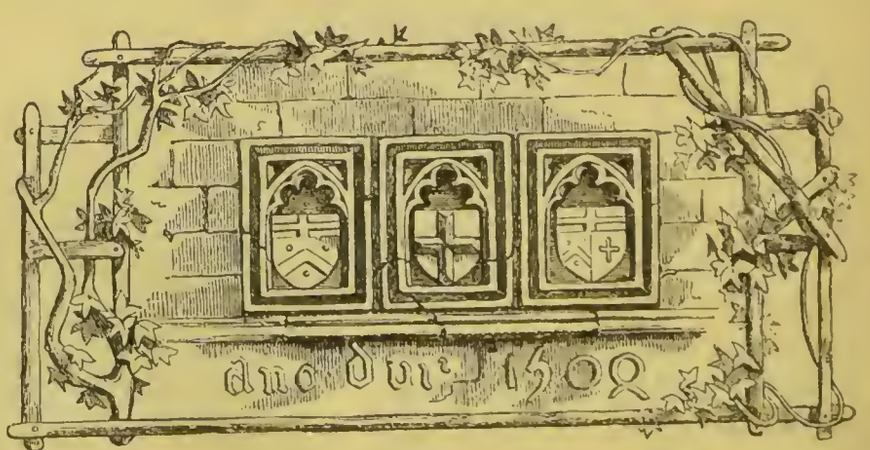
This building, the grand south gate of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, was erected on the site of an older structure by Sir Thomas Docwra, who completed the splendid work in which he was engaged, viz., that of restoring the ruined priory, by the edification of St. John's Gate in 1504. The characteristics of its architecture are those of the Perpendicular style, which the obtusely pointed windows, Tudor arched doorways, embattled parapets, and the more minute details of rib, boss, and moulding, serve strikingly to exemplify.

[1] A very spirited article on St. John's Gate appeared in Chambers's *Edinburgh Journal*, first series, No. 510, November 6th, 1841.

The materials used in the construction of this beautiful edifice were brick and freestone. The inner walls, three feet in thickness, are composed of hard, red bricks, and are cased externally with stone, in depth about nine inches. Mr. Griffith says in his MS. notes:—"The walls of the present St. John's Gate are about three feet thick, of brick faced with stone nine inches thick, brought from Ryegate. This stone was also used in building Henry the Seventh's chapel, in 1502." The foundation walls are not less than ten feet seven inches in thickness. The south or principal front of the gate—that facing towards the City—with its double projecting towers, when in its pristine state, before the furrows of time had been traced upon its surface, must have presented a very imposing aspect, especially as it was loftier than it now is, the accumulation of the soil around it having lessened the height of the building. The gate and its flanking towers are pierced by numerous windows, the principal one being a wide, obtusely pointed arch, glazed with diamond panes, disposed by mullions of wood into three lights, and having appropriately painted upon them shields of arms. Beneath this window are several shields in gothic niches. That in the centre is emblazoned in relief with the arms of France and England, surmounted by a crown; this is supported by two other shields, those of the priory, bearing the ensign of the cross. Right and left of these are two others, that on the right bearing the arms of the founder, impaling the arms of England, the same as appear on the central shield. The shield on the left emblazons the insignia of Sir Thomas Docwra in full. Underneath this series were formerly carved in relief the initials T. D., separated by a Maltese cross, and the word Prior. On the north side of the gate facing the square are three shields in gothic niches; the device on the centre one is the cross, that on the left has the chevron, roundels, and cross in chief, that on the right the same blazon with a cross moline as an impalement. Beneath in low relief are the words ano dni 1504. The three last figures of the year can be clearly discerned, particularly the five and four; both these numerals are of ancient form. The arms of Docwray (London), according to Edmondson's "Heraldry," are sable: a chevron engrailed argent between three plates, each charged with a pallet gules. On a chief argent a cross gules. Mr. Griffith in his MS. notes says:—"The arms of the Priory were, gules, a cross argent. The arms of Docwra were, sable, a chevron engrailed argent between three plates, each charged with a pallet or."



THE ARMS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND ON THE SOUTH FRONT OF ST. JOHN'S GATE.

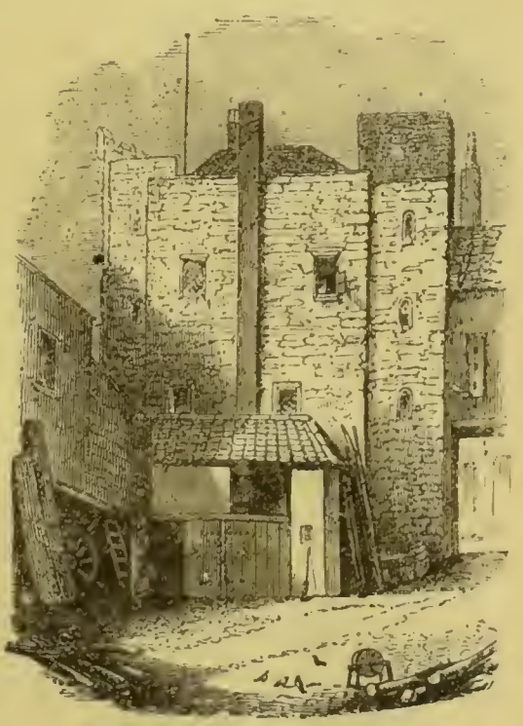


THE ARMS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN AND SIR THOMAS DOCWRA ON THE NORTH FRONT OF ST. JOHN'S GATE.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for October, 1788, p. 853, is an engraving of the arms and inscriptions on St. John's Gate.

The entrance to the west tower from the north side of the gate is no longer used; it formerly led to a staircase which conducted to the top of the gate, and was the entrance to Cave's printing office. The spandrils of the doorcase are ornamented with devices in relief, which at present are so decayed as not to be discernible, but which were described in 1788 as representing "a cock and

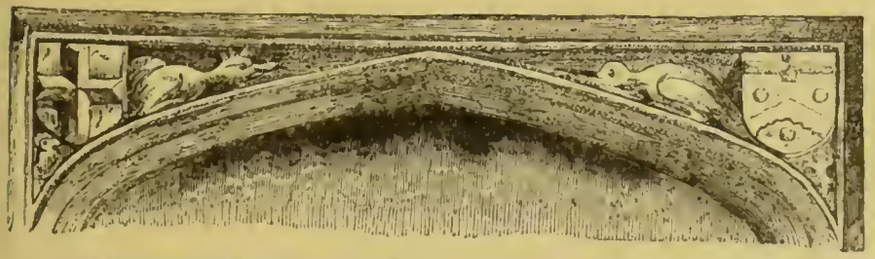
hawk," and a "hen and lion,[1]" supporting the shield of the priory and that of Sir Thomas Docwra. The lowness of this doorway is owing to the accumulation of the soil. There is a stone floor three feet below the present surface, corresponding with the ancient exterior level. In this tower, the interior of which is of circular form, are some remains of the original well staircase which led to the top of the gateway, and communicated with the different rooms on this side of the building. Only about two-thirds of this ancient staircase, which is composed of solid blocks of oak, six inches in thickness, now exist, the lower portion of it having been removed about sixty years ago, and a modern zig-zag staircase placed in lieu thereof. We think that the remains of the old staircase are the most antique portions of the internal fittings of the gatehouse now remaining. There can be little doubt, although no traces remain, that the east tower had a staircase of similar character. Mr. Griffith in his MS. notes says:—"The staircases were constructed in the towers on the north side next St. John's-square. They were spiral, of solid stone from the ground story up to the first story, and of solid oak from thence to the top. Some remains of the stone steps I saw in 1845, but the stone staircase in the north-west tower was removed in 1814."



THE WEST SIDE OF ST. JOHN'S GATE.

There was also an entrance to the east tower on the north side of the gate, directly opposite the one we have noticed; but this has been long bricked up, and externally presents no features of interest.

When Hollar, in 1661, sketched his picturesque view of the north side of St. John's Gate as it then appeared, the crown of the lofty Gothic arch was encumbered with an erection, apparently of wood, occupying the whole of the upper portion of the gateway. Beneath this erection there were two distinct passages, one for vehicles, and the other (a smaller one) for pedestrians. This unsightly excrescence was permitted for a long time to disfigure the noble gateway. It still clogged the arch when Cave, in 1731, established his printing office in the gatehouse; this is apparent from the frontispiece of the "Gentleman's Magazine" for May in that year, which, although only a rudely-executed woodcut, may, we think, be taken as a tolerably accurate depiction of the gate when in the occupancy of Cave. From this engraving the erection under the arch appears to have been of brick, supported by a cross beam. The entrances were then double, as in Hollar's time, the partition separating the roadway from the footpath serving as a partial support to the room above. The removal of this unsightly incumbrance was effected in the year 1771, at the expense of the St. John's Commissioners for Paving, &c., who purchased for £62 the interest of the owner and occupier, and paid Sir William Staines £25 "for restoring the masons' work." The gateway, cleared of all obstructions and restored to its original dimensions, and judiciously repaired, wore again its pristine aspect.



THE SPANDRILS OF THE DOORCASE OF THE WEST TOWER, ST. JOHN'S GATE.

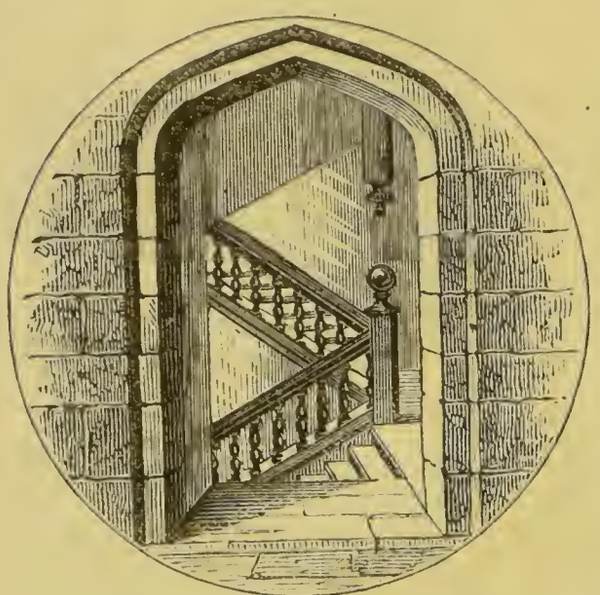
The roof of the archway, as now exposed, is a beautiful example of the groining of the fifteenth century, adorned with shields, bosses, and moulded ribs, springing from angular columns, with

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Oct., 1788, p. 853.

moulded capitals. On the centre or key stone of the arch is carved the paschal lamb, not as the Agnus Dei is usually represented *passant*, but kneeling on a clasped copy of the gospels, and supporting the flag. In a line with this symbol are the shields of the priory and of Docwra again repeated, all coloured. The elevation of the arch appears to be somewhat dwarfed, which is owing to the accumulation of the soil beneath and around it. This is evident on approaching the gateway from the south, where the fixed iron shaft of one of the top hinges on which the gates swung is about even with the elbow of a person of ordinary stature.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," November, 1813, p. 425, is an engraving of antiquities at St. John's Gate, consisting of the keystone of the gate, the two crown stones to the arch, the entrance leading to the top of the gate, and the arch of a door then lately discovered under the gate. And in the same magazine for 1815, new series, xxiv., p. 17, is an engraving of St. John's Gate.

On the east side of the archway is a modern painting in oil colours embracing the entire width of the arch, containing twenty-four square feet of canvass, depicting the Knights of St. John about the time of Edward IV., leaving for a grand jousting. This animated composition, which was designed by Mr. David Ford, and painted by the late John Wright, was placed there by the late Mr. Benjamin Foster, the gate and tavern keeper, who, imbued with a love of antiquity, spent much of his time and money in reviving and restoring the mediæval character of this ancient gateway. The east basement is the bar of the Old Jerusalem Tavern, to which there are two entrances; that on the north side is of Tudor form and of recent construction, and harmonises well with the prevailing style of architecture. This, however, cannot be said of the south side entrance, which has been ruthlessly formed by cutting through the angle of the projecting tower on this side. This of course rendered it necessary that a new support should be found for the angle thus weakened by the removal of the ancient masonry, when with exceedingly bad taste a cast iron pillar was erected as a bearing for the superincumbent masonry. The third entrance is beneath the gateway.



PART OF THE STAIRS AT ST. JOHN'S GATE.

The basement on the western side has been used for a variety of purposes. In 1813 it was converted into a watchhouse for St. John's district; more recently it was used as a dispensing hospital, restored by the modern Knights of St. John. Indigent patients were relieved there twice a week. The charity was so beneficent in its character that in the first year of its establishment two thousand and sixty-two persons experienced its benefits. It is to be regretted that such a benevolent institution did not meet with that support which it so much deserved.[1] The premises have since been converted into a coal-shed, and are now used as an old book store.

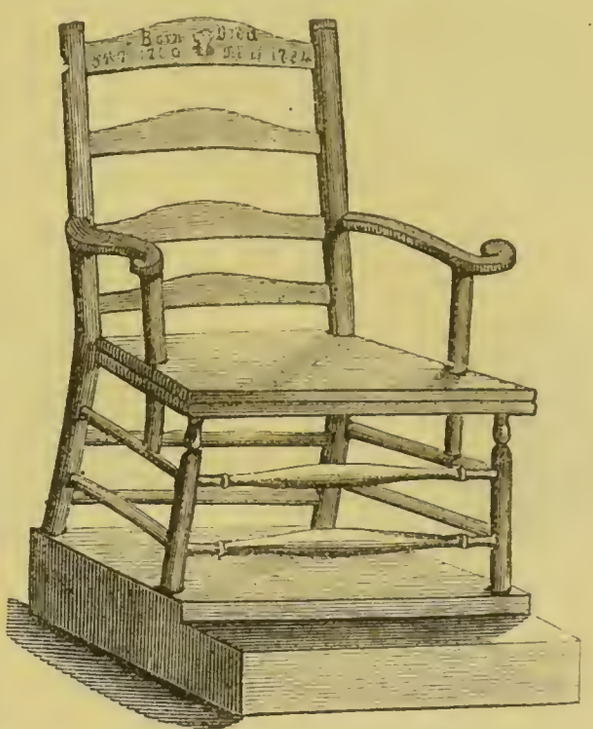
The interior of the gatehouse, although greatly modernised by being adapted to and furnished with the necessary conveniences of a dwelling house, retains some features of its original character. In several of the apartments the old panelled oak ceilings remain, and a portion of one of the ancient staircases already noticed still stands. The principal room over the arch, called the "Grand Hall," is reached by a staircase of no higher antiquity than the period of Queen Elizabeth, or that of James I. This noble apartment has been denuded of its architectural beauty; common square wooden window frames have been substituted for stone mullions, and a modern flat ceiling supplies the place of a groined roof. In the hall are two figures in armour, one said to represent Sir Thomas Docwra, the other Sir William Weston. A handsome bust of Mr. William Till, on an elaborate bracket, adorns the mantel. It has the following inscription:—"This bust of Mr. William Till was,

[1] Foster's *History of ye Gate of St. John*, p. 67.

by the unanimous vote of the Chapter of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, placed in this hall as a mark of their esteem and high respect for the attachment he has invariably shewn to, and the services he has rendered the Society. 3rd March, 1836." By this eminent numismatist were presented the arms of the priory and those of Sir Thomas Docwra, which now adorn the mantels of the hall and parlour. They are cast in bronze, which had been Greek and Roman coins of from two to three hundred years before the birth of Christ, which coins were melted up for this especial purpose.

In this hall, which by past association with the loved memories of Johnson, Garrick, Goldsmith, and others of kindred minds, is consecrated to genius, several literary clubs hold their meetings, and at these assemblages will be found men whose wit, wisdom, and eloquence, are the delight of the reading public.

In the coffee room, on the basement floor, is a chair called Dr. Johnson's chair, the capacity of which appears to have been well suited to his burly figure. It is simply an old-fashioned, wooden elbow-chair; originally it appears to have had a rush bottom, but at present the seating is of wood not a little worm eaten. On the top rail is painted the dates of the doctor's birth and death.[1] The Editor has been informed (with the offer of a "solemn oath" to support the information) by Mr. David Ford, of St. Peter's, Islington, who was a friend of the late Mr. Benjamin Foster, that this chair has no real claim to the honours which it bears. Mr. Ford says that when Mr. Foster took possession of St. John's Gate he was in very humble circumstances, and finding on the premises some old articles of furniture he gladly made them available for the purposes of his business. Amongst the furniture was an ancient chair, which being tolerably sound and rather spacious, he had cleaned and placed in the parlour (which was then where the tap room is now) as a chairman's seat. Mr. Foster proposed to call it Dr. Johnson's chair as an attraction to the public, and in order to give effect to it he had a portrait of the doctor pasted upon the top rail of the back, and employed Mr. Ford to write the dates of the great lexicographer's birth and death in gold letters beside it, and to varnish the whole. If the matter rested here Mr. Foster perpetrated a hoax on the many who have believed his representation that the chair had been used by Dr. Johnson. But we think that Mr. Foster must have believed that it had been so used; and there is a probability in favour of the belief. The chair was found in one of the top rooms of St. John's Gate; it was an old one, and a spacious one; Dr. Johnson worked at the gate, and he was a bulky man. Mr. Foster had an engraving of the chair inserted in his "History of ye Priory and Gate of St. John," as that of a relic of the doctor. We feel loth to believe that he knowingly committed a fraud, and then perpetuated it. One of Mr. Foster's most intimate friends, a gentleman of undoubted respectability, tells the Editor that he was a sober-minded man, and one not likely to feel a pleasure in deceiving his friends or the public. After all, the matter rests upon a supposition, which has perhaps, as good a foundation as the suppositions relating to many other popular antiquities the origins of which are involved in doubt. On one side of the coffee room, which is elegantly fitted up in the mediæval style, hang the portraits of the Grand Masters of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, framed and glazed. The stone mantel piece in this room is an original one, and was discovered by the pulling down of a modern fireplace which stood before it. This Tudor chimney-



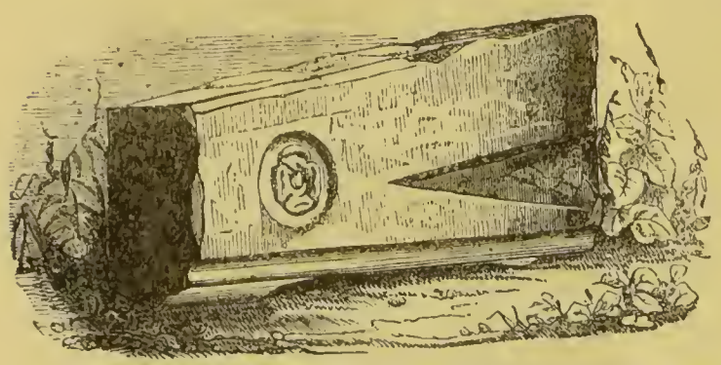
THE CHAIR CALLED DR. JOHNSON'S CHAIR AT ST. JOHN'S GATE.

[1] In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1856, vol. i, page 673, is a drawing by W. P. Griffith, Esq., of this chair.

piece is neatly moulded, with spandrils containing cruciform ornaments. The opening of the fireplace is four feet six inches, and the stone is the same as that of which the gate is composed. Over the chimney-piece is a relieving arch. On one side of this old fireplace, in the wall, which is three feet four inches thick, was found the entrance to a secret passage, which was one foot eleven inches wide, and two feet nine inches in length; at the base of the chamber, or shaft, was an arched opening, communicating with the open archway beneath the gate, and the top of the shaft was immediately under the floor of the hall. The passage was choked with rubbish, in which, when looking it over, Mr. Foster discovered two coins of the reign of Charles II. Another ancient chimney of similar character has since been discovered.

It cannot now be easily ascertained when a portion of the gatehouse was first converted into a tavern. It is, we think, very probable that during the tenancy of the gate by Cave, the printer, and his successors, the eastern portion of the building served this purpose. Northouck, in his "History of London," published in 1773, states that the arch was encumbered with a billiard-room, which "filled all the upper part from the spring of the arch." From this we may safely infer that there was a public-house here at this time, or a billiard room would not have been needed. One writer tells us that after Cave's death, in 1754, the premises became the Jerusalem Public-house and the Jerusalem Tavern, the latter name being assumed from the Jerusalem Tavern in Red Lion-street.

For years was the grand old fabric of St. John's Gate suffered to decay, and the ravages of time continued unchecked until the year 1845, when the Metropolitan Buildings Act coming in force, in pursuance of section 40 (which requires that the district surveyor shall apply forthwith to the official referees to authorise a survey to be made of all buildings within the limits of the act, which through neglect or other causes are in so ruinous a condition that passengers are endangered thereby), a survey of St. John's Gate was made, and notice given to the owners to repair it. The decomposition of the stone casing on the several sides of the building had rendered it dangerous to passers by. Some Goth, without either a taste for art or reverence for antiquity, thereupon suggested that the gatehouse should be covered with compo. Mr. Griffith came happily to the rescue, and by his zeal and energy saved this venerable monument from so barbarous a disfigurement. He directed the attention of the Freemasons of the Church, an architectural society of which he was secretary, to the dilapidated condition of the old gate. They appointed a deputation to wait upon Messrs. Reid and Co., to endeavour to dissuade them from disfiguring the gate by covering the old stonework with cement. By the representations of the deputation the owners were induced to abandon the design, and decided to repair the old stonework. The deputation was appointed a committee[1] to direct the careful reparation of the gate; a design of the proposed restoration was prepared by Mr. Griffith; and an address issued, in March, 1845, "To the nobility, gentry, and all who feel an interest in preserving the arts and monuments of the middle ages," asking for pecuniary aid towards the accomplishment of the proposed works, which were "the reparation of the decorative portions of the Gate, such as tapping or testing each stone in the north and south fronts, carefully rubbing those that are sound, and replacing those which are too much decomposed with new stone, not squared, but inserted so as to conform with the present appearance of the building. The Committee recommend carrying up the embattlements in stone in front of the angular turrets and parapets to their original height, inserting new labels to the

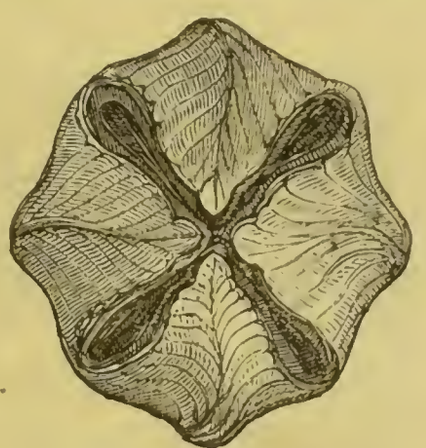


STONE DISCOVERED BY BENJAMIN FOSTER IN THE VAULT ON THE EAST SIDE OF ST. JOHN'S GATE.

[1] This committee consisted of the Rev. Hugh Hughes, B.D., Rector of St. John's, Clerkenwell; the Rev. G. Pocock, LL.B.; Messrs. Thomas Dighton (Architectural Modeller to Prince Albert), C. H. Smith (one of the examiners of the stone for the new Houses of Parliament), W. G. Rogers, James Finn, and W. P. Griffith, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary.

doors and windows, string-courses and bands around, new and proper mullions, with cinque-foil heads to the large windows in the north and south fronts, and removing the unsightly Roman doorway and shop window on the south side, and placing a new window and doorway in keeping with the old gate. And to point up the sides of the building with stone or slate set in good mortar, finished with blue ash mortar, to preserve an uniform colour."

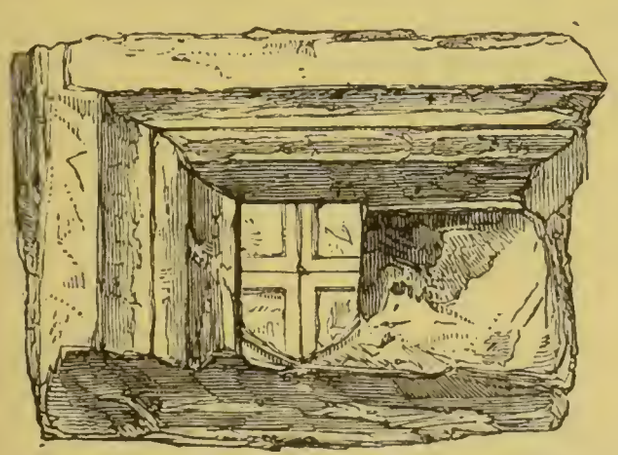
In the month of June, 1846, the work of restoration commenced, the owners having been induced to preserve and repair the old stonework, it having been shown to them that the cost of compoing the gate would exceed that of preserving such of the stonework as was good, and inserting new rough stones to match those which were defective. Accordingly, at the expense of Messrs. Reid and Co., the old stone casing was tapped and tested, new stones were inserted where required, and the whole was pointed with coloured mortar. The towers were partly rebuilt, the ugly high span roof lowered, and at the same time the interior was renovated. In the month of August in the same year further works were executed by Messrs. Cubitt and Co., under the direction of Mr. Griffith, at the public expense. The upper portions of the two towers next St. John's-square were recased with rough stone, new solid stone embattlements fourteen inches in thickness were erected along the whole of the north front, and new window heads, jambs, and sills were added to the turret windows. The cost of these restorations amounted to £108.



A STONE BOSS FROM ST. JOHN'S GATE.

In the month of October the central portion of the south front next St. John's-lane was similarly restored; the old red chimney-pots were removed, and Gothic ones substituted. These additional restorations, including the removal of a Roman door-front next St. John's-square, cost £38 3s.

Much yet remains to be done to render the restoration of this venerable edifice complete, but unfortunately there are no funds available for the purpose. £161 4s. 1d. was the aggregate amount of subscriptions received from the public; of this sum the Marquis of Northampton contributed five guineas, the Court of Common Council ten guineas, Messrs. Reid twenty guineas, and Messrs. Cubitt and Co. ten guineas. It is singular to remark that the Society of Antiquaries did not as a corporation subscribe to this good work, it being their custom "never to contribute to the repair or restoration of ancient edifices." On January 20th, 1848, the Court of Common Council resolved "That in consideration of the judicious and effectual manner in which the restoration of St. John's Gate has, to a considerable extent, been carried on, this Court do subscribe a further sum of twenty pounds upon the completion of the same." This sum will be paid when the restoration shall have been entirely completed.



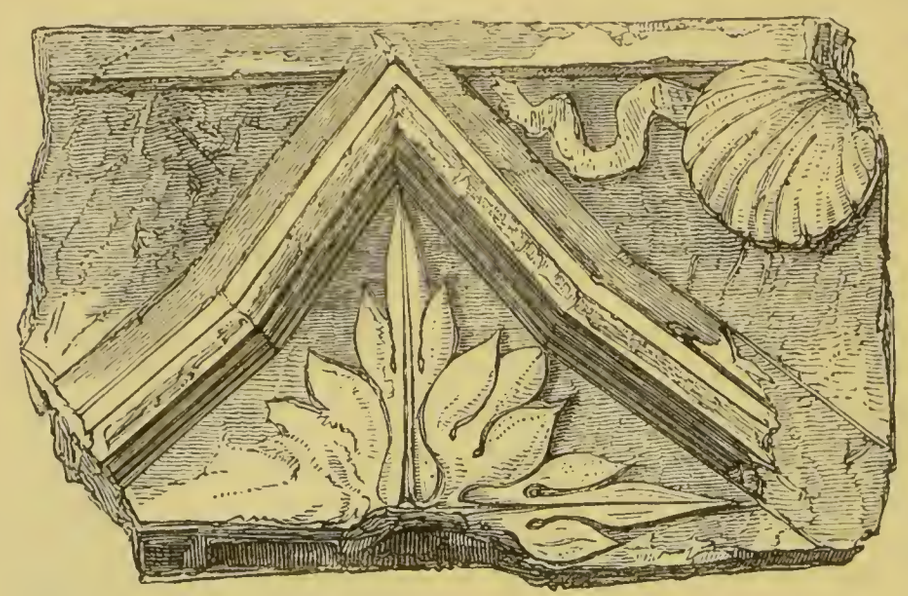
A CARVED STONE WINDOW HEAD FROM ST. JOHN'S GATE.

The history of St. John's Gate cannot be distinctly traced, it being involved in that of the priory, the ruin of which it has long survived, and of whose magnificence it remains as an imposing monument.

The foundation of a gate on or near this spot is doubtless coeval with the priory itself, but of the former structure, which for a time barred the entrance of Wat Tyler's rebels, and was by them in all probability destroyed, scarce a vestige remains. Some few years ago Mr. Griffith discovered a fragment of the old gate which was destroyed by Wat Tyler and his myrmidons. It was part of an ornamental ceiling in Berkeley-street, Clerkenwell, on the site of the residence of Sir Maurice Berkeley, standard bearer to Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth; and was when found thickly coated with modern whitewash, on

removing which a zigzag ornament with a central flower and scallop shells were traceable. They were in parts very perfect and beautifully chiselled. The scallops still on the badges of the crusaders have particular interest. On parts of the stone the action of fire was clearly visible. Mr. Griffith also discovered in the vicinity of St. John's Gate, in 1855, a stone boss, sculptured with foliage; and a carved stone window-head, which belonged to the priory buildings, and is interesting on account of its containing the arms of the priory in the spandril of its arch. These fragments have been deposited in the South Kensington Museum by their fortunate discoverer.

Little more than fifty years after the completion of the present magnificent structure by Prior Docwra, the house, site, and circuit of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, with all its dependent buildings and offices, became the property of the Crown, having been seized by the king when he dissolved the military order to which it belonged. To what use the gate was then turned we have no record. When the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen of England, abode in the stately palace of the hospitallers, the massive doors of this stone portal were ofttimes thrown open to give her egress, when, attended by a splendid retinue, she wended her way to the Tower or to the royal palace at Greenwich. On her accession to the throne she revived the order of the Knights of St. John, and restored to them the "House," the "Gate house," the "Church," &c. From the accounts of the Master of the Revels, who had his office in St. John's, and the arrangement of the royal theatricals, there appears to have been a gate keeper here in 1587, inasmuch as a sum of lxiij*s.* was paid to "The Porter of St. Johns Gatt," and the further sum of x*s.* was paid to one "Daucey, porter of St. Jhons gatte for candells & lanterne duringe the rehersalls;" and also to "John Dancie, Porter of St. Johns; 20 dayes, iiij*li.*" In 1605 "Richerd Prescot porter of St. Johns demaundeth for his attendaunce for ye Rehersalls and Ayrings as hath bin allowed to ye former porters xij*d.* the day for 60 dayes in the yeare; iij*li.* Furder he demaundeth for mendinge the locke of the backe gatt ij*s.* For a padlocke and boullt for ye backe gaitt iij*s.* For mending the locke of the foure gatt ij*s.* For ij keyes for the same gayt iij*s.* For turning the stones att the cuming into ye gaitt to a Mason xvj*d.* For the pavinge the Gaitt xij*d.* For mending the wicket iij*s.* iiij*d.* For iij lodes of Gravell ij*s.* vj*d.* Sm[a] lxxviij*s.*"[1] It should be remembered that the money of the reigns of Elizabeth and James is considered to have been five times the value of our present currency.



STONE FRAGMENT FROM ST. JOHN'S GATE.

In the reign of James, the grand south gate was granted by that monarch to Sir Roger Wilbraham, who made it his residence.

Sometime in the reign of Elizabeth probably the gatehouse with the adjacent property was in the possession of Sir Morrice Dennys, Knight, as in "Proceedings in Chancery in the time of Elizabeth,"[2] there is the record of a suit, the origin of which was a claim, under an assignment of a lease, to premises which are described as "a messuage and garden on the west side of the great gate of St. John's, Clerkenwell, held under a lease granted by Sir Morrice Dennys, Knight, the owner of the inheritance."

[1] *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I.*, edited by P. Cunningham, Shakspeare Society, 1842.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 315, pub. by Record Commission.

In 1731 the gatehouse became the residence of Edward Cave, an enterprising printer, who, in the large room over the gateway, set up his printing presses, and from thence issued a new monthly serial called "The Gentleman's Magazine." This miscellany, the price of which was sixpence, first appeared in January, 1731, having on its front page a rude woodcut of the exterior of St. John's Gate. The magazine in its early days was not published at the end of the month to which it belonged, nor on the first day of the following month, but a few days later, that it might embrace the whole news that belonged to the month whose name it bore. In 1731 the magazine for February was published on the 6th of March; that for March on the 5th of April; that for April on the 7th of May. It was not until 1834 that the magazine ceased to be named after the month which had passed.[1]

This literary adventure was a successful one; the miscellany prospered, and had a remunerative sale. Its proprietor, who was by no means destitute of literary acumen, and with it combined business ability, in order to raise the standard of the magazine, as well as to enhance its value, offered by advertisement therein prizes of money and books for the best poems and essays on given subjects, to be published in the magazine. A galaxy of talent soon gathered around this eminent printer and publisher, while the scintillations of these minor orbs gave the charm of variety and interest to the periodical whose pages they enlightened. As a star of the first magnitude shone the genius of Samuel Johnson, who, as a literary *employe* in the service of Cave, occupied one of the lesser rooms in the gate, where he remained during the day in hermit-like seclusion, and that his cogitations might not be disturbed, no one was suffered to approach him except occasionally a compositor, or Cave's boy, for "copy," which as fast as Johnson wrote he put forth at the door of his room. In Cave's service he was employed in making translations from the Latin, French, and Italian languages, in the emendation and improvement of the articles furnished by the contributors to the magazine, as well as to write original papers. In 1738 he wrote "London," a poem in imitation of the third satire of Juvenal, which appeared in the magazine for May, 1738. In 1740 Johnson undertook to continue a work which had been commenced by one Guthrie, viz., that of preparing for each month's publication a sketch of the debates in both Houses of Parliament. In a regular way this was not permitted, for Parliament then kept the press in a kind of mysterious awe; therefore, in order to evade the law, the outlines of the debates were published with false names for the several speakers or names formed by the letters of their real names in the manner of an anagram, so that they could be easily deciphered. These productions were characterised by remarkable vigour, for they were written at those seasons, says Hawkins, when Johnson was able to raise his imagination to such a pitch of fervour as bordered upon enthusiasm. We can almost picture the doctor in his lone room in the gate declaiming aloud on some public grievance. For the session of 1740-1 he undertook to write the debates entirely himself, and did so for the whole of three sessions. He began with a debate in the House of Commons on the bill for prohibiting exportation of corn, on the 19th November, 1740, and ended with one in the Lords on the bill for restraining the sale of spirituous liquors, on the 23rd February, 1742-3. Such was the goodness of Johnson's heart that a few days before his death he solemnly declared to Mr. Nichols, whom he had requested to visit him, "that the only part of his writings which then gave him any compunction was his accounts of the debates in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' but that at the time he wrote them he did not think he was imposing on the world. The mode, he said, was to fix upon a speaker's name, then to make an argument for him, and to conjure up an answer." He wrote these debates with more velocity than any of his other productions; he sometimes produced three columns of the magazine within the hour. He once wrote ten pages in one day, and that not a long one, beginning, perhaps, at noon, and ending early in the evening. Of the "Life of Savage" he wrote forty-eight octavo pages in one day, but that day included the night, for he sat up all night to do it.[2]

The memoranda for the debates which were published in the "Gentleman's Magazine" were obtained sometimes by stealth, and at others from members of the house who were favourable to their

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1856.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v., p. 15.

publication, and who furnished Cave with notes of what they themselves had said or had heard, through the medium of the post, and frequently by *viva voce* communication. Cave, when examined at the bar of the House of Lords on the charge of printing an account of the trial of Lord Lovat, in 1747, being asked how he came by the speeches which he printed in the "Gentleman's Magazine," replied that he got into the house and heard them, and made use of black lead pencil, and took notes of only some remarkable passages, and from his memory he put them together himself.[1] He also observed that sometimes he had speeches sent him by very eminent persons, as well as from the members themselves.

The celebrated David Garrick, owing to his intimacy with Johnson, at times resorted to the gate to talk with his early friend and companion over their successes and disappointments in life. Johnson commended his friend to Cave as one having talents for the theatre. Cave, although he had no great relish for mirth, expressed a desire to see him in some comic character. Garrick's *debut* as an actor was in the large room over the gateway, which by Cave's permission was cleared, a temporary stage was erected, and suitable decorations and dresses were invented for the occasion. The actors who assisted Garrick were some of Cave's journeymen, who laid aside their composing sticks, and read or recited the parts allotted to them as well as they could. The play enacted was Fielding's farce of the "Mock Doctor, or the Dumb Lady Cured," a piece founded upon Molière's "Malade Imaginare," in which the inimitable Garrick sustained the character of Gregory in such a manner, no doubt, as to leave a favourable impression on the minds of Cave and his friends.

Johnson's early connection with the press at St. John's Gate is the saddest episode in his life. Few men felt more acutely the depressing influence of poverty, or knew better its extreme privations than Johnson; he being at times in such straitened circumstances that he could not pay for a night's lodging. When in the service of Cave, at St. John's Gate, he was still dependant. We are told by Boswell that soon after his "Life of Richard Savage" was anonymously published, Walter Harte, author of the "Life of Gustavus Adolphus," dined with Cave at the gate, and in the course of conversation highly commended Johnson's book. Soon after this Cave met him, and told him that he had made a man very happy the other day at his (Cave's) house. "How could that be," said Harte, "nobody was there but ourselves?" Cave answered by reminding him that a plate of victuals had been sent behind a screen at the dinner-time, and informed him that Johnson, who was dressed so shabbily that he did not choose to appear, had emptied that plate, and had heard with great delight Harte's encomiums on his book.

From that spoilt child of genius, Richard Savage, Cave had many communications before he knew Johnson. The misfortunes and misconduct of this darling of the muses reduced him to the lowest state of wretchedness as a writer for bread, and his occasional visits to St. John's Gate brought him and Johnson together, poverty and genius making them akin.

That amiable and accomplished authoress, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, whom Johnson from an appreciation of her talents highly esteemed, and who was a frequent contributor to the magazine under the name of Eliza, during the interval of her occasional visits to London lodged at St. John's Gate. Hither also came Richard Lauder, Milton's detractor; Dr. Hawkesworth, the author of "Belisarius;" and a shoal of the small fry of literature, who shared the patronage of Cave.

Jedediah Buxton, a mental calculator of extraordinary powers, in 1754 resided for several weeks at St. John's Gate. This man, although he was the son of a schoolmaster (William Buxton), and the grandson of a vicar of his native parish (John Buxton), Elmeton, in Derbyshire, had never learned to write, but he could conduct the most intricate calculations by his memory alone; and such was his power of abstraction that no noise could disturb him. One who had heard of his astonishing ability as a calculator proposed to him for solution the following question:—In a body whose three sides measure 23,145,789 yards, 5,642,732 yards, and 54,965 yards, how many cubical eights of an inch are there? This obtuse reckoning he made in a comparatively short time, although pursuing the while, with many others, his labours in the fields. He could walk over a plot of land and

[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v., p. 13.

estimate its contents with as much accuracy as if it had been measured by the chain. His knowledge was, however, limited to figures. In 1754 Buxton walked to London with the express intention of obtaining a sight of the king and queen, for beyond figures royalty formed the only object of his curiosity. In this intention he was disappointed; he was, however, introduced to the Royal Society, whom he called the "volk of the Siety Court." They tested his powers, and dismissed him with a handsome gratuity. He was next taken by his hospitable entertainer at St. John's Gate to see Garrick in the character of Richard III., at Drury-lane Theatre, but undazzled by the splendour of the stage, and unmoved by the eloquent passion of the actor, the simple rustic employed himself in reckoning the number of words he heard, and the sum total of the steps made by the dancers; and after the performance of a fine piece of music he declared that the innumerable sounds had perplexed him. A portrait of this wonderful character was published with the "Gentleman's Magazine" for June, 1754, page 251. It bears the following subscription:—"Jedidiah Buxton. Ætat 49.—Numeros Memini. Virgil." At the same page is a short account of him. He was married, and had several children, and died at the age of 70, in the year 1775.

In the year 1746 the battlements of St. John's Gate were mounted with cannon; they were of small calibre, being so light that a man could easily carry one of them on his shoulder. They were bored to carry a 1 lb. ball. These pieces of light ordnance, which, so far as we can learn, were never used either with powder or shot, continued on the premises for some years after the death of Cave.

About the year 1750 one of the electric spires or lightning conductors, recommended by Dr. Franklin, was erected on one of the eastern towers of St. John's Gate. It figures in the background of the allegorical frontispiece to the volume of the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1752. Some of the electrical effects which were observed are recorded in the magazine for August in the following year. "Wednesday, August 12, from 1 till 3 in the afternoon, there fell some showers of rain without any sound or appearance of thunder and lightning, during which the apparatus was so strongly electrified that sparks were drawn at more than one inch from the plummet at the end of the descending wire supported on silk within doors, and the stroke jarred from the fingers up to the shoulders." [1]

After Cave's death, in 1754, the magazine continued to be printed and published here by David Henry, his brother-in-law,[2] and Mr. Richard Cave, his nephew. The latter died in 1766, when Mr. Henry relinquished business as a printer, and employed Mr. David Bond as his agent, in St. John's-square, who so continued until the end of the year 1778. At that date a considerable share of the proprietorship of the magazine was purchased by the late Mr. Nichols. For the next two years it was printed partly at St. John's Gate and partly in Red Lion-passage, Fleet-street. In 1781, just fifty years from its commencement, the magazine entirely left its native spot.[3] It was

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxii., p. 383.

[2] David Henry was married to Mary Cave, on 15th April, 1734, in St. John's Church. *Vide* page 231. At the time of his death, in 1792, he possessed the freehold of St. John's Gate. The following was the inscription on the stone lying in the vestry of the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell, over the grave of Richard Cave and Sarah, his wife. The epitaph was written by Mr. David Henry:—"Sacred to the Memory of Richard and Sarah Cave, late of St. John's Gate. He died December 8, 1766; she, December, 1776.

"Reader, if native worth may claim a tear,
Or the sad tale of death affect the ear,
Heave from thy breast one sympathising sigh,
Since here such fair examples mould'ring lie:
Here lies a Pair whom Honesty approv'd,
In Death lamented, and in life belov'd;
Who never meant a Neighbour to offend,
Who never *made* a foe, nor lost a Friend;
Whose only Strife was—who should act the best,
Whose only Hope—to rise among the blest.

"In grateful remembrance of their many Virtues and parental Tenderness, their only Daughter has caused this small Tribute to be erected to the Memory of her dear Parents." The daughter referred to in this epitaph was Mary Cave, whose death was recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxi., part 1, page 684.—*Vide* NICHOLS's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v., p. 58; and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxi., part 2., pp. 5 and 103.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 18, 1845.

printed for nearly forty years in Red Lion-passage; afterwards for thirty-six years in Parliament-street. In 1860 it changed hands, and is now the property of Messrs. John Henry Parker and James Parker, of the Strand. It is unnecessary for us to praise this work, the merits of which have long been recognised by literary men, antiquarians, historians, and the like kindred spirits. It was described in 1780 as "one of the most chaste and instructive miscellanies of the age."[1] The four first volumes of the "Gentleman's Magazine," those from 1731 to 1734 inclusive, were published without plates. In the volume for 1735 engravings were first given; but several subsequent volumes appeared unillustrated, viz., those issued in 1738, 1741, 1743, and 1745. After the year 1782 the magazine was issued in two volumes annually; up to that time it had been published in one volume.

Many useful and important works issued from the press at St. John's Gate; of these were Du Halde's "History of China," translated; Grey's "Parliamentary Debates;" the "History of the Reign of Elizabeth," in two vols. octavo; Mackerell's "History of King's Lynn," in folio; Dawson's "History of the Order of the Garter;" the "Parliamentary Register, or Lists of all Parliaments from 1660;" and the poetical effusions of Elizabeth Carter, Moses Browne, and others. "The Rambler," in 1749 issued from St. John's Gate in original numbers, price twopence, published every Tuesday and Saturday, as did also Dr. Johnson's poems, "London" and the "Vanity of Human Wishes," his tragedy of "Irene," his Lives of Savage and Bavietier, and his "Miscellaneous Observations on Macbeth," and on Hanmer's edition of Shakspeare. Hence also issued the works of Thomas Sydenham, for which Johnson wrote the preliminary life of that distinguished physician; the "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Surgery at Paris," in two vols. 8vo.; "Daniel, and the present state of British Customs," in 4to.; &c.

The biography of so old a resident in St. John's Gate as Edward Cave cannot fail to interest, when it is considered that the gate owes much of its modern celebrity to this enterprising man, with whose singular good fortune it is identified.

Edward Cave was born at Newton, in Warwickshire, February 29th, 1691. His father (the younger son of Edward Cave, of Cave's-in-the-Hole, a lone house, on the Street road, in the same county), was a man of good repute, and remarkable for his strength and intrepidity. By his own act, having concurred with his elder brother in cutting off the entail of a small hereditary estate, he was reduced to follow the trade of a shoemaker, in Rugby. He, in the latter part of his life, was a frequent traveller, and time being more an object to him than expense, and the luxury of turnpike roads being then but little known, he generally used four horses. In one of these journeys, calling on an old school acquaintance, a man of great consequence, he directed the servant of the house to inform his master "that Ned Cave, the cobbler, was come to visit him"—the name by which he was known to his quondam friends at Rugby School, and of which in his more prosperous days he was never ashamed.[2] He placed his son Edward in the Rugby School, in which, by the rules of the foundation, he had a right to be instructed. The master of the school, the Rev. Mr. Holyock, soon discerned young Cave's superior abilities, and for a time fostered them; and so pleased was he with the progress which he made at his studies that he declared his intention of preparing him for the university. But prosperity which depends upon the caprice of others is of short duration. Cave's superiority in literature exalted him to an invidious familiarity with boys who were far above him in rank and expectations; and as in unequal associations it always happens, whatever unlucky prank was played was imputed to Cave. One day a favourite cock was lost, and poor Cave was stigmatised as the thief or murderer, not because he was more criminal than others, but because he was more easily reached by vindictive justice. From that time the master withdrew his kindness visibly from him, and behaved in a harsh manner towards him, by oppressing him with unreasonable tasks that there might be an opportunity of quarreling with his failure. This he did under the pretence that Cave obstructed the discipline of the school by selling clandestine assistance, and supplying exercises to idlers. Cave bore this persecution for awhile, and then left the school to seek some means of

[1] Burke's *Ann. Reg.*, 1780.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v., p. 43.

earning a livelihood. He was first placed with a collector of the excise. He used to recount, says Johnson, a journey or two which he rode with him as his clerk, and relate the victories that he gained over the exciseman in grammatical disputations. But the insolence of his mistress, who employed him in servile drudgery, quickly disgusted him; and he went up to London in quest of more suitable employment. He was recommended to a timber merchant at the Bankside, and while he was there on liking, is said to have given hopes of great mercantile abilities. But this place he soon left, and was bound apprentice to Mr. Collins, a printer of some reputation, and deputy alderman. The trade was pleasing to Cave, because it furnished some employment for his scholastic attainments. Here he resolved to settle, though his master and mistress lived in perpetual discord, and their house could be no comfortable habitation. After two years' servitude he attained such proficiency in the art of printing, that his master, who had great confidence in him, sent him to Norwich to conduct a printing office, and publish a weekly newspaper. In this undertaking he met with some opposition, and in a public controversy which ensued Cave displayed his ability as a writer. At the death of his master, which took place before the expiration of the term of Cave's apprenticeship, unable to bear with the perverseness of his mistress, he quitted her service upon a stipulated allowance, and married a young widow, with whom he lived at Bow. Subsequently he was employed at the printing office of Mr. Barber, a man much distinguished and employed by the Tories, whose politics Cave imbibed, and advocated for many years with his pen in the columns of "Mist's Journal." By his wife's interest he obtained a small place in the Post Office.

When he was admitted into the Post Office he still continued at intervals to exercise his trade, or to employ himself with some typographical business. He corrected the "Gradus ad Parnassum," and was liberally rewarded by the Company of Stationers. He procured the provincial papers, and sold their intelligence to a London journal for a guinea a week. He also contrived to furnish the country printers with written minutes of the proceedings in the two houses of parliament, which used to be circulated in the coffee houses before the daily papers were tacitly permitted to report the debates. This brought him into difficulties, for in the month of April, 1728, he was ordered into custody of the sergeant-at-arms for supplying his friend Robert Raikes with the minutes of the house for the use of the "Gloucester Journal." After a confinement of several days, and pleading that he had a wife and family who suffered much by his imprisonment, he was discharged with a reprimand on paying the accustomed fees. In the Post Office he was moved to the office of Clerk of the Franks, in which he acted with great spirit and firmness, and often stopped franks which were given by members of parliament to their friends, because he thought such extension of a peculiar right illegal. This raised many complaints; and having stopped, among others, a frank given to the old Duchess of Marlborough by Mr. Walter Plummer, he was cited to the bar of the house for a breach of privilege, and accused of opening letters to detect them. He evaded the questions put to him by pleading the oath of secrecy, and after being treated with great harshness he was dismissed from his office. By this constancy of diligence and diversification of employment, he in time collected a sum sufficient for the purchase of a small printing office, and began the "Gentleman's Magazine," a periodical pamphlet, which has survived its originator more than a century. To this undertaking he owed the affluence in which he passed the last twenty years of his life, and the fortune which he left behind him, which, though large, had been yet larger had he not rashly and wantonly impaired it by innumerable projects, of which, as Johnson thought, not one ever succeeded. Cave was far from expecting the encouragement he met with, for in proposing the plan of the magazine (a term which he was the first to use as applied to a literary miscellany) to the booksellers, none of them thought it worth a trial. Yet when they became aware how remunerative a scheme it had turned out to be they sought to displace it in popular favour by the publication of "The London Magazine," which was supported by a powerful association of booksellers, and circulated with all the art and cunning of the trade.

Cave now began to aspire to popularity, and being a greater lover of poetry than of any other art, he sometimes proposed subjects for poems, and offered prizes for the best performances. The first prize was £50, for which, being but newly acquainted with wealth, he expected the first authors in the

kingdom to appear as competitors, and offered the allotment of the prize to the universities. But when the time came, no name was seen among the writers that had ever been seen before; the universities and several private men rejected the province of assigning the prize; and at length the duty devolved upon Dr. Birch., F.R.S. The poem for which the award was made was entitled "The Consummate State of Man," and its author was Moses Browne, a pen cutter, living in Clerkenwell.[1] In 1736 Cave offered prizes for three several competitions; for the first a gold medal; for the second £40, in three sums; and for the third various books. The subject for the gold medal was "The Christian Hero." Mr. Cave, "though not absolutely limiting a genius," signified that it would be more convenient if each composition came within the compass of a page, or under 130 lines; but this limitation was afterwards withdrawn. Three eminent poets were to determine the merit of these pieces. The gold medal for the best production was of the value of £10. The second prize was a set of Archbishop Tillotson's sermons. The third also consisted of sets of sermons. And the sum of £40 was awarded in sums of £20, £12, and £8 for the three best poems on the "Divine Attributes." A set of magazines for six years, on large paper, handsomely bound, was awarded for the fourth prize, and a set on small paper for the fifth. For epigrams, which Cave particularly relished, other proposals were issued. Prizes of books were usually awarded for these piquant morsels. One of the most successful prizemen in this department was Sylvius, a Mr. John Duick, a pen cutter, living in St. John's-lane, with whom Cave became so friendly and familiar, that once in a week at least he would play with him at shuttle-cock in the old gatehouse. Duick was the favourite bard of a club called the Itinerants. He died at his house on Clerkenwell Green, in April, 1764.

Cave continued to improve his magazine, and had the satisfaction of seeing its success proportionate to his diligence. So unremitting were his thoughts upon it that, as Johnson once observed to Boswell, "he scarcely ever looked out of the windows but with a view to its improvement;" and even when the sale had reached to ten thousand copies he could not hear of the loss of a single customer without the anxious exclamation "Let us be sure to look up something taking, of the best, for next month." When a friend entered the room Cave was generally found sitting plodding at his favourite task; he would continue silent for a few minutes, and then commence the conversation.

Johnson's first overture to Cave was by letter dated the 25th of November, 1734; in which he writes: "Sir,—As you appear no less sensible than your readers of the defects of your Poetical article you will not be displeased if, in order to the improvement of it, I communicate to you the sentiments of a person who will undertake on reasonable terms sometimes to fill a column." To this Cave replied, but in what terms is not known; certain it is that the proffered assistance was not accepted. In March, 1737, after the failure of his school at Lichfield, Johnson came to London in search of literary employment. On the 12th of July in that year he proposed in his own name by letter to Cave at St. John's Gate the publication of a new translation of Sarpi's "History of the Council of Trent;" but it was not until the month of February, 1738, that he obtained the favourable ear of Mr. Cave, by addressing to him a Latin poem of praise and encouragement, when the rivalry of the "London Magazine" with his own was at its height. This poem, from its felicitous style of compliment, must have been exceedingly gratifying. Sir John Hawkins observes that Cave "was so incompetent a judge of Johnson's abilities that, meaning at one time to dazzle him with the splendour of some of those luminaries in literature who favoured him with their correspondence, he told him that if he would be in the evening at a certain alehouse in the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell he might have a chance of seeing Mr. Browne and others. Johnson accepted the

[1] Moses Browne, early in life, showed himself to be possessed of considerable poetical talent. He was a frequent contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and carried off several of the prizes offered by its proprietor for the best composition. For a long time after his abilities were known he remained very poor, and in 1745 his circumstances were so straightened that he applied to Dr. Birch for the situation of messenger or doorkeeper to the Royal Society. In 1753, with some prospect of encouragement in the church, he took orders; and was presented with the living of Olney, Bucks. In 1763 he was appointed chaplain of Morden College, and sometime afterwards he nominated the Rev. J. Newton as his curate at Olney. He died September 13th, 1787, aged 84.

invitation, and being introduced by Cave, dressed in a loose horseman's coat and such a great bushy, uncombed wig as he constantly wore, to the sight of Mr. Browne, whom he found sitting at the upper end of a long table in a cloud of tobacco smoke, had his curiosity gratified."

Near the close of his life Cave affected some show of gentility by buying an old coach and a pair of older horses, and, that he might avoid the suspicion of pride in setting up an equipage, he displayed to the world the source of his affluence by a representation of St. John's Gate instead of his arms on the door panels; he also had it engraven on all his plate.[1]

In 1751 his wife died of asthma; with which event he seemed not at first much affected, but in a few days he lost his sleep and his appetite, and, lingering two years, fell, by drinking acid liquors, into a diarrhœa, and afterwards into a kind of lethargic insensibility, in which one of the last acts of reason he exerted, was fondly to press the hand of Dr. Johnson, to whose literary genius he owed much of his unexampled success as a publisher. He died at St. John's Gate on the 10th of January, 1754, aged sixty-three, and was buried in the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell, but it is not apparent that the place of his sepulture was marked by any memorial. An epitaph was, however, penned by Dr. Hawkesworth, and inscribed on a table monument in the north-west churchyard at Rugby, beneath which are the remains of his father, his wife, and several of his relatives. It testifies that William Cave, having survived his elder brother, Edward Cave, inherited from him a competent estate, and in gratitude to his benefactor ordered this monument to perpetuate his memory.

He lived a Patriarch in his numerous race,
And shewed in charity a Christian's grace,
Whate'er a friend or parent feels he knew,
His hand was open and his heart was true;
In what he gain'd and gave, he taught mankind
A grateful always is a generous mind.
Here rest his clay! his soul must more than rest,
Who blest when living, dying must be blest.

In literary composition Cave left nothing of much importance; although his pen was constantly in his hand, his labours were principally devoted to abridgment and condensation, and the ordinary work of editorship. His original efforts were usually in rhyme. Such was his itching for rhyming that in June, 1732, he wrote "a week's occurrences in verse;" and in December, 1735, versified for his magazine the chronicle of the month. This long composition consists of 193 lines, entitled "An Epistle to a Fellow Traveller," describing a journey from London to Eyford, in Gloucester. Johnson once observed that Cave was a generous paymaster, but in bargaining for poetry he contracted for lines by the hundred, and expected the long hundred.

Cave was, says Johnson, a man of large stature, not only tall, but bulky, and was, when young, of remarkable strength and activity. His resolution and perseverance were very uncommon; whatever he undertook, neither expense nor fatigue were able to repress him; but his constancy was calm, and to those who did not know him appeared faint and languid, but he always went forward, though he moved slowly. Consistently with his general tranquillity of mind, he was a tenacious maintainer, though not a clamorous demander, of his right; and when the stamp officers demanded to stamp the last half-sheet of the magazines, he alone defeated their claim, to which the proprietors of rival magazines would meanly have submitted. He was as a friend rather easy and constant, than zealous and active; yet many instances might be given where both his money and his diligence were employed liberally for others. His enmity was in a like manner cool and deliberate; but though cool it was not insidious, and though deliberate, not pertinacious. His mental faculties were slow; he saw little at a time, but that little he saw with great exactness. He was long in finding the right, but seldom failed to find it at last. His affections were not easily gained, and his opinion not quickly discovered. His reserve, as it might hide his faults, concealed his virtues; but such he was, says Johnson, as they who best knew him have most lamented. Cave's temper, says Sir John Hawkins, was phlegmatic, and although he assumed, as publisher

[1] *Vide Leisure Hour*, January 6th, 1853, p. 22.

of the magazine, the name of Sylvanus Urban, he had few of those qualities which constitute the character of urbanity.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for March, 1754, p. 55, is the portrait of "Edvardus Cave, Ob. 10 Jan. 1754. Ætatis 62," etched by Worlidge; and at the same page will be found a sketch of his life. Mr. Foster found a three-quarter length portrait of Cave in a room which adjoins the great chamber over St. John's gateway on the south side. It represents Cave's true features, and being an excellent painting Mr. Foster ventured, at the suggestion of the gentleman who cleaned it, to place on the frame the name of Hogarth.

The late Mr. Benjamin Foster, of St. John's Gate, was born in London, April 20th, 1815. He kept the "Old Milestone" house in the City-road, near the Angel (which is not now a public-house), whence, in 1848, he removed to St. John's Gate, which at that time was closed, and in the possession of an old woman, who made but little use of the antiquities of the place. By energy and perseverance Mr. Foster made the tavern celebrated, revived the old associations connected with it, and established there societies, clubs, and discussion meetings, which probably will remain for years as memorials of him. In 1851 Mr. Foster published "Ye History of ye Priory and Gate of St. John" (Pickering, London, pp. 78), which is a very neat summary of the history of these ancient buildings, and illustrated with twenty-one woodcuts, which were designed and engraved in a room in the venerable gatehouse. The work is dedicated to William Petit Griffith, Esq., F.S.A., "to whom the inhabitants of Clerkenwell are deeply indebted, for saving from positive defacement, if not from absolute removal, the gate of the Priory of St. John." Mr. Foster gave to his friends a boar's head feast at Christmas, to which the following quaint invitation, having a print of the gate at the top, was issued :—

"We'll passe aboute ye lovynge cuppe,
And sende ye Wassaile rounde;
With myrthe and songes of Chyvalrie,
These goodlye Halls shall sounde.

Benjamin Foster,

Ye Grande Mayester of ye Priorye of Sainte Iohn.

"Greetinge welle hys ryghte trustye and welle beloved friends dothe herebye summon them to hys counceille, to be holden in ye Greate Halle of ye Priorye aforesaide, on ye fifthe daye of Ianuarie, anno Domini one thousande eighte hundrede fiftye five, to adjudyeate on ye qualitie of hys viandes: that is to saye, Roaste Beefe and Plumbe Puddynge, and with a cordialle greetinge in ye Wassaile Boule and ye lovynge cuppe, perpetuate to alle tyme and to tyme oute of mynde a ryghte goodlye and lastynge fellowshippe."

Mr. Foster was a Chairman of the Licensed Victuallers' Asylum, and retired from the committee of the Incorporated Society in April, 1863. He was a life subscriber to the school and asylum. As a reward for his services in the cause of benevolence he received from the inmates of the latter a very handsome testimonial, and also a piece of silver plate and a purse of one hundred sovereigns, presented by the licensed victuallers. He passed through almost every grade of the Masonic Lodge, and was High Chief Ranger of the Order of Foresters in 1861.

On the evening of Thursday, June 11th, 1863, Mr. Foster spoke publicly at a vestry meeting in Clerkenwell. After leaving there he went home, and on entering the coffee room of his house he freely conversed with those around him. Suddenly his face became flushed, his mouth appeared to be drawn on one side, and he staggered into a chair. He was removed to his bed room, and a medical man was sent for. Between nine and ten o'clock on the following morning he was seized with an apopletic fit, and suddenly expired. He had on two previous occasions been attacked by paralysis. At the time of his death he was in the 49th year of his age. The news of Mr. Foster's decease was made known to his mother as she was going to St. John's Gate on a visit. Immediately after entering the house she became ill, and within twelve hours after her son's death she also died. The remains of both were deposited side by side in Abney-park Cemetery, Stoke Newington, on the following Wednesday. The bodies were attended to their last resting place by a large number of the friends of the deceased. The funeral service was read by the Rev. W. Martin, chaplain to the Licensed

Victuallers' Asylum, who on the following Sunday evening preached a funeral sermon in the chapel of the asylum, when many of the late Mr. Foster's friends were present.

Amongst the societies which were established at St. John's Gate during Mr. Foster's landlordship was the Urban Club, which is an association of gentlemen connected with literature, arts, sciences, and professions, formed with a view to the conversational discussion of familiar subjects. This club was established in 1858, under the name of "The Friday Knights," a title given from the fact that the meetings of the members were held on Friday evenings. This name was changed to the present one a few months after the formation of the club, in honour of "Sylvanus Urban," the editor of the "Gentleman's Magazine" for the time being. The members of the club number about sixty or seventy. The idea of erecting a national monument in commemoration of the tercentenary of Shakspeare's birth, which will take place on April 23rd, 1864, took a definite form at a meeting of this club, at which the late Mr. Foster took part.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, CLERKENWELL—Continued.

Account of the Discovery of the Jesuits' College at Clerkenwell, published by the Camden Society—Persecution of the Catholics—Confessions of certain Priests—Policy of King James—Advances of the Roman Catholic Party—Discovery of the Jesuits' College—Proceedings in Parliament in relation thereto—Sir John Coke's Report thereon—His Warrant for a Search of the suspected House—Visit of the Officers thereto—Discovery then made—Second Visit—Jesuits found in the Cellar—Richard Bankes—Inventory of the Goods found in the House—Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon.

THE JESUITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL.[1]

In March, 1627-8, a Jesuits' College was discovered at Clerkenwell; the particulars of which discovery are contained in a narrative written by Sir John Coke, or Cooke. The original of this narrative is now in the State Paper Office, and there is a copy of it in the British Museum (MS. addit. 5506, p. 67). An interesting account of the seizure, of the Jesuits' papers, and of Sir John Coke's narrative, is given by John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A., in the "Camden Miscellany," vol ii. (1853), and vol. iv. (1858). To this learned gentleman the literary world is indebted for the first publication of the MSS. which contain the particulars of the Clerkenwell College; this publication is one of the many valuable services rendered to literature by the Camden Society (of which the Editor of this history has the honour to be a member), which has been the means of giving to historical students numerous publications, all of great interest, although, except for the existence of the society, they would probably never have been issued from the press.

Mr. Nichols says:—"Among our historical writers few have noticed the discovery of the Jesuits at Clerkenwell. Echard gives some short account of it, derived from Prynne," who says, "A little before the beginning of this parliament a colledge of Jesuits, who kept together in commons, and had their officers and books of account duly kept, was discovered in Clerkenwelle, neere the church; their books, vestments, reliques, were seized on, and some of their persons (hid in private corners of their colledge) apprehended by Justice Long, and sent to Newgate." "Mr. D'Israeli, in his 'Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First,' has briefly noticed it. The house of the Jesuits at Clerkenwell is unnoticed by Dodd, the Roman Catholic historian of England; nor have the local historians, the Messrs. Lysons and Mr. Cromwell, been aware of its existence." It is noticed by More in his "History of the English Mission" (*Liber decimus*, num. xiv., *Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Societatis Jesu, Collectore Henrico Moro, ejusd. Soc. Sacerdote. Audomari*, 1660, fol. p. 467).

In the calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, vol. xx., p. 1015, is a letter under date November 11th, 1586, anonymous to Sir Francis Walshingham, having reference to the great lamentation at Clerkenwell College for the apprehension of Mr. Vaux. It contains the following passage:—"These people (the Catholics) say that the Scotish queen shall not die, for that her majesty dare not put her to death for fear of after claps."

Towards the end of the sixteenth century priests crept privately into England in great numbers from the seminaries or colleges established in Rome, France, and Spain, to indoctrinate in the

[1] This account of the Jesuits' College has been added by the Editor.

Roman Catholic faith the young men of Catholic families in England. They laboured insidiously to withdraw the people from their obedience to Queen Elizabeth. In order to defeat and discover these emissaries of the Pope it was proclaimed in October, 1591, "That none should harbour any man whatsoever but upon inquiry first made who he was, whether he came to prayers in the church, upon what means he lived, where he dwelt the year before, and other like circumstances." In consequence of this interdiction these seminary priests were exposed to great trials and difficulties, of what nature may be seen from the confession of James Yong, one who was harboured in Clerkenwell. The confession is preserved among the Burghley Papers in the British Museum, and is dated August 27th, 1592. "I arrived here in *tems*, and being sett on land lay abroade under an hedg all yt night, and ye next day cam to London in my Spanish attyre, wch presently I changed, and went from place to place to get vittaills nott knowing any one in London for yt my purpose was nott to land here, yett remembering a token wch. I hard ff. Parsons speek of to one of them who came like galli slaues, I enquired for one Tho. Wyseman about ye ynne of court, wth whom att last I mett, and he got me acquainted wth my Lady Throgmorton, wth whom I remayned a moneth, she being not willing to keepe me any longer, because of speech which was bruted of a proclamation and continuall serch wch should be for to fynd out such as of late cam from Spayne; then she gaue me 20 mark, wth other lynnen, and obteyned yt I should table in Clarkenwell att one Momperson's, where I lay as one yt made suyte to a young gentlewoman, who then was at table there. It happened about Xpmas last yt ye officers cam sodenly to serch ye howse, from whence I escaped by a back doare, an other priest who was then in ye howse being taken and shortly after executed."[1] Previously to the proclamation, viz., on August 28th, 1588, one Thomas Acton, alias Holford, a Catholic priest, was hanged in Clerkenwell "for being made a priest beyond the seas, and remaining in the country contrary to the statute thereof." On October 5th, in the same year, Robert Sutton, for being reconciled to the see of Rome, was hanged at Clerkenwell.[2]

Another priest, John Brushford, who had undergone many trials, and for a long time eluded the vigilance of the queen's officers, in his confession writes:—"I was once at Clarkenwell, at Sir Jo. Arundelle's, but, for that he was then in troble in the Star Chamber about one Mr. Hygynes, a preeste, I coulde not be receaved, but I was with his afterward in the Gate House. As for my Ladye his wyfe I proteste before God as I hope to be saved I never was with her or in her presence, for she was ever fearfull, and after Sir John's troble never beare yonge preestes any goodwill." At the end of the confession are the words "O dulcis Jesu tu miserere mei."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610, *temp* James I., mention is made of a letter dated March 19th, 1608, from John Thornborough, Bishop of Bristol, to Salisbury. "Proceedings as to Wm. Udall's discoveries of priests, &c. Intends to write to Udall, urging him to reveal all to Salisbury as he cannot himself undertake a long journey to London to speak with him." Enclosed is a letter from Wm. Udall to the Bishop of Bristol. "Detail of particulars respecting former plots of the Jesuits and Spaniards. Affirms confidently that the Earl of Tyrone intends to seize Chester and head a rebellion in Ireland." March 16th, 1608, Clerkenwell. In the same calendar mention is made of a letter dated from Clerkenwell, July 29th, 1608, from Wm. Udall to Salisbury. "Complains that my Lord of Canterbury, to whom he was referred, instead of rewarding his services, imprisoned him on frivolous pretences. Has caused 800 seditious books, two suits of church stuff, five presses for seditious books, and a Jesuit, &c., to be intercepted. Requests to have means allowed him to proceed in these services." In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1628-1629, *temp* Charles I., mention is made of a minute dated April 29th, 1629, of a letter from the Mayor of Bristol to the council. "William Dollert, servant to Lord Mountgarret, residing in St. John's, near Clerkenwell, had been apprehended with a box which contained letters. He received it from Captain Zouch, to be delivered to Mr. Knatchbull, in Ireland. In the box is a letter from Paris to the Bishop of Chalcedon, to take order to suppress a certain book of the Benedictines." In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1629-1631, *temp* Charles I., mention is made of a

[1] Lansdowne MSS., vol. xcvi., art. 62.

[2] Stow's *Annals*; Dodd's *Church History*, ii., p. 61.

note, dated 1630 (?), of priests and Jesuits then in England. Among them is mentioned :— "George Gage, a priest with his nose half eaten off with a canker, at his sister's in Bloomsbury, and much at Sir John Gage's, at Clerkenwell."

"The Roman Catholic party in England, which had been firmly and rigorously repressed during the reign of Elizabeth, was encouraged to renewed aspirations and exertions on the removal of that stedfast champion of the Protestant faith. But, whatever hopes they might have formed of the favourable disposition of the new sovereign were soon disappointed, and the more violent among them rushed into the Gunpowder Treason. Two English Jesuits, Henry Garnet and Edward Oldcorn, *alias* Hall, were executed as partakers in that conspiracy. This was an attempt well calculated to widen the alienation between the timid James and his Roman Catholic subjects. For a time he proceeded to severe measures, but later in his reign various reasons of state policy, and especially his ambition to form a matrimonial alliance for his heir with either Spain or France, and thus to assert his position as one of the foremost potentates of Europe, induced him to temporise in religious matters, and to relax the operation of those restrictive laws which had been framed to curb the unceasing activity of the seminary priests.

"These men mustered numerously in the metropolis, where they were best able to conceal their real character, assuming a variety of appearances, alleging many pretexts of private business, and altogether eluding the vigilance of the officers of the state and church, more completely than they could have done in less busy localities. In a book called 'The Foot out of the Snare,' written by John Gee, a convert from their communion, and published in 1624, is a list of 263 priests then dwelling or sojourning in London, of whom more than seventy are described as Jesuits. England was erected into a province of the Society of Jesus in 1623; and in 1624 the Pope, for the first time after the Reformation, commissioned a bishop for England, in subordination to whom were three vicars-general, with archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers.

"At length, the matrimonial alliance of King Charles with France was consummated, and the Papists assumed fresh licence under the patronage of the new queen. It was a time when on one hand the Popish tendencies and arbitrary policy of many about the court, and on the other the religious differences and political discontents of a large and influential body of the people, began to agitate and divide the kingdom with many distractions. The sympathies of all devout Protestants were deeply engaged in the struggles of the empire; whilst the war which broke out between England and France encouraged the hopes of our domestic enemies. King Charles had twice met his people in parliament without satisfactory results, and in 1628 a third parliament was about to assemble, when A mansion belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Clerkenwell was found to be occupied by a small community of Jesuits. They were suddenly surprised by one of the officers of government, whom it was customary to employ for such services, their persons were arrested, and their property and papers seized. This discovery occurring so soon before the meeting of parliament, it was resolved to make some political use of it."

The Secretary of State, Sir John Coke, "who had taken the direction of the seizure, was further employed to write the narrative of the 'Discovery.' It was founded upon the papers of the Jesuits which had been seized in their house, and which are still preserved in Her Majesty's State Paper Office, together with the original draft of the discovery itself."

"The (Privy) Council issued their warrant for the arrest of the Jesuits on the 14th of March (1627-8), and it was executed on the next day. On the 17th the Parliament met; and on the 24th, in renewing the motion for supply," Sir John Coke mentioned the discovery of the college. "Two days after, the Commons had a conference with the Lords respecting a petition against Recusants." Coke was appointed to manage this conference, and he introduced the subject in a warm speech. "After the prorogation of the Parliament, in June, 1628, it may be presumed that the political use of the 'the Discovery,' on the part of the Government, would have been no longer entertained. It was not, however, so readily dismissed by those whose alarms had been wantonly excited, and whose zealous religious animosities had received no adequate satisfaction. No legal process was taken against the prisoners until the month of December. Three of the Jesuits were then put upon their

trial at the Middlesex Sessions, and one was convicted, but his name does not transpire. The Parliament met for their second session upon the 20th of January, 1628-9. On the 13th of February there was a Committee for Religion, Mr. Pym in the chair: when Sir Walter Earle reintroduced this subject. After remarking that there were then, besides the Queen's mass, two other masses daily in the Queen's Court, so that it was grown common in the out-facing Jesuits, and common in discourse, to say, Will you go to mass? or, Have you been to mass at Somerset House? there coming 500 at a time from mass,—Sir Walter desired it might be known by what warrant the Jesuits lately in Newgate were released. After a long speech by Sir Richard Grosvenor, lamenting the unsatisfactory results of two royal proclamations, and the abortion of the bill of last session against Recusants, and some further remarks from Sir Robert Philips and Mr. Coriton, Mr. Selden moved, That these things may be debated in order. And first, for releasing the Jesuits that were arraigned at Newgate, whereof one was condemned. He added, They were ten in number, which were priests, who had a college here in London about Clerkenwell: and these men could not attempt these acts of boldness, but that they have great countenance. Mr. Secretary Cooke replied, and, affecting to coincide with the objects of the committee, he stated 'That a minister of state had notice of those ten, and this college intended to be kept at Clerkenwell. That it is plain there was a place appointed for this college, and orders and reliques prepared. The minister made the King acquainted with it; and I should not do my duty if I did not declare how much his Majesty was affected with it. His Majesty referred it to the special care of the Lords of the Council; who, examining the same, sent those ten persons to Newgate, and gave order to Mr. Attorney to prosecute the laws against them. That this College was first at Edmonton, removed thence to Camberwell, and from thence to Clerkenwell.' A committee was appointed to inquire respecting the trial of the priests. They immediately proceeded on this service, and the very next day Sir Thomas Hobby reported that they had examined the keeper of Newgate, who had informed them that he had on the 1st of December received ten prisoners suspected to be priests, and that on the 3d three of them were indicted for priests, of whom one was condemned, but afterwards reprieved; for the night before the intended execution Mr. Recorder sent a warrant to stay it, which was seconded by a warrant from Lord Chief Justice Hyde. All the rest of the prisoners refused the oath of allegiance, and it was ordered that they should be kept to the next sessions. The Earl of Dorset sent word to the keeper that his Majesty's pleasure was that they should be delivered; and a warrant came from Mr. Attorney to bring the priests before him, who took sureties of them to appear twenty days after notice at the Council Board, and so they were discharged. Hereupon Sir Nathaniel Rich expressed his confident belief that the grace of the king had been abused; and, as the Privy Councillors of the House must know whether it was by his Majesty's directions or no, he moved that Mr. Secretary Cooke might first declare his knowledge in the matter. Mr. Secretary Cooke thereupon made a long declaration to the House concerning those priests, and the discovery of them; and produced the papers that were found in the house amongst them upon search; and he said, that it did appear that they were Jesuits and priests, by the inventory of their goods: they had their chapel and library replenished, a common kitchen, buttery, and cellar, their household stuff is all marked with J. S., there is a monthly book of their daily expenses, and a contracted annual account in Latin, under the rector's hand. It appeared that they had purchased 200*l.* lands per ann. and 60*l.* in money did remain over and above their expenses. There were also divers letters, directions, and orders from a Popish father from Rome, and all parts beyond the seas. They had appointed a time of meeting, which was St. Joseph's day, and then they should have said mass. All their papers were delivered to Mr. Attorney, who recommended them to Mr. Long. Sir John Elliot then made a long speech, successively censuring the conduct of the Attorney, of the Earl of Dorset, and of Mr. Recorder, and in this he was seconded by Sir Francis Seymour. Mr. Cross the pursuivant was then examined as to the delivery of the prisoners, and it was ordered by the House, That Mr. Recorder[1] should be rather sent unto to be examined, than to be sent for as a delinquent, in regard he had formerly had the honour to be set in the chair. Afterwards

[1] Sir Heneage Finch, who had been Speaker of the preceding Parliament of 1626.

Mr. Long, the magistrate, was called, and stated that when he offered at the sessions the evidence against them, by order from Mr. Attorney, the Lord Chief Justice Richardson interrupted him, and told him, He must speak to the point in issue, whether priests or no priests; and thereupon the judges consulted amongst themselves, and so arose. Mr. Selden declared, That he was present at the sessions, and plain treason was proved, and nothing done in it: and finally the House resolved to refer the further examination of the business to a Select Committee. At the Committee for Religion two days after, Mr. Stroud moved, That the Lord Chief Justice may be called to give an account of his stay of justice, in the execution of the condemned priests; which he ought not to have done, though his Majesty signified his pleasure to the contrary. The Chancellor of the Duchy remarked, That this was a thing ordinary for a chief justice to do in Queen Elizabeth's and King James's times; as also a declaration in the Star-chamber, that all condemned priests should be sent to the castle of Wisbech; and from hence (though the king had given no order for the reprieve) he might have taken warrant for his proceedings. Mr. Selden then made a Report from the Committee which had undertaken the further examination of Mr. Long, concerning the proceedings at the sessions; 'whereby it plainly appeared that the evidence tendered in the court at Newgate did clearly testify these men to be priests; yet the Lord Chief Justice Richardson did reject the same, against the sense of the rest of the judges and justices present: whereby it is plain he dealt underhand with some of the Jesuits.' The House then ordered that two members should be sent to each judge that was present at the sessions at Newgate; who were said to be the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Justices Whitlock, Jones, and Crooke. Sir Henry Martin made report, that he, with others, had been to the Recorder of London, to know by what warrant he made stay of execution of the priest, and had ascertained that Mr. Recorder gave no directions; but the warrant came from the Lord Chief Justice Hyde. Whereupon Sir H. Martin, with the rest of the committee, went to the said Lord Chief Justice Hyde, who told them, That he gave his said warrant by command from his Majesty. Sir F. Seymour made report, That he and others had visited Mr. Attorney, and after some difficulty has received his written explanation of his conduct of the prosecution, to the following purpose: 'I received order from the Council to proceed against the priests; and I did, accordingly, proceed against them, and I gave directions to have them brought before me; and took their examinations and the informations; and I sent for Mr. Long, and desired him to take special order therein. I know not, nor ever heard, of any land conveyed to the college, but only in general; and I gave directions to intitle the king to the goods. I understood an indictment was preferred against three of them for treason, and the rest of præmunire; and I, receiving command from his Majesty for their bailment, supposed them bailable.' Hereupon it was ordered by the House, That such priests as are not convicted and condemned, shall be proceeded against. The next day report was made by the several members who went to make inquiry of the judges respecting the trial. Mr. Selden reported, That he had in the first instance examined Mr. Long, the magistrate, who stated that the same day they were to be tried, he told the Lord Chief Justice Hyde, that he had divers papers that did conduce to prove them priests or Jesuits, and he said he was ready to read them; and thereupon the Lord Richardson said, We are upon a point, whether priests or no priests, and they must have right done them. Another judge said, We came to do right to all. And the Lord Richardson asked him, If he had any other evidence. He said, He had no other but those papers, which he thought would give clear satisfaction. The Lord Richardson said, All that was but discourse; he said, What say you to the point, priests or no priests? To which Mr. Long answered, I saw not these men made priests; but in the house where they were taken were found copes and vestments for priests; and I am ready to open all this, if you please, or to answer any questions which you shall ask concerning such things as I have read in the papers. The papers contained divers examinations, and yet none were suffered to be read but one; and that not being conceived a full proof, the rest were refused. On the reception of this report, Sir Robert Philips indignantly exclaimed, Never was the like example or precedent: if the judges give us not better satisfaction they themselves will be parties. Sir Thomas Hobby reported from the Lord Chief Justice Hyde, That he doth not remember any papers tendered by Mr. Long were rejected; or that he affirmed they

were dangerous persons, and a College of Jesuits; but, howsoever, Mr. Long tendered nothing to prove them so, but that he held divers papers in his hand. Mr. Wandesford reported from the Lord Chief Justice Richardson, who said, Mr. Long did discourse of the place and house, but did not press the reading of the papers; neither knew he what was in the papers, nor doth he know of anything to prove the persons priests. The reports from the other judges, the Justices Jones, Whitlocke, and Crooke, were still more unsatisfactory. They were to the general effect that each of them had come late to court, and understood not the business that was going on. The House resolved that Mr. Jones should be summoned to attend on Thursday, the 19th of February, in order to make good his charge against the judges. It is not, however, recorded whether any further proceedings in the matter then took place; and the Parliament itself was hastening to its premature dissolution. On the 25th, the Sub-Committee for Religion presented to the House the 'Heads of articles to be insisted on,' in the preamble to which they alleged the 'extraordinary insolence' of the Recusants; 'for instance, the late meeting of a College of Jesuits in Clerkenwell, and the strange proceedings thereupon used in favour of them.' But on that very day the House was adjourned by the King's command to the 2d of March, on which day occurred the last memorable struggle of this Parliament, when the Speaker was violently held in his chair whilst the Commons passed their indignant protest: 1. Against innovation in Religion; and 2, Against the collection of Tonnage and Poundage unsanctioned by Parliament. The House did not sit again, and on the 10th of the same month it was finally dissolved,—not to reassemble for twelve long years, but then to maintain a more successful struggle against arbitrary power."

Prynne says in reference to this college of Jesuits, after their seizure:—"When they were to be arraigned, they were, by their powerfull friends at Court, (I know not by what warrants and speciall commands), released upon baile, and conveyed out of harmes way, to the great offence and discontent both of the people and parliament, which examined this grand abuse, but could not apprehend the Jesuits to doe exemplary justice on them, so potent were their patrons."

The following are extracts from Sir John Coke's report of the discovery:—

"About Christmas last Humphrey Cross, one of the messengers in ordinarie, gave mee notice, that the neighbours of St. John's saw provisions caried into the corner house uppon the broadway above Clerkenwel, but knewe none that dwelt there. In March following, about the beginning of the Parliament, Crosse brought word that divers lights were observed in the howse, and that some companie were gathered thither. The time considered, I thought fitt to make noe further delay, and therefore gave warrant to the sayd Crosse with Mr. Longe[1] and the constables next adjoyning, to enter the house and to search what persons resorted thither, and to what end they concealed their being there. At their entrie they found one that called himselfe Thomas Latham, who pretended to be keeper of the howse for the Earle of Shrewsburie. They found another named George Kemp, said to be the gardener; and a woman called Margaret Isham. But when they desired to goe further into the upper roomes, which (whilst they had made way into the hall) were all shutt upp and made fast, Latham tould them plainly that if they offred to goe further they would find resistance, and should doe it at their perils. They thereuppon repared to my house and desired more help, and a more ample warrant for their proceedings. And then both a warrant was granted from the Councell boorde: and the Sheriffes of London were sent for theire assistance. But by this protraction they within the upper roomes gott advantage to retire themselves by secret passages into theire vaults or lurking-places, which themselves called thier securities: so as when the officers came up they found no man above staires save only a sick man in his bed, with one servant attending him. The sick man called himselfe by the name of Weeden, who is since discovered to be truely called Plowden. And the servant named himselfe John Penington, as in the examinations may appeare. More they found not, til going downe againe into the cellars, Crosse espied a brick wall newly made, which he caused to be perced, and there within the vault they found Daniel Stanhop, whom I take to be Father Bankes, the Rector of their College, George Holland alias Guy Holt, Joseph Underhill alias Thomas

[1] George Longe, a Justice of the Peace, appears to have resided in Clerkenwell, for we find amongst the State Papers a letter of his to Sec. Coke, dated from this place, August 5th, 1626.

Poulton, Robert Beaumond, and Edward Moore, the priest. And the next day, in the like lurkinge-place, they found Edward Parre. All theis Mr. Longe examined, but could drawe nothinge from them saving formal denyalls that they were priests, or had taken any orders from the sea of Rome, or that they knewe one another, or that they came thither otherwise then casually uppon acquaintance with Latham, who pretendeth that the howse is the Earl his master's, and that the household stuffe, Latin bookes, and most of the pictures are his lordshipp's: but that the massing stuffe, Jesuits' pictures, English books and manuscripts are all his owne, given him by his dead master, and by a friend beyond the seas. Yet upon their examinations they confessed themseves to be recusants, and contradicted one another, and ministred matter sufficient for their legal conviction and for confiscation of the goods to his Majestie at the assizes att Newgate, when they were indicted and proceeded against.

"And that they are Jesuits in deede, and the house really hired and used for a College of Jesuits to exercise their religion, and other unlawfull practises against our church and state, appeareth, first, by the inventory of the goods and utensils; secondly, by the accompts of their receipts and issues; and thirdly by the memorialls and directions of their government, which are all found with them, and are ready to be shewed.

"The Inventorie is taken of everie roome in the house, by which it appeareth that they have a chappel fitted with altars, images, reliques, and pictures, and massing stuff of all sorts; that they have a common librarie of many Popish books, printed and written; that they have severall chambers and studies, furnished for their lodgings; that they have a common kitchen with offices and provisions of brass and pewter, and of wood and coale; that they have a common buttrie, with table clothes, trenchers, napkins, knives, forks, glasses, salts, and spoons, answerable to their number; and a cellar of beere and wine; besides a confectionarie of spices and sweetmeats. And to shew who are the owners in proprietie of theis things, their howshold stuff is marked with S. O., as belonging to the Societie, and theire pewter with S. J., for the Societie of Jesus."

It seems from the books of account which were found in the house that the Jesuits had a dwelling at Edmonton from January, 1624, until the end of December following, when the accounts for that house were made up, the receipts being £227 13s. 2d. and the expenses the same amount—"Soe the Expenses balance the Receipts."

"After December, 1624, according to their accompt, which begineth the yeare in Januarie, they left that howse at Edmondton, and setled not againe til May following, when they had taken a new howse of one Mrs. Milberie at Cammerwell, where they continued twentie moneths, as by the sayd bookes of their monthly accompts is manifest."

The January preceding the seizure "there followed another interruption by the death of their landlady Mrs. Milberrie, of whom the house was hired at Cammerwel. And then (as it semeth) they removed to this last howse at Clerkenwel, which was not setled till the first of March, as may appeare by the last pages of the English accompts of theire clerke or cater, which beareth this title:—'The new Howse at London since the 2° of March,' where the words 'at London' are rased, yet soe as they may be read; and the particulars of the first page are for brick, tile, lime, workmanship, &c.; and the second for carrying stuff from Mrs. Dowthies; for washinge the new howse, for iron works, locks, keys, aundirons, fire-shovels, tonges, and such like; and for the table, and a striped bed; for wood, coales, beere, &c. Whereby it plainely appeareth, that they then removed to this new howse, and that the furnitures are not the Erle of Shrewsberies as is pretended, but bought at the howse charge."

Besides the inventory and accounts, various letters, lists, memorials, orders, and directions for the government of the members of the society were found. Amongst the documents were an interesting letter directed to the Father Rector at Bruxelles,[1] and a list[2] "of all those that are preistes of the

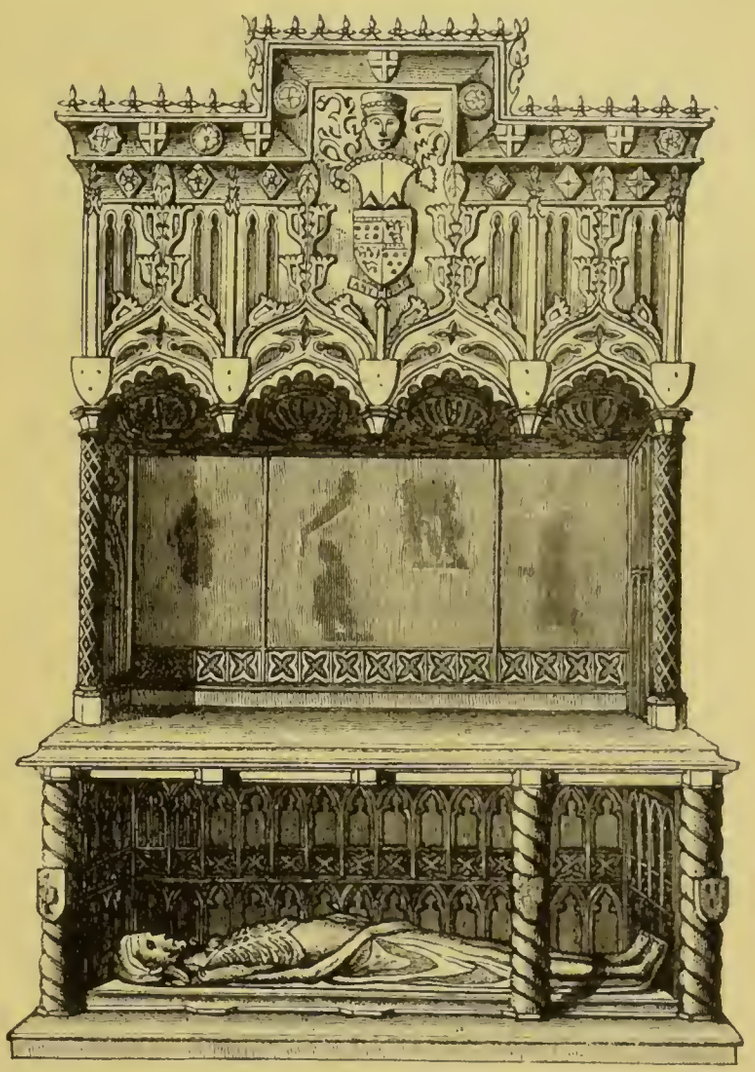
[1] MS. Harl, 1323, p. 37, and MS. Harl, 3786, f. 28. A copy in Her Majesty's State Paper Office. Edition printed for Ralph Rounthwait, 1643. Imperfect copies in PRYNNE's *Hidden Workes of Darkenes brought to Publick Light*, and in RUSHWORTH's *Historical Collections*; also in MS. Addit. (Brit. Mus.) 4791, f. 38.

[2] Domestic MSS., State Paper Office.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE RIVER FLEET (WITH BRIDEWELL BRIDGE), FROM THE THAMES, 1756.

order of St. Ignatius," of Loyola. (He founded the Society of Jesus, which was confirmed by a bull of Pope Paul III., dated the 27th of September, 1540.) The number of these priests was, according to the list, 55, including Richard Bankes, the rector of the community at Clerkenwell, who, we learn from Gee, was the son of a deputy alderman of London. He was a student at the English College at Rome, and on going on the English mission was received by F. Garnett, and appointed *socius* to F. Edward Oldcorne. After some time he was recommended by F. John Gerard to the situation of chaplain to Lady Vaux. He was professed 14th May, 1609, and, with a constitution enfeebled by severe imprisonment, died at Ghent, 14th March, 1643, aged 74.



THE MONUMENT OF SIR WM. WESTON, LAST PRIOR OF ST. JOHN'S.[1]

Attached to Sir John Coke's original draft of the discovery is (*inter alia*) an inventory of the goods found in the Jesuits' house by Justice Long. "The furniture described is not different to that of an ordinary mansion of the same class. The rooms enumerated are,—the chambers of the kitchen, over the larder, and over the butterie, the dyneinge roome, the chambre next adjoyninge (in which was 'one strikeinge clocke'), the chambre over that, the chambre over the dyneinge roome, the chambre over the portall, another next adjoining, and one next the librarie (where there was 'one hanginge watch with an alarum'), the matted chambre, the librarie, Margrett Isham's chambre, the garretts, the larder, the kitchen, and the hall.

"In the librarie were, 'two wainscott presses, sixe small mapps, certaine small printed pictures in a frame, two old peices of dornix, one small table, two chaires, one paire of creepers. Item. A seller of glasses and a meale tubb in a closet adjoyninge.'

"In the matted chamber were 'one tablet picture for an altar, and one other picture'; which in the second inventory, were valued at xij*s*."

The second inventory, made in pursuance of the order of the Privy Council, is more curious than the former one, inasmuch as appraisment is made of the articles. "It was made on the 23d April, 1628, by Justinian Povey and George Long, Esqrs., two of His Majesty's Justices of Peace of the Countie of Middlesex, and by Humphrey Crosse, messenger, with the assistance of Ralph Grinder, William Chamberlaine, and John May, three indifferent appraisors of the cittie of London, being men of honestie and used on such like occasions.' The latter portion of it, which describes the furniture of the Jesuits' chapel and their books, may be considered worthy of publication.

"A note of the severall parcells following that were not in Mr. Long's Inventorie, being lockt up in the Butterie by Mr. Crosse, and the key thereof by him kept, but praised and inventored by the Praisors aforesaid:—

"In the Buttery.

"Item, a pewter cesterne, one flagon pott, three pewter candlesticks, one small dish and a sawcer,

[1] *Vide* pp. 38 and 66. This engraving was not inserted earlier in consequence of it not having come to hand.

foure stone juggs, one little brasse bell, seaven knifes, eleven forks, seaven pewter salts, six earthen salts, and 21 greene glasses, xxxviij*s*.

"Item, 4 silver spoones and a Maudlin cupp with a kiver of silver, xlv*s*.

"Item, 54 handkercheifes, one dozen of capps laced and plaine, six wrought capps, a sweet bagge of carnation taffetie laced about with a gould lace, with foure little leather boxes wherein they are, iij*li*.

"Item, 22 diaper napkins, one dozen of holland, and one dozen of flaxen napkins, xxiij*s*.

"Item, seaven diaper table clothes and two diaper towells, iiij*li*. x*s*.

"Item, two holland table clothes and one holland towell, xxx*s*.

"Item, one flaxen table cloth, viij*s*.

"Item, one paire of holland sheets and one paire of flaxen sheets, xvj*s*.

"Item, six towells, viij*s*.

"Item, iiijxxviij severall peices of linnen, cobweblaune, small handkercheifes, altar clothes, ante pendants, and other altar linnen, vj*li*. iij*s*.

"Item, one faire albe of cambrick edged with needle worke purles about the skirt, neck, and hands, l*s*.

"Item, eight other albes for preists, iiij*li*. x*s*.

"Item, two vestments of calleco laced with a silke lace, v*s*.

"Item, five peeces of vestments of copework and foure antependants, xxv*s*.

"Item, foure shirts, one waiscott, seaven capps, two ruffes, one night raile, 14 old towells, diverse peices of old boote-hose, two pillow-beares, and other small peeces of linnen, xliij*s*.

"Item, an imbrodered purse and one paire of silke garters and diverse linnings and peices of cloth put together in a truncke, together with the truncke, xx*s*.

"Item, seaven old preist's gownes of blacke stuffe, at iiij*s*. the peece, xxviij*s*.

"Item, a frock, one blankett, and an old baskett, iij*s*.

"Item, five paire of worsted and wollen stockings, xiiij*s*.

"Item, two paire of silke stockings and three paire of silke garters, xxiiij*s*.

"Item, five girdles, one paire of hangers, and a hatband, iiij*s*.

"Item, four capps, iiij*s*.

"Item, a silke wascott and a fustian wascott, and a stomacher, viij*s*.

"Item, a doublett and hose, a cloake and hoode of tawney cloth, laced with black lace, iiij*li*. x*s*.

"Item, one black stuffe cloake, lined, xxv*s*.

"Item, three jorkins (*sic*), xxvj*s*.

"Item, two yards and a half of new black cloth, xxxv*s*.

"Item, a waiscott of scarlett dye, vj*s*.

"Item, a paire of stuffe drawers, iij*s*.

"Item, a riding coate and hoode of cloth, laced, xxv*s*.

"Item, one knitt waiscott and one flannell waiscott, v*s*.

"Item, an old doublett, hose, and paire of mittens, and bootehose topps, of sad colour cloth, laced, xx*s*.

"Item, a black cloth cloake laced, xxv*s*.

"Item, a little trunke, with 40 bookes in it, and three trunckes more, with a nest of boxes, xxv*s*.

"Item, two paire of blanketts, and one fustion blankett, xxxij*s*.

"Item, tenne folds of a skrene, xxvj*s*.

"Total, 164*li*. 00*s*. 00*d*.

"Item, half a thousand of billets and two chaldron of sea-coales taken by Mr. Long, for his owne use, and by him prised at xxxviij*s*.

"Item, remaining in the hands of Mr. Long, as himselfe affirmeth, a Dictionary, a Flores Doctorum, a missall, and a breviary, with about six books for a scholler, two skinnes of redd leather, one wrought purse, and one challice cupp of silver, taken in the hole where Parre the preist was found, which are not praised.

"Item, readie money found in the house, which came to the hands of Mr. Crosse, vj*li.* iij*s.* ix*d.*

"Item, money that came to the hands of Mr. Long, which he delivered to Mr. Crosse, xxx*s.*

"Item, remaining in the hands of Mr. Crosse, one old English Bible, one girdle, one imbrodered purse, and a booke of Sir Walter Raleigh's Workes, which are not praised.

"Item, remayning in the hands of Mr. Thacker a Cooper's Dictionary, not praised.

(Signed) "Justinian Pouey.

"Ralphe Grynder.

"John Mayo.

"William Chamberlin."

The foregoing inventory is interesting, for it shows that the Jesuits affected such elegancies as silk, lace, and embroidery, and that they were dainty recusants, having their wrought purses, and a "sweet bagge of carnation taffetie, laced about with a gould lace."

Attached to Mr. Nichols's account of the Discovery of the Jesuit's College are some papers relating to the personal history of Richard Smith, Roman Catholic Bishop of Chalcedon, who was born in 1566. We read that "hee seldom cometh to London; but imployeth Fisher most part at the Ladie Dormer's; and Collington in Kent, at Sir William Roper's; and Musket in London, at the Lord Sturton's howse at Clerkenwel." When Gee compiled his list of Romish priests, in 1624, —— Colleton, the titular Archdeacon of London, was "lodging at S. Jones," *i.e.* at Clerkenwell.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, CLERKENWELL—CONTINUED.

ALBEMARLE-STREET :—From whom Named and when Commenced—The Architects Carr and Ware. ALBION-PLACE, formerly St. George's-court :—The Residence of Christopher Pinchbeck, the Inventor of a Metallic Alloy named after him—The Residence of Miss Ray, Mistress of Lord Sandwich—The celebrated Engravers, Thomas and James Bewick, employed by one Hodgson, a Bookseller, in this Court—Thomas Birch. ASHBY-STREET :—The old Manor House of Clerkenwell—Long the Residence of the Northampton Family—Some Account of the Earls of Northampton—Remarkable Letter of Eliza Compton, Wife of the second Earl—The Family Coat of Arms—The Manor House deserted—Became a private Madhouse—Dr. Newton, its Proprietor, the Author of a posthumous Herbal—Ralph Thoresby, of Leeds, visited him—A remarkable Plant growing in his Botanical Garden—Richard Brothers, the pretended Prophet, confined there—The Manor House School. AYLESBURY-STREET :—Why so called—The Residence of the Aylesbury Family—Some Account of Robert Bruce, first Earl of Aylesbury—How the Earls paid the Poor's Rate—The Bull's Head Public House, the Site of the Home of Thomas Britton, "The Musical Small-coal Man"—Some Account of the Life and Actions of this remarkable Man—His Weekly Concerts, and the Celebrities who attended them. BERKELEY-STREET :—The Mansion of the Berkeley Family—Its Situation and Extent—The Residence of Sir Maurice Berkeley, Standard Bearer to Henry VIII., and of his Successors, the Earls of Berkeley—Short Biographical Notices of several Earls—Some Notice of Samuel Jeacocke, a Baker-Musician, who lived in this Street. COMPTON-STREET. COMPTON-PASSAGE :—Schools and Church. GOSWELL-STREET and GOSWELL-ROAD.—Origin of the term "Goswell"—Stow's Description of Goswell-road—Tradesmen's Tokens—Queen Elizabeth intercepted by Beggars in this thoroughfare—The Obelisk—Mountmill—Fort there—The Burial-place of many who died of the Plague of 1665—"Strange and Wonderful News from Goswell-street"—Robberies frequent on this Road—Site of Quaker's Workhouse. JERUSALEM-PASSAGE:—"The St. John of Jerusalem"—The old parochial Charity School—The Pump—The North Postern of the Priory—"The Child's Coat." PEEL-COURT:—Friends' Meeting House there—The cruel Persecutions of the Time of Charles II.—The Visits of George Fox, the Founder of the Sect, to this place.

ALBEMARLE STREET.

THIS street was named, it is supposed, from Monk, the Duke of Albemarle, in whose day (shortly after the Restoration) the first buildings in it were raised. Mr. Griffith says in his MS. notes :—"The residence of James Carr, architect of the present St. James's Church,[1] was on the north side of Albemarle-street (No. 12), set back from the houses contiguous; it is still standing. It was here that two noted architects—Samuel Ware, author of 'Tracts on Vaults and Bridges,' and Edmund Aiken, author of several works—passed their articled clerkships. During which, moreover, as regards Ware, he began, I have no doubt, to study 'Arches and Abutment Piers,' subsequently published."

ALBION PLACE.

This place is situated on the west side of St. John's-lane; it was erected in 1822, on the site of an old court, called St. George's-court, which was then pulled down.

Here, in 1721, lived Christopher Pinchbeck, the discoverer of a beautiful alloy of metals, which

[1] *Vide* page 51.

was named after him, "Pinchbeck," and the inventor of "astronomico musical clocks." He appears to have excelled in the construction of musical automata, which on several occasions he exhibited at Bartholomew and Southwark fairs. He made a clock for Louis XIV., worth £1500, and an organ for the Great Mogul, worth £300. He died on the 18th of November, 1732. From the following advertisement which appeared in "Applebee's Weekly Journal," of July 18th, 1721, it appears that Pinchbeck removed from Clerkenwell to Fleet-street about that time:—

"Notice is hereby given to Noblemen, Gentlemen and Others, that Chr. Pinchbeck, Inventor and Maker of the famous Astronomico-Musical Clocks, is removed from St. George's-court, St. Jones's-lane, to the sign of the Astronomico-Musical Clock in Fleet-street, near the Leg Tavern. He maketh and selleth Watches of all sorts and Clocks, as well for the exact Indication of Time only, as Astronomical, for shewing the various Motions and Phenomena of planets and fixed stars solving at sight several Astronomical problems, besides all this a variety of Musical performances, and that to the greatest Nicety of Time and Tune with the usual graces; together with a wonderful imitation of several songs and Voices of an Aviary of Birds so natural that any who saw not the Instrument would be persuaded that it were in Reality what it only represents. He makes Musical Automata or Instruments of themselves to play exceeding well on the Flute, Flaggelet or Organ, Setts of Country dances, Minuets, Jiggs and the Opera Tunes, or the most perfect imitation of the Aviary of Birds above mentioned, fit for the Diversion of those in places where a Musician is not at Hand. He makes also Organs performing of themselves Psalm Tunes with two, three, or more Voluntaries, very Convenient for Churches in remote Country Places where Organists cannot be had, or have sufficient Encouragement. And finally he mends Watches and Clocks in such sort that they will perform to an Exactness which possibly thro' a defect in finishing or other Accidents they formerly could not."

Miss Ray, the well-known mistress of Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty in the time of George III., who, on the 7th of April, 1779, while leaving Covent-garden Theatre, was shot by the Rev. James Hackman, a clergyman of Norfolk, served her time to a mantua-maker in St. George's-court; whence, at the age of sixteen, she removed to that higher sphere, in which she is said to have acted with the utmost propriety. Her person was uncommonly elegant, and her voice musical in a high degree. Lord Sandwich, with whom she lived for seventeen years in uninterrupted felicity, had been careful to bestow upon her a liberal education; and there was scarce a polite art in which she was not an adept, nor any part of female literature with which she was not conversant. Her feelings and her general deportment were marked with an unparalleled delicacy, which had characterized her through life. Her murder was the result of jealousy. Hackman had conceived a violent passion for his victim; and as he could not prevail upon her to become his wife, he madly resolved to put an end to her life and his own.[1]

The brothers Thomas and James Bewick, who, especially the former, by his consummate ability, stimulated the revival of the beautiful art of wood engraving in this country, both found employment, although at different periods, in St. George's-court, where lived, about the year 1780, T. Hodgson, a bookseller, who published a little work, the cuts for which were engraved by Thomas Bewick, entitled, "A Curious Hieroglyphic Bible, printed by and for T. Hodgson, in George's-court, St. John's-lane, Clerkenwell." Thomas Bewick's "Book of Birds" is a much-prized volume. In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1829, vol. xcix., part 1., page 17, is a portrait of "Thomas Bewick, Restorer of the Art of Engraving on Wood. Born 1753. Died 1828." There has been lately published an interesting "Memoir of Thomas Bewick," embellished by numerous wood engravings from his hand. In "All the Year Round," No. 223, vol. ix., p. 536, is a cheerful paper upon the "Book of Birds." John Bewick, a younger brother of the above, to whom he was apprenticed, on starting in life and coming to London, obtained employment of the same bookseller by whom his father had been patronized. He executed the cuts for a work, printed in 1789, and entitled "Emblems of Mortality, in 50 cuts, &c. The cuts by John Bewick." The engravings were but indifferent copies of Holbein's "Dance of Death." He also engraved the cuts for "The Progress of Man and Society," compiled by Dr. Trusler, in 1791.[2]

Another celebrity who was connected with St. George's-court was Thomas Birch, who was born in

[1] *Selwyn and his Contemporaries.* [2] Chatto and Jackson's *Treatise on the Art of Wood Engraving.*

the parish of St. John, Clerkenwell, on the 23rd of November, 1705. His parents were Quakers, and his father, Joseph Birch, was a coffee-mill maker. He endeavoured to bring up his son to his own business, but so ardent was this youth's passion for reading, that he solicited his father to indulge his inclination, promising in that case to provide for himself. He was sent to a school at Hemel Hempstead, kept by one Owen, a rigid Quaker. He made little progress, and was therefore removed to the school of one Welby, who lived near Turnbull-street (otherwise Turnmill-street), Clerkenwell, and had never above eight or ten scholars at a time, whom he professed to teach Latin in a year and a half. Young Birch, under the tuition of this pedagogue, became a good scholar, and eventually



ST. JOHN'S GATE.

became his usher; in which capacity he also lived with Mr. Besse, the famous Quaker, in St. George's-court, who published the posthumous works of Claridge. In the study of books Birch was indefatigable, and he stole many hours from sleep to increase his knowledge. By his untiring diligence, without an university education, he soon became qualified to take orders in the Church of England; and, as his early connections were of a different tenet, his ordination was a matter of no little surprise to his old friends, the Quakers. In 1728 he married the daughter of Mr. Cox, a clergyman, to whom he afterwards was curate. He did not long enjoy the felicity of a married life, for his wife died of consumption, in less than a twelvemonth, accelerated by child-bearing. Just before her death she testified her great regard for him in the following epistle:—"This day I return you, my dearest life, my sincere, hearty thanks for every favour bestowed on your most faithful and obedient wife, Hannah Birch.—July 31, 1729."

After this sad calamity, which deeply affected him, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Salisbury, on the 17th of January, 1731; and a priest in the year following. He obtained the

friendship and favour of Lord Hardwick, and to this nobleman he was indebted for all his preferments. The chancellor gave him the living of Ulting, in Essex. In 1734 he was made domestic chaplain to that unfortunate nobleman, William, Earl of Kilmarnock, who, for having engaged in the rebellion of 1745, was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 18th of August, 1746. On the 20th of February, 1734, Mr. Birch was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and, in 1735, of the Society of Antiquaries. On the 24th of February, 1743, he was presented to the united rectories of St. Michael, Wood-street, and St. Mary Staining. His literary works were very numerous. He was much employed by Cave, the printer, at St. John's Gate. His correspondence was very extensive, his habit of early rising alone enabling him to accomplish so much work. Birch was killed by a fall from his horse between London and Hampstead, on the 5th of January, 1760. He bequeathed his library and valuable manuscripts to the British Museum, of which he was a trustee.[1] The residue of his property, amounting to only about £500, he left to be invested in Government securities, the interest to be applied in increasing the salaries of three assistant librarians at the British Museum.

ASHBY STREET.[2]

At the corner of this street, leading from St. John-street-road, to Northampton-square, is a large mansion house, with a forecourt and garden, and bearing on its painted compo front the inscription "Manor House School." This was the old manor house of Clerkenwell; and as "The Mannour House" it was rated to the poor at sixpence per month, in 1666.[3] It was the residence of the Northampton family until nearly the end of the seventeenth century. The Earls of Northampton derive their family name from the manor and lordship of Compton, in Warwickshire. The first recognized baron was styled Sir Henry Compton, of Compton Wynyate, county of Warwick, who was summoned to Parliament among the nobles of the realm by writ on the 8th of May, 1572, in the fourteenth year of Elizabeth. He was succeeded by William, second Lord Compton, who was created Earl of Northampton on the 2nd of August, 1618, and also K.G. and Lord President of the Marches and Dominions of Wales. He married Elizabeth, sole daughter and heiress of Sir John Spencer, Lord Mayor of London, in 1593, who not unfrequently, on account of his amazing wealth, was called the "Rich Spencer." He lived at Canonbury House, Islington, from which his sole daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, was carried off in a baker's basket by the second Lord Compton. From this lady the next earl, her son, took the name of Spencer. A letter from her to her husband, without date, but probably written about 1616-17, is still preserved, and affords a remarkable insight into the manner and style of life with which this young lady, who had brought so much money into the family, desired to be indulged.



DR. HAWEIS.[4]

"My Sweet Life.—

"Now I have declared to you my mind for the settling of your state, I suppose that it were best for me to bethink or consider with myself what allowance were meetest for me. For, considering what care I have had of your estate, and how respectfully I dealt with those which both by the laws of God, of nature, and of civil polity, wit, religion, government, and honesty you, my dear, are bound to, I pray and beseech you to grant me £1600

[1] *Vide* page 11 note. We find in a Handbook to the British Museum the following notices of this bequest:—"1766.—A Collection of Transcripts made from original papers in various Libraries, to illustrate English History, by the Rev. Dr. Birch, Rector of Siddington St. Mary, in 378 volumes. Numbered Add. MSS. 4101-4478." And under the head of Printed Books:—"1766.—A collection, rich in biography. Bequeathed by the Rev. Dr. Birch, Rector of Siddington St. Mary."

[2] This street is in the district of St. James, but inadvertently it was not mentioned in the history of that district, p. 77.

[3] *Rate Book*, 1666.

[4] *Vide* page 144 and appendix. This engraving was not inserted earlier in consequence of it not having come to hand.

per annum, quarterly to be paid. Also I would (besides that allowanee for my apparel) have £600, added yearly (quarterly to be paid) for the performanee of charitable works, and those I would not, neither will be accountable for. Also I will have three horses for my own saddle, that none shall dare to lend or borrow; none lend but I, none borrow but you. Also I would have two gentlewomen, lest one should be sick or have some other lett; also believe it is an undeeent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone when God hath blessed their lord and lady with a good estate. Also when I ride a hunting or hawking, or travel from one house to another, I will have them attending; so for either of those said women I must and will have for either of them a horse. Also I will have six or eight gentlemen; and will have my two eoaches, one lined with velvet to myself, with four very fair horses; and a coach for my women, lined with sweet eloth, one laeed with gold, the other with scarlet, and laeed with watched laee and silver, with four good horses. Also I will have two eoaehmen, one for my own eoaeh, the other for my women. Also at any time when I travel, I will be allowed not only earroches and spare horses for me and my women, but I will have sueh earriages as shall be fitting for all, orderly; not pestering my things with my women's, nor their's with ehambermaid's, nor their's with washmaid's. Also for laundresses when I travel, I will have them sent away before with earriages to see all safe, and the chamber-maids I will have go before with greens,[1] that the chambers may be ready sweet and elean. Also for that it is indeeent to erowd up myself with my gentleman usher in one coach, I will have him to have a convenient horse, to attend me either in city or in country; and I must have two footmen, and my desire is that you defray all charges for me. And for myself, besides my yearly allowanee, I would have twenty gowns of apparel, six of them exeellent good ones, eight of them for the country, and six other of them very excellent good ones. Also, I would have put in my purse £2000, and £200; and so for you to pay my debts. Also I would have £6000 to buy me jewels, and £4000 to buy me a pearl chain. Now, seeing I am so *reasonable* unto you I pray you to find my children apparel and their schooling; and also my servants (men and women) their wages. Also I will have my houses furnished, and all my lodging ehambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit; as beds, stools, chairs, suitable eushions, earpets, silver warming pans, eupboards of plate, fair hangings, and sueh like; so for my drawing chambers in all houses, I will have them delieately furnished, both with hangings, eouch, eanopy, glass, earpet, chair, eushions, and all things thereunto belonging. So now that I have deelared to you what I would have, and what that it is I would not have, I pray that when you be an earl to allow me £1000 more than I now desire, and *double attendance*. Your loving wife, Eliza Compton.[2]

Spencer Compton, second Earl of Northampton, K.G., succeeded his brother in 1630. He was called to Parliament as Baron Compton during the lifetime of his father, and greatly distinguished himself by his attachment to the royal cause. His wife Mary, the daughter of Sir Franeis Beaumont, had the courage to go with her lord to the battle of Edge Hill, on the 23rd of October, 1642, where she witnessed, with a parent's solieitude, the bravery of three of her sons, who were engaged in the conflict.[3] In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, *temp.* Charles I., under the date of May 14th, 1633, is an account of an "Indenture between Spencer Earl of Northampton of the one part, and Sir Henry Compton of Brambletye, co. Sussex, and Ralph Fox of High Holborn, gentleman, of the other part. For payment of 5,668*l.* being the proper debt of the Earl mentioned in the schedule annexed, the Earl demised to Sir Henry Compton and Ralph Fox the manors of Erith and Leasnes, co. Kent, and all lands of the Earl in Erith *alias* Leasnes, Crayford, Bexley, Plumstead, and Welling, in Kent, and the manors of Clerkenwell, Canonbury *alias* Canbury, and Cutlers, in Middlesex, as also all lands of the Earl in Clerkenwell, Canbury *alias* Canonbury, and Cutlers, Islington *alias* Iseldon, Kentish Town, and St. James in Clerkenwell, and all that capital messnage called Crosby House in the parish of St. Helen's, London, and all lands of the Earl in the same parish, and the rectory or parsonage impropriate of the same. To hold for 12 years at a rent of 12*d.*, with a covenant on the part of the lessees to apply the proceeds in payment of the debt. Annexed, Schedule of the debts above mentioned, being bond debts of the Earl, in which the lessees Compton and Fox were his sureties. The principal debts were 1,040*l.* to Sir George Simeon; 2,080*l.* to Sir Ralph Freeman; 1,040*l.* to Thomas Fotherley; and 600*l.* to the King. (Case B., Car. 1, No. 11, Two Skins.)" Spencer Compton was killed in single combat in the battle of Hopton Heath, near Stafford, in 1643, where he fought on the king's side. He left five sons. James, the eldest, succeeded to his father's dignities and estates. This nobleman, the third Earl of Northampton, resided in the Manor House of Clerkenwell in 1677. Soon after his accession to his estates they

[1] Rushes then strewed upon the floors.

[2] *European Magazine*, June, 1782.

[3] *Historical Register*, 20th December, 1716.

were confiscated by order of Parliament, but they were restored to him on the return of Charles II. As a commoner, with the title of Baron Compton, he represented Warwickshire in the Long Parliament; voted against the bill for attainting Earl Stafford, and was one of the members expelled the house. As a general in the service of Charles I., he became conspicuous during the civil wars; he was present at the battle of Edge Hill on the 23rd October, 1642; also at the taking of Banbury; and in the engagement at Hopton Heath, near Stafford, 1643, he received a shot wound in one of his legs, and was obliged to quit the field. It was during the peaceful time after the Restoration, when the old nobility were restored to their former positions, and basked once more in the sunshine



THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION IN COLDBATH FIELDS, IN 1798.[1]

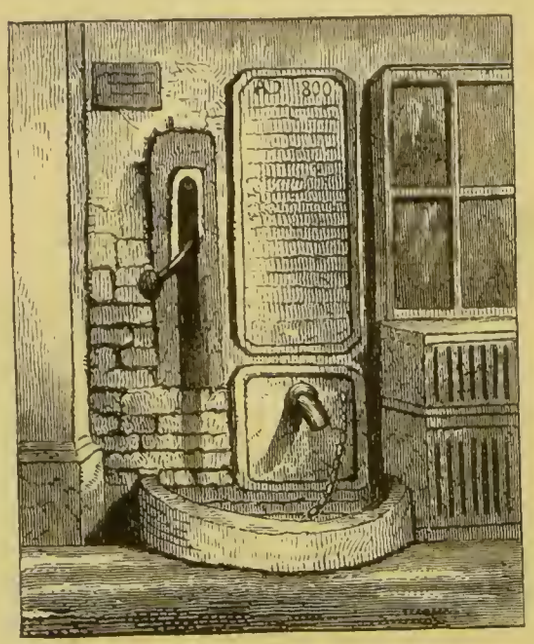
of royalty, that the earl retired occasionally to his mansion in Clerkenwell. He had now a troop of two hundred gentlemen retainers, clothed in blue and grey, was one of the king's privy council, and Constable of the Tower. He died in 1681.

During the lifetime of the earl, his youngest brother, Henry Compton, a cornet in a regiment of horse, on quitting the army, was made Bishop of Oxford in 1674, and Bishop of London subsequently, and was afterwards charged with the education of the Princesses Mary and Anne, whom he had the honour subsequently to marry to the Princes of Orange and Denmark; he was a firm Protestant, and, on this account, was suspended by James II., but was restored to his former dignity by William of Orange, whose coronation he performed; he was appointed one of the commissioners for revising the liturgy, and laboured zealously to reconcile the Dissenters to the Church, which made him unpopular. During his lifetime St. Paul's Cathedral was rebuilt after the great fire. He died in 1713, aged 81. We read in the "Historical Register" for 1716 as follows:—"Dec. 20, 1716. Dy'd Sir Francis Compton in the 87th year of his age; he was the fifth son of Spencer, Earl of Northampton, by Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont."

[1] *Vide* page 82. This engraving was not inserted earlier in consequence of it not having come to hand.

James was succeeded by his son George, fourth earl, who was Constable of the Tower of London, and who died in 1727.

James, the fifth earl, succeeded him. He had already greatly distinguished himself in Parliament as Baron Compton. He died in 1754, and was succeeded in the earldom by George, sixth earl, upon whose death without issue the title descended to his nephew, Charles, the seventh earl, who was appointed by the king ambassador to the Court of Vienna. He died soon after his return from this embassy, in 1759, leaving no male issue. His brother, Spencer Compton, succeeded to his titles and estates. He was succeeded, in 1796, by his only son, Charles, first marquis and ninth earl, Baron of Compton and of Wilmington, Sussex. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Joshua Alwyne Spencer Compton, second marquis and tenth earl. He was a liberal patron of the arts and sciences, and, until within two years of his death, the much respected President of the Royal Society. He died on the 17th of January, 1851, after leading a very useful life, and was succeeded by his son, Charles Douglas Compton, the present Marquis of Northampton, who possesses many of his father's good qualities and attainments.



THE CLERK'S WELL, CLERKENWELL.[1]

The coat of arms borne by this noble family is—sable, a lion passant gardant or, between three esquire's helmets argent; crest, a mont vert, thereon a beacon or, inflamed on the top proper; on the beacon a label inscribed "Nisi Dominus;" supporters, two dragons, with wings expanded ermine, ducally gorged, and chained or; motto, "Je ne cherche qu 'Un," "I seek but one."

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, if not earlier, the old Manor House was converted into a private asylum for lunatics, under the superintendence of one Dr. Newton, a herbalist. In Morden, Lea, and Browne's "Survey of London, Westminster, and Southwark," published in 1700, this house, standing at the extremity of Wood's Close,[2] is indicated as "Dr. Newtone's." Of this person but little is known. Ralph Thoresby, the historian of Leeds, records a visit which he paid the "mad doctor" whilst in London, in 1712, which record exhibits him in no very favourable light:—"Walked to Dr. Newton's, at Clerkenwell, to whose Herbal I subscribed so many years ago, that his treacherous memory has forgot the receipt of the money I paid him at Leeds, which I have his own receipt for, which makes me more apt to believe the knavish stories I was loath to believe."[3] The "Herbal" to which Thoresby thus alludes was commenced in 1680, but only a portion of it was published in the author's lifetime, he having died suddenly, at the age of 78, when the work was near completion. It was afterwards published by his son, in 1752, in small 8vo, with a portrait of "James Newton, M.D.," prefixed. It contains 176 plates, and ten pages of letterpress, and it was printed by Cave, at St. John's Gate. There can be little doubt that the ground in the rear of the madhouse was laid out as a botanic garden by Newton, who, it would seem, had devoted a lifetime to the study of plants. In the "Daily Post" for the 25th of August, 1730, are noticed the growth of a singular vegetable monstrosity in this garden, and the excitement it occasioned. "There is a great talk of a plant growing in the garden of the famous Mr. Newton, who cures mad people, in Wood's Close, near Islington. It is a white lily, having a cluster of roots growing from the uppermost end of the stalk, a rarity never before seen in this country."

In a number of the "Daily Post," in 1730, we read:—"At the Great House in Wood's Close, with two Lyons' heads on the gate, in the road from St. John's-street going to Islington Road, Lunatick people are entertained. Where on the 21st of November, 1728, was brought from her own

[1] *Vide* page 166. This engraving was not inserted earlier in consequence of it not having come to hand.
[2] *Vide* page 154.
[3] *Ralph Thoresby's Diary*, edited by J. Hunter, vol. ii, p. 3, 1827, 8vo.

house in Carnaby St., in the parish of St. James, Westminster, the Lady Mary Sattacoff, by her sister Prudence Bates, who for several months has not come to see her sister nor any body besides; neither have sent her any conveniences, or clothes of any kind, nor payment for her medicines, or entertainment for this year past. Therefore this is to let the said Mrs. Prudence Bates and other of her friends know, that without the speedy payment of the said arrears due, she will be prosecuted for the same, and the Lady Sattacoff will be passed upon the parish. N.B.—Whoever discovers the said Mrs. Prudence Bates that she may be brought to justice and convicted of the said fraud shall receive two guineas from me. J. Newton."

Early in the present century that religious fanatic, the notorious Richard Brothers, was confined in this madhouse. Of the paternity and early life of this deluded man nothing is known. For several years he held the rank of lieutenant in the Royal Navy; on quitting this service in 1789 a dispute arose between himself and the Lords of the Admiralty concerning the half-pay which he was entitled to, he refusing to take the oath to qualify himself to receive the same, and in a letter dated September 9th, 1790, which appeared in the "Public Advertiser," he exposed the absurdity of compelling a man to swear that he takes a certain oath voluntarily to which he may have the strongest antipathy. So cogent was his reasoning that Earl Chatham, then premier, had the word *voluntarily* expunged from the form of oath. In consequence of refusing to take the oath he became so reduced in circumstances as to become the inmate of a workhouse. A strange delusion seems here to have possessed him, that he was a prophet sent from God, and under this impression he published a book in two parts, with the following title:—"A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophesies and Times, written by Richard Brothers, a Prophet sent from God. Printed in the year of Christ, 1794." This book was eagerly bought by all classes of the community, both in town and country. In this he affirms that "It is from visions and revelations and through the Holy Ghost that I write this book for the benefit of all men; therefore to say it is false, that I am mad, a man-impostor, have a devil, or am out of my senses, constitutes the dangerous sin of blasphemy." From the year 1790, Brothers dates his first call. On the 12th of May, 1792, he sent letters to the king, ministers of state, and the speaker, stating that he was commanded by God to go to the parliament house on the 17th, and inform the members for their safety that the time was come for the fulfilment of the seventh chapter of Daniel. He went accordingly, and presented himself at the door of the house, and, by his own account, met with a very scurvy reception.

Some time after he prophesied the death of the king, the overthrow of the monarchy, and that the crown would be delivered into his hands; for this seditious speech he was committed to Newgate, and, as he states, treated very harshly. On his liberation he continued his ministry, so he called it, with renewed energy; and, while some were scoffing at the pretensions of this madman, others, persons of liberal education and good ability, maintained the divinity of his mission. Such an effect had his writings on people of weak understanding, that many sold their goods and prepared themselves to accompany the prophet to his New Jerusalem, which was to be built on both sides the River Jordan, and where he was to arrive in 1795. Jerusalem was then to become the capital of the world; and in 1798, when the complete restoration of the Jews was to take place, he was to be revealed as the prince and ruler of the Jews and governor of all nations, for which office he appears to have had a greater predilection than for that of president of the council or chancellor of the exchequer, which he said God offered for his acceptance. Government at length interfered to check the ravings of this enthusiast; he was accordingly confined as a lunatic, but on the intercession of a zealous disciple, John Finlayson, he was released on the 14th of April, 1806. He died in 1824 at the house of his friend and disciple, where he had been residing for nine years. In the meantime his friends had been applying to Lord Chancellor Eldon for a restoration of Brothers's half-pay or pension, which had been for some time paid, but which had been withheld. "On Sunday, 25th of January, 1824," writes Finlayson, "he said to me, we must now be done with Chancery, and I must write to it, when he was seized with cholera morbus and hectic fever. . . . He then desired me to shut the door and open the window, and, while holding his right hand in my right hand, he asked me if my sword and hammer were ready, and on my answering in the affirmative he seemed pleased, and in

a few minutes breathed his last." Finlayson then tells us that he had Brothers buried in St. John's Wood burying ground, and caused a flat gravestone to be placed over it with both their names upon it.

In 1817 a ladies' boarding school was kept in the old Manor House, and of late years it has been a boarding-school for boys, and is at present known as the Manor House School.

AYLESBURY STREET.

This street is so called because in former times the garden wall of the residence of the Earl of Aylesbury skirted the south side of the thoroughfare, and the rear windows of the building overlooked it. We are, however, of opinion that Aylesbury House had no existence as a separate structure, but was adapted out of the monastic buildings of the dissolved Priory of St. John, which became, in 1641, the inheritance of the Earls of Elgin and Aylesbury, and was then fitted with all the conveniences of a noble residence; Aylesbury House being so called to distinguish it from the lodgings of others of the nobility and gentry who then lived in this *beau quartier*.

Robert Bruce, Earl of Aylesbury, and Deputy Earl Marshal, dates numerous letters from this house, in 1671.[1] He was first of this title, but second Earl of Elgin, and it was for his loyalty and devotion to the cause of his unfortunate sovereign, Charles I., and his zeal for the restoration of his fugitive son, that the king recompensed his faithful servitor by conferring upon him a baronetcy, and the earldom of Aylesbury, by letters patent, dated March 18th, 1663. Four years after he was constituted sole lieutenant of the county of Bedford, and appointed one of the commissioners for taking account of such monies as had been raised and assigned to his Majesty during the Dutch war. In 1678 he was sworn one of the privy council, and was made by the "merrie monarch" one of the gentlemen of the royal bed chamber. On the death of Charles II., and the accession of his brother to the throne as James II., the Earl of Aylesbury was one of the nobles who, at the coronation, April 23rd, 1685, bore in procession St. Edward's staff, which was of pure gold, four feet seven inches in height, eight pounds nine ounces in weight, and reputed to contain a piece of the true cross. The earl's last honour was to be appointed, on the 30th July, 1685, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's household, an office which he did not long fulfil, as he died in the month of October in the same year, at his seat at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, and was buried there. "He was," says his contemporary, Antony à Wood, "a learned person and otherwise qualified; was well versed in English history and antiquities, a lover of those who were professors of those studies, and a curious collector of manuscripts, especial those which related to England and the English, besides also he was a lover of the regular clergy."

The Earl of Aylesbury, it would appear, was voluntarily rated for the support of the poor of Clerkenwell, as in the poor's rate book of 1666 occurs the following entry:—"Earle of Ailesbury what he pleaseth according to his desire."[2]

At the south east corner of Jerusalem-passage, on the site now occupied by the Bull's Head public-house, in Aylesbury-street, there formerly stood the humble residence of a great musical notoriety, Thomas Britton, who, from the nature of his employment, was familiarly known as the "musical small-coal man," and who was—

> Though doomed to small-coal, yet to arts allied—
> Rich without wealth, and famous without pride;
> Music's best patron, judge of books and men,
> Beloved and honoured by Apollo's train.

The house, which was low built and very old, was, when Britton took it, a stable; he converted the ground floor into a repository for small-coal, and the room over this into a concert room, the ceiling of which was so low that a tall man could only just stand upright in it; the stairs were on the outside of the house, and could scarcely be ascended without crawling.

[1] Pennant's *London*.

[2] *Vide* page 9 note, and page 11.

Thomas Britton was born at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire. He left his native place while a boy, and bound himself apprentice to a small-coal man in St. John-street. "After he had served his full time of seven years, his master gave him a sum of money not to set up business. Upon this Tom went into Northamptonshire again, and after he had spent his money, he returned again to London, set up the small-coal trade, and withal took a stable, and turned it into a house, which stood the next door to the little gate of St. John's of Jerusalem, next Clerkenwell-green. Some time after he had settled here, he became acquainted with Dr. Garenciers, his near neighbour, by which means he became an excellent chemist; and perhaps he performed such things in that profession as had never been done before, with little cost and charge, by the help of a moving elaboratory, that was contrived and built by himself, which was much admired by all of that faculty that happened to see it; insomuch that a certain gentleman of Wales was so much taken with it, that he was at the expense of carrying him down into that country on purpose to build him such another, which Tom performed to the gentleman's very great satisfaction; and for the same he received from him a very handsome and generous gratuity. Besides his great skill in chemistry, he was as famous for his knowledge of the theory of music, in the practical part of which faculty he was likewise very considerable. He was so much addicted to it that he pricked with his own hand, very neatly and accurately, and left behind him, a valuable collection of music."[1]

It was his skill in music, however, not in chemistry, that won for Britton the extraordinary place he obtained in society, which he retained without any change of station, habits, or occupation. The stable, transformed into a house, as Hearne informs us, was very old, low-built, and mean—fit habitation only for one of the humblest station; yet there assembled the wit, genius, and beauty of England. The Duchess of Queensberry, one of the most celebrated beauties of the time, thought nothing of the difficulty with which she ascended the crazy flight of stairs that led to Britton's concert room[2] that she might enjoy the pleasure of listening to him whose faculty it was

To wake the soul by tender strokes of art.

To Britton belongs the honour of having been the first to establish a musical club, which met at his house for nearly forty years. The idea is said to have been suggested by Sir Roger L'Estrange, a very musical gentleman, who, admiring the genius of the small-coal man, assisted him in carrying it out. This musical society numbered amongst its members some of the finest genius of the age. Here Dr. Pepusch, or the great Handel, played the harpsichord; Bannister or Medler, the first violin; Hughes, a poet, Woolaston, the painter, Shuttleworth, &c., on other instruments. Matthew Dubourg was then but a child; but his first solo played in public was performed at Britton's concert, "standing on a joint stool;" and we are told that the poor child was so awed at the splendid assembly, that he was near falling to the ground.

At first Britton supplied most of the musical instruments, and he would not accept of any gratuities when they were offered to him, his concerts being free.

Upon Thursdays repair to my palace, and there
Hobble up stair by stair, but I pray ye to take care
That you break not your shins by a stumble;
And without e'er a souse, paid to me or my spouse,
Sit still as a mouse at the top of the house,
And there you shall hear how we fumble.

Britton did not, however, continue these free concerts; he subsequently charged ten shillings a year subscription, and sold coffee to his distinguished visitors at a penny a dish. His musical society is thus facetiously sketched by his friend Edward Ward, who was himself a frequenter of Britton's concerts:—

THE SMALL-COAL MAN'S MUSICK CLUB.

"This harmonious Society of Tickle Fiddle gentlemen has been long standing at the diminutive habitation of an honest small-cole man, who happens to be a near neighbour to St. John of Jerusalem, who at present flourishes

[1] Hearne's Appendix to his *Hemingi Chartularii Ecclesiae Wygorniensis.*
[2] MS. Note to Hawkins's *Hist. of Music*, vol. v., p. 70, in Brit. Mus.

his banner before a noted old tavern in Jack Adams his parish. The musick club was first begun or at least confirmed by Sir Roger le Strange many years before his knighthood, who was a very musical gentleman, and had a tolerable perfection of the bass viol. The reasons that induced Sir Roger and other ingenious gentlemen who were lovers of the muses to honour the little mansion of the black and blue Philomat with their weekly company, were chiefly the unexpected genius, to books and musick they happened to find in their smutty acquaintance, that in a few years his harmonious concert became as publickly noted as the Kit cat club. Sir Roger continued to be a constant meeter in the zenith of his glory, and many other gentlemen who were fit companions for so worthy a person of wit and learning. So that Britton when equiped in his blue surplice, his shoulder laden with his wooden timber, and his measure twisted into the mouth of his sack, was as much respected by the good hussifs who were customers for his commodity as if he had been a nobleman in disguise. Yet the hut wherein he dwells, which has long been honoured with such good company, looks without side as if some of his ancestors had happened to be executors to old snarling Diogenes, and that they had carefully transplanted the Athenian tub into Clerkenwell; for his house is not much higher than a canary pipe, and the window of his state room but very little bigger than the bunghole of a cask. Tho' sometime since, for the more commodious entertainment of his Thursday's audience, he had taken a more convenient room out of the next house, that the company might not stew in summer time like sweaty dancers at a buttock ball, or like seamen's wives in a Gravesend tilt boat."[1]

Britton, beside being a musician, was a bibliomaniac and collector of rare old books and manuscripts; from which fact we may infer that he had cultivated some acquaintance with literature. In his bookish pursuits he became intimately known to that great collector, Harley, Earl of Oxford, the donor to the nation of the famous Harleian MSS.; as also to the Earls of Sunderland, Pembroke, and Winchelsea, and the Duke of Devonshire. It often happened that on Saturdays, when some of these *literati* were accustomed to meet at the shop of one Christopher Bateman, a bookseller, at the corner of Ave Maria-lane, Paternoster-row, Britton, who had usually completed his morning round by twelve o'clock at noon, would, despite his smutty appearance and blue smock, after pitching his sack of small-coal on the bulk of Bateman's shop, join the literary conclave, and take part in the conversation, which generally lasted an hour. Often as he walked the streets some one who knew him would point him out and exclaim, "There goes the small-coal man, who is a lover of learning, a performer of music, and a companion for gentlemen." The circumstances of Britton's death are as remarkable as those of his life; he was literally frightened out of his life by a practical joke which was played upon him by one Robe, a justice of the peace, and a frequenter of his concerts, who one day introduced as his friend a man who had the sobriquet of the "Talking Smith," but whose real name was Honeyman. This man possessed the power of ventriloquism; and when he saw Britton he, by a preconcerted arrangement, announced in a solemn voice, which seemed to come from a long distance, the death of Britton in a few hours unless he immediately fell upon his knees and repeated the Lord's Prayer. Britton, in the terror of his soul, instinctively obeyed; but the chord of his life was unstrung by this sudden shock; a brief illness supervened, and in a few days he died. His death occurred in September, 1714, when he was upwards of sixty years of age. On the 1st of October his remains were followed to the grave by a great concourse of people, and interred in St. James's churchyard.

In person the musical small-coal man was short and thick set, with a very honest and ingenious expression of countenance. "The goodness of his ear directed him to the use of the most perfect of musical intervals, the diapason, his cry being as some relate that remember it"[2]—



These notes, which were in use many years ago, are called breves. If they are intended to be treble notes they are two D's an octave apart; if they are intended to be bass notes they are two F's also an octave apart.

[1] *Humourous Account of Remarkable Clubs in London and Westminster.*
[2] MS. note to Hawkins's *Hist. of Music*, vol. v., p. 70, in Brit. Mus.

"Various were the opinions concerning Britton," says Walpole, "some thought his musical assembly only a cover for seditious meetings; others for magical purposes. He was taken for an Atheist, a Presbyterian, a Jesuit." But in reality Britton was a plain, simple, honest man, who meant only to amuse himself. This is stated on the authority of his friend Woolaston, who painted two portraits of him, one of which is placed in the British Museum, in the Eastern Zoological Gallery, and is numbered 114. Beneath the picture are the following lines:—

In Greece or Rome, sure never did appear
So bright a genius in so dark a sphere;
More of the man had artfully been saved,
Had Kneller painted and had Vertue graved.

At Britton's decease little remained for his survivors except his books (upwards of 1400 in number), a collection of manuscripts, and his musical instruments, twenty-seven in number. In the catalogue of sale several of the instruments are thus described:—A fine Guitar in a case, A good dulcimer, Five instruments in the shape of a fish, A fine bass viol new necked and bellied, by Norman, and A rare good one, Jones; A Rucker's Virginal, thought the best in Europe; An organ of five stops exactly concert pitch, fit for any room, and with some adornments may serve for a chapel.

Britton's instrumental music consisted of 160 pieces, and his vocal of 42; this collection when sold realised nearly £100. His books and manuscripts were sold subsequently, and were described as being "The Library of Mr. Thomas Britton, small-coal man, deceased, who at his own charge kept up a concert of sacred music above forty years in his little cottage, being a curious collection of very ancient and uncommon books in divinity, history, physic, chemistry, magick, etc. Also a collection of MSS. on vellum." A collection of choice pamphlets was sold by Britton to Lord Somers for £500.[1]

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1773, pp. 437 and 484, will be found an account of Thomas Britton.

Tho' mean thy rank yet in thy humble cell
Did gentle peace and arts unpurchased dwell;
Well pleased Apollo thither led his train,
And Music warbled in her sweetest strain.

BERKELEY STREET.

This street, which was formerly called Bartlett-street, is distinguished by many noble associations with the past. At the corner of this street, but facing into St. John's-lane, formerly stood Berkeley House. Its advanced wings enclosed a spacious forecourt, and in the rear was an extensive garden geometrically planned. This old mansion was the residence of Sir Maurice Berkeley, who held the office of standard-bearer to three sovereigns—Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth. Of this worthy knight it is related, that in 1554, the first year of the inglorious reign of Mary, he was riding for pleasure in London, when he met at Temple Bar Sir Thomas Wyatt, who at that time was a traitor to his queen, by reason of a fruitless insurrection which he had excited against her Majesty in the county of Kent on her intended espousal of Philip of Spain. Sir Maurice overcame his brother-in-arms by the force of moral suasion; and, promising obedience to his sovereign, Wyatt mounted behind his victor, and they rode to court together. Wyatt was afterwards executed. Sir Maurice Berkeley's second wife, the Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, was one of the ladies of the queen's bedchamber; she died at this house on the 16th of June, 1585, "beinge 52 yeares oulde, in the fayth of Jesus Christe," and was buried in the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell. In the Calendar of State Papers, foreign and domestic, *temp* Henry VIII., are numerous entries relating to Sir Maurice Berkeley. We therein find his name, in a list dated October 9th, 1514, amongst "the names of the lords and gentlemen of England being at the marriage of the Right Excellent Princess the Lady Mary."

In this house lived and died George, Lord Berkeley, called "George the Traveller," and "George

[1] *Musgrave Adversaria*, Add. MSS., No. 5718.

the Linguist." He was born at Low Leyton, on October 7th, 1601, 43rd Elizabeth; and was christened on 26th. He was nursed at Enville, and afterwards moved about with his father and mother until upon the dispersion of his grandfather's family he became a scholar under Dr. Philemon Holland, and afterwards under Mr. Ashwood, until he was fit for Oxford. It was by request of Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, the mother of this nobleman, who was a patroness of learning, that her son's tutor, Dr. Holland, undertook to render Camden's "Britannia" into English. She was the

Phœnix cause of this translation.

One of the veteran translator's panegyrists commends the work which

This Holland hath at suit of learned dame,
With paines transfused into our vulgar speech.

And then adds in praise of the translator:—

I like his pen and judgement eke no lesse
For making choice of such a patronesse.[1]

On the 13th of April, 1615, George Berkeley was married to Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Michael Stanhope, in the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, in the presence of both their parents. The bride and bridegroom were both minors, their united ages amounting only to twenty-two years—he being thirteen years old, and she nine. Four years after this ceremony George was sent to Christchurch, Oxford, to finish his education. The meanwhile his wife resided with her father in St. John's.[2] He had issue two sons and one daughter. Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, the mother of this lord, purchased the manor of Cranford of the coheirs of Sir Roger Aston, in Easter term, 1618, for £7000, and she lived there "emongste her thousands of books reading."[3] In the Clerkenwell parish registrar of burials it is recorded that on the 10th of August, 1658, "George, Lord Berkeley died at his house in St. John's, and was buried the 13th at Cranford, in the county of Middlesex, leaving issue George, Lord Berkeley, his only son and heire."[4] George, Earl of Berkeley, the first earl of the ancient Barons of Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, was for his loyalty and attachment to Charles II. rewarded with the title of Viscount Dursley and Earl of Berkeley, the 11th of September, 1679. About this time, with exceeding humanity, he not only offered to advance the money which was proposed to be raised by brief for the redemption of certain English captives at Algiers, but he determined to visit the place himself to conduct the negotiation for their ransom.[5] He distinguished his piety, says Walpole, by bestowing on the public library of Sion College, for the use of the city clergy, a valuable library, collected by Sir Robert Coke, or Cooke, his uncle, and by a religious tract, entitled "Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon several Subjects; by a Person of Honour." 1670; 12mo.[6] Sion College is in possession of a painted portrait of this Earl of Berkeley in his robes. On the 16th of March, 1681, Dean (afterwards Archbishop) Tillotson, attended by several eminent divines, waited upon his lordship at his house in St. John's-lane, to return their thanks for his magnificent gift of books to Sion College Library.

Upon the religious tract before mentioned Waller wrote some verses, in which he observes:—

Bold is the man that dares engage
For piety in such an age;
Who can presume to find a guard
From scorn when Heaven's so little spared.
Divines are pardoned: they defend
Altars on which their lives depend;
But the prophane impatient are
When nobler peers make this their care.
High birth and fortune warrant give
That such men write what they believe;
And, feeling first what they indite,
New credit give to ancient right.

[1] Fosbrooke's *Extracts from the Berkeley Manuscripts*, 4to, p. 217.
[2] Camden's *Britannia*, by P. Holland, ed. 1626.
[3] Fosbrooke.
[4] *Vide* page 48. And *vide* page 47 for accounts of the baptisms of the Berkeleys.
[5] Malcome's *Anecdotes of London*, 4to, p. 179.
[6] Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*.

When James II. abdicated, the noble earl was one of the first lords who declared in favour of the Prince of Orange, by whom, on his accession to the throne, he was made one of the privy council, and constituted *Custos Rotulorum* of the county of Surrey. He died on the 14th of October, 1698, aged 71, and was buried at Cranford, in Middlesex. He had issue two sons and six daughters. Lady Theophila, his second daughter, on the death of her first husband, married the pious and learned Robert Nelson, author of "The Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England." In the correspondence of Samuel Pepys is a letter from George, Earl of Berkeley, to him, written from Berkeley House, February 23rd, 1677-8. The period when this mansion was abandoned by the Berkeleys, and when it was razed, is, we believe, unknown. In the year 1856, an interesting discovery was made by W. P. Griffith, Esq., of a moulded brick in Berkeley-street, which he supposes to have belonged to the old mansion. The device upon its upper surface is that of the classic lyre. An engraving of it will be found in the "Illustrated News" of February 2nd, 1856.

In a house, since pulled down, at the south-west corner of the street, early in the last century, resided one Samuel Jeacocke, a baker by trade, who sought to relieve the monotony of his calling by the practice of music. He played on several instruments, but chiefly on the violin. At the meetings of the Madrigal Society, of which he was one of the earliest members, he sang the bass. In the choice of his instruments he was very nice, and when a fiddle or violin did not please him he would, to mend its tone, bake it for a week in a bed of sawdust. He was one of the best ringers, and the best swimmer of his time. A plain, honest, good humoured man, he died about 1748.[1]

COMPTON STREET.

This street bears the family name of the Marquisses of Northampton, the ground landlords. In Compton-passage, in this street, are a school-church, which has been duly licensed by the Bishop of London for divine services; a Sunday school, a day school for girls and infants, and an evening school for boys. In the Rev. R. Maguire's first pastoral letter (1858) is the following remark:—"We propose (D.V.) to open a school in Compton-passage, and thus in some measure to meet the urgent necessities of the very dense population that abounds in that neighbourhood." The premises were opened, and a church and school were established under the pastoral labours of the Rev. S. A. Herbert. Concurrently with the opening of the building, a Sunday school was established, and first opened on November 28th, 1858. On the following day a day school for girls and infants and a night school for male adults were opened. Ninety-nine children were entered on the opening of the Sunday school, and ten scholars on the opening of the day school. The numbers have considerably augmented since that time. In the Rev. R. Maguire's second pastoral letter (1859) he says, "Witnessing the rapid progress of the work in Compton-passage, and having been informed that the Board of Governors of the Charterhouse were renewing the leases of their estate on this portion of the parish, I thought it a favourable opportunity to apply to that body for a site for a new church and schools. My memorial was favourably entertained, and a piece of ground was set apart for my purposes—that portion of Allen-street, extending from the east side of New-square to Compton-passage." The commuted purchase money of the land was £1200. A grant of £1000 towards the church was made by the Diocesan Church Building Society.

GOSWELL STREET AND GOSWELL ROAD.[2]

This thoroughfare takes its name from an ancient spring called Godewell (*i.e.*, Goodwell) afterwards corrupted to Godeswell, Gosewell, and Goswell. Tomlins, in his "Yseldon," p. 21, says:—"I find this well is in the Registrum de Clerkenwell, Cott. MSS. Faust, b. ii., fol. 27, a book

[1] HAWKINS's *History of Music*, vol. v., p. 352.

[2] Goswell-street is in the district of St. John, and Goswell-road is partly in the district of St. James and partly the district of St. Mark. It has, however, been thought better to describe the whole thoroughfare together at part of the History.

written in the reign of King John, containing charters from the time of Stephen, which Stow saw and particularly mentions in his 'Survey of London;' but he, mistaking the form of the letter G, has called this well Todewell, in which error he has of course been followed by others." This unhappy mistake did not escape the notice of the editors of the last edition of Dugdale's "Monasticon," in which the Register of Clerkenwell is printed verbatim. But we regret to say that in the latest edition of Stow's "Survey," by Thoms, this error remains uncorrected.

Goswell-street probably was formed about the time that the ground was taken in for building the Carthusian Monastry, now called the Charterhouse, by Sir Walter de Maney, 1371. This highway was well known at the beginning of the sixteenth century, for in a lease from the prior and brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, dated the 18th of June, 1505, they demised "a close called Whytewellbeche (now Wilderness-row), and iiij gardens joyning to the same, late in the holding of ———, with another little garden and a little house standing in the same, lying and bounding between the highway leading fro' Aldersgate toward Iseldon, on the est parte; and a felde called Nonnesfelde, on the northe parte; and the Charterhouse wall on the south parte, and the way leading from St. John-street towards Iseldon on the west parte."[1] This highway, perhaps on account of its greater convenience, gradually superseded a more ancient road towards Islington called the Bridleway, which ran nearly parallel with it a little eastward, and is referred to by Stow, who says:—"From the farther end of Aldersgate-street straight north of the bar is called Goswell-street, replenished with small tenements, cottages, and alleys, gardens, banquetting houses, and bowling places. Beyond these bars, leaving the Charterhouse on the left hand, or the west side, the way stretcheth up towards Iseldon; and on the right hand or east side at a red cross turneth into Eald-street (Old-street), so called for it was the old highway from Aldersgate for the north-east parts of England before Bishopgate was built."[2]

When Stow wrote, this road was used by persons coming to Clerkenwell Church from the rural districts of Highgate, Muswell-hill, &c.

There are extant tradesmen's tokens respectively bearing the following:—"John Berry at ye in (a trumpet) Goswell-street. 1666"; and "At ye Whit Lyon in (a lion rampant) Gooswell-street. B.A.F."

Concerning Goswell-road we learn from Strype, Stow's continuator, that "in 1581 Queen Elizabeth on an evening rode that way to take the air," her object being to reach "Iseldon, commonly called Islington, a country town hard by near the town. She was environed by a number of begging rogues, which gave the Queen much disturbance." The Recorder of London, Fleetwood, in a letter to Lord Burghley, referring to this circumstance, says:—"My singular good lord,—Upon Thursday, at even, her Majesty in her coach near Islington, taking of the air, her Highness was environed with a number of roogs. One Mr. Stone, a footman, cam in all hast to my Lord Maior and after to me, and told us of the same. I dyd the same night send warrants owt into the said quarters, and into Westminster and the Duchie, and in the mornyng I went a brood myselff and tooke that daye lxxiiij roogs, whereof some were blynd, and yet great usurers and very riche. We examined the seyd roogs, and gave them substanciall payment. And the strongest we bestowed in the mylne (mill) and the lighters. The rest wee desmyssed with a promise of dooble paye if wee mett with theym agayne."[3] Fleetwood adds, "the chief nursery of all those evil people is the Savoy, and the brick kilns near Islington."

The cab stand opposite Gwynne's-buildings was established in 1808; it is in the parish of Clerkenwell, but the triangular inclosure by the side of it is in that of Islington. Opposite the point of the triangle a handsome obelisk was erected at the expense of the City-road Trust towards the close of 1826; it is of stone, ornamented with a vase at the top, and supports two large gas lamps.[4] The Clerkenwell parochial boundary takes in the footpath, but not the houses on the east side of Goswell-road, except those numbered from 290 to 320, formerly 100 to 115, which are in the parish; from No. 290 it takes the middle of the road and of Goswell-street to a mark opposite the north wall of the Charterhouse. The numbers of the houses in this road were altered by the

[1] MSS. Cott. Claud. E. v., fol. 19, cited in Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p. 21.
[2] Stow's *Survey*.
[3] Ellis's *Original Letters*, letter 212, vol. ii, 1st series, cited in Knight's *London*, p. 253.
[4] Cromwell's *Clerkenwell*, p. 394.

vestry, under the authority of the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855. They run towards the north, the even numbers being on the east side of the road, and the odd numbers on the west. The house which was once numbered 100 is now 320, and the one formerly numbered 115 is now 290.

At the west end of Seward-street, on the north side of the road, there formerly stood a huge mound of earth, the site of which, although the mound was levelled upwards of a century ago, continues until now to be called Mountmill. The history of this spot extends as far back as the time of Henry VIII., when, as Stow tells us, "a chapel was built here on the site of a windmill, which had been overthrown by a tempest, by Queen Katherine, first wife of Henry the 8th, who named it the Mount of Calvary, because it was of Christ's passion; and in the end of Henry 8th it was pulled down, and a windmill newly set up as afore."[1] During the civil wars which disturbed the reign of Charles I., the Parliamentarians raised near this spot a battery and breastwork for the defence of the City against a threatened attack by the Royalists of this portion of the line of fortifications by which London was encircled, 1642-3. There exists a contemporary engraving which occupies one corner of a broad sheet preserved in the British Museum, entitled "The Malignant's treacherous and bloody Plot against the Parliament and Citty of Lo., wch was by God's Providence, happily prevented, May 31, 1643."[2] Subsequently, during the great plague of 1665, the ground adjacent was used as a place of interment, a huge pit being dug, into which was cast promiscuously the bodies of such as were slain by this dreadful pestilence in the districts of Clerkenwell, Aldersgate, and other parts of the city. It was estimated that up to December 19th, 1665, 1377 persons of both sexes had died of the plague in Clerkenwell. They were chiefly buried in Mountmill pit. The Rev. Richard Kingston, who was then incumbent of Clerkenwell,[3] distinguished himself by his assiduity and attention in ministering to the wants of the sufferers; he was occupied by day in visiting the sick, and by night in burying the dead, having no time for study but what he stole from his hours of rest. Defoe, in his "Journal of the Plague Year," relates a story which was told to him by Hayward, the sexton of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, of a drunken piper, who, having fallen into a sound sleep on a door step, was taken up by the cart on its way to Mountmill. "The cart usually stopped for some time before they were ready to shoot the melancholy load they had in; as soon as the cart stopped the fellow awaked and struggled a little to get his head out from among the dead bodies, when, raising himself up in the cart, he cried 'Hey, where am I?' This frighted the fellow that attended about the work; but after some pause John Hayward, recovering himself, said 'Lord bless us, there is somebody in the cart not quite dead.' So another called to him and said 'Who are you?' The fellow answered 'I am the poor piper; where am I?' 'Why you are in the dead cart and we are going to bury you.' 'But I 'ant dead though, am I,' says the piper, which made them laugh a little. So they helped the poor fellow down, and he went about his business." "This ground," says Defoe, writing of the place of interment near Mountmill, "I take it was since made a physic garden, and after that has been built upon."[4]

In 1746 the site of Mountmill was used as a public laystall. "Thursday afternoon (March 28th, 1761), as two men were undermining one of the mounts near Goswell-street-road, leading to Islington, in order to get rubbish to raise the said road, great part of it fell in."[5] "On Friday," says "The Penny London Post," of September 18th, 1747, "two women who were tried for petty larceny were whipped at the cart's tail, one from Aldersgate-bars, and the other from the Hampshire Hog in Goswell-street to the Turpentine house at Mountmill." A very considerable swell in the *contour* of the ground is still observable on the former site of Mountmill at the west end of Seward-street, especially at the north west corner of the street, where a *cul-de-sac* retains the name of Mountmills, having reference at present to some drug mills, chemical works, and millwrights' premises, now existing there. This neighbourhood gave birth to an amusing story of bedevilment. It is told in a tract which was printed for D. M. London, 1678, 4to., pp. 6, and entitled, "Strange and Wonderful News from Goswell-street, or a Victory over the Devil, being a true relation how a person

[1] Strype's *Stow*, bk. vi., p. 63.
[2] Miscellaneous sheets, King's Library at Brit. Mus. Press mark, 669, f. 8.
[3] *Vide* p. 68
[4] Defoe's *Works*, vol. v., p. 190, Bohn's edition.
[5] Old Newspaper.

living at the house of Francis Jordan, at the sign of the Huntsman and Hounds, near Mountmill, in Goswell-street, having for three years past lain under an evil tongue and lamentable fits, generally judged to proceed from witchcraft, and was in a lamentable condition, and her flesh was as it were tore off her bones, with strange noises heard at that time," &c. The narrative of this tract is both marvellous and interesting; it relates to a woman who had fits or sickness of an extraordinary kind. Her flesh was often torn up together as if it had been done with hooks, her body swelled like a bladder, her limbs were distorted, and sometimes for many days she could neither eat nor drink anything except a little water and chalk. Physicians were sent for and advised with, but they could not tell to what disease to ascribe so many different and unusual symptoms; and after trying the strongest remedies without effect, "they concluded her under an ill tongue, or, as we commonly express it, bewicht." "During the three years' time that this poor woman continued in this lamentable condition she was visited by divers, and several things were applied unto her; and, as it is usual in the tooth-ache, everyone hath a particular medicine, so in that concourse of people there could not be but many advisers, but none that did her any good, till her brother-in-law, at whose house she lay, being satisfied that her affliction proceeded from the malice of the Devil's instruments, on Thursday last, being the 13th of this instant June, 1678, and sitting by a good fire alone in the woman's chamber, he phancied the evil spirit to be got into a stone bottle that hung over the fire; and after about an hour's observation, heard within it such a horrid noise and roaring as if a thousand bulls had bellowed all at once. This hideous sound somewhat daunted our champion, for a man may be very stout and yet be worsted by the Devil, and therefore he prudently thought fit to retreat, but before he got far that part of the room was filled with smoak, the fire all spread abroad, and another kind of noise is heard, like a clap of thunder or the report of a cannon. And now the dreadful battel begun, for presently something invisible with a furious stroke hit the man on the head, and thereby almost beat him down to the ground; with the violence of which he was for some space of time insensible, but recovering a little felt a terrible pain on that side of his head as if he had been stuck full of awls and needles; and thereupon that part of the room where the man was, was filled with smoak, that several people who came out of a lower room upon hearing of the noise could not so much as see the man that was struck, though it was clear in all the rest of the room. And now the evil spirit with a dreadful noise was departed up the chimney, carrying away the pot hangers and the bottle with him, but the bottle came down again still roaring and casting a dismal tract of smoak, but not in any part broken. The poor woman was all this while in the same room, and so far from receiving hurt, that immediately when the noise began she was restored, and like one come into another world found herself so well in a moment that she could both eat and drink."

Highway robberies were common upon Goswell-road in former times. Thus, in 1780—"On Friday evening the Oundle stage was stopped in Goswell-street-road by three footpads, but a gentleman passing in a hackney coach jumped out and seized one of them, and the other two made off. The same night a fellow stopped the Stamford fly in Goswell-road, and robbed all the passengers."[1]

Between Rawstorne-street and Owen-court, at a short distance back from the road, about forty years ago, stood the Quakers' workhouse and schools, which were erected about the year 1786. The building had the appearance of a villa, and was surrounded by pleasure grounds, gardens, and trees. In the midsummer of 1825, in their care for the health of the inmates, on account of the dampness of the lower rooms, the Society of Friends removed this institution to Park-lane, Croydon, where it is at present located. The ground upon which the workhouse and its pleasure ground stood, being part of the ancient Hermitage field, was leased by the Friends of the Brewers' Company, under the sanction of the Court of Chancery, for 148 years, commencing at Midsummer, 1786, subject to a rent of £16 per annum for the first 84½ years, and £50 per annum for the remainder of the term. Soon after the removal of the institution the Society of Friends determined to let the entire plot on building leases for seventy years; and buildings were commenced in 1827.[2]

[1] *Public Advertiser*, July 17th, 1780.

[2] Cromwell's *Clerkenwell*, p. 395.

JERUSALEM PASSAGE.

It is probable that this avenue received its name from an old public-house, the St. John of Jerusalem, which, until the year 1760, stood at the north-east corner of it. It is mentioned by Ned Ward[1] as "a noted tavern in Jack Adams his parish;" which statement is confirmed by allusion being made to it in a comedy entitled "Walks in Islington and Hogsden," by T. Jordan, 1657.

> *Flyglove.*—Go and bespeak supper at the John of Jerusalem.
> *Pimpwell.*—I fear it is too late.
> *Fly.*—What's o'clock?
> *Pimp.*—Past 9.

In another place in this comedy Flyglove makes an assignation with his mistress to meet at the Jerusalem Tavern. On the site of this old tavern a large building was erected for the Clerkenwell Parochial Charity Schools, in 1760: but upon the expiration of the lease, in 1830, the schools were removed from it, and subsequently the lower part of the school-house was converted into shops as at present. Under the north-east corner of the school-house was a well, and there had been a pump over it, but when the building ceased to be a tavern, the pump and fixtures were taken away. Some years afterwards one of the governors of the school offered to erect a pump at his own expense, "that the children might have pure and wholesome drink when thirsty." This offer was accepted, and the pump was placed at the back of the school-house in Jerusalem-passage; but owing to its great distance from the well it was often out of repair. In 1807 the parish erected the present pump in front of the house, that spot being much nearer to the well, but another reason for placing it there was to disturb, and by that means to get rid of, a number of fruit and fish sellers who had taken up their station on the spot, and who, owing to a flaw in the Paving Act of St. John's, could not be removed. A lamp was placed at the top when first erected, and lighted by order of Churchwarden Biggs; but the next warden had it removed. For some time past the pump has ceased to act, the deep wells in the neighbourhood having drawn off the water from this old spring. At the south end of Jerusalem-passage there stood about eighty-three years ago what was then commonly called "the little gate of St. John," being the north postern of the ancient priory, and which was probably older than the great south gate now standing. The north postern was doomed for destruction in 1780, when the Commissioners of Paving for St. John's, on the 19th of May in that year, granted permission to Mr. Gabriel Gregory, the proprietor of the house adjoining (then about to be rebuilt), at the south-west corner of Jerusalem-passage, to take down the north postern and thereby leave the south entrance to the above passage open from the ground to the sky. From a plan of the ground accompanying the minutes of the St. John's Paving Board, the southward portion of the present passage appears to have been crossed by two distinct arches or gates, the inner one of which (that next to St. John's-square) is described as being ten feet seven inches high, and ten feet six inches wide; and the other as eight feet high, five feet six inches wide, and the walls three feet six inches thick. These gates appear to have been about eighteen feet apart, and to have had a covered way connecting them.

The intimate connection of all the three orders of Christian chivalry, the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights, in their institution and objects—the recovery of the Holy-land, and the rendering of assistance to pilgrims visiting the holy places—enables us to judge of the practices of one of them by what is more fully revealed of the other. All of them took a solemn oath at initiation to make unceasing war upon the Saracens, as all who professed the Mahomedan faith were called. After, however, the fall of Acre, and the expulsion of the three orders from Palestine, it was impossible for the knights to come into daily conflict with their enemies, which the oath seemed to infer. The Teutonic Knights reconciled their oaths and their inactivity against the enemy by a

[1] *Humourous Account of Remarkable Clubs in London and Westminster*, 1721.

quibble. In their beautiful principal castle of Marienburg, on the Vistula (large and noble as Windsor), they erected a postern tower, and called it Jerusalem; and it was the duty of the knights resident there to go out solemnly every morning, with a large accompaniment, and make a feigned attack upon this, which they called trying to take Jerusalem, and considered it as fulfilling their vow. Jerusalem-passage was evidently a postern entrance from the Priory-close, now St. John's-square, to Aylesbury-street, and probably its postern tower was called Jerusalem, which might also have been attacked every day in literal fulfilment of a vow, which circumstances did not permit the resident Knights Hospitallers otherwise to satisfy.[1]

In Jerusalem-passage was an old hostel called the "Child's Coat," as we learn from the following record of matrimonial perfidy in 1720:—

"Whereas Johanna, the wife of Thomas Wood, living at the sign of the Child's Coat, in Jerusalem-passage, hath eloped from her husband ever since the 11th inst.; this is to forewarn all persons not to entertain or trust her, for that her said husband will not be accountable for debts she contracts after this notice. She is a middle stature, fresh coloured, pitted with the small pox, brown hair and eyebrows, has a large mole or mark on the left arm. Gown with purple and white coloured stripes. One William Morgan went along with her, and robbed Mr. Wood of money and goods. He is a middle-sized man, round shouldered, full face and eyes, short black hair, wears brown camlet clothes. Whoever apprehends either of them shall receive from Mr. Wood a guinea reward, to be paid at his house in Jerusalem-passage."[2]

PEEL COURT.

In Peel-court, St. John-street, the entrance to which is by a pair of large iron gates, stands a Quakers' or Friends' Meeting House—a plain, substantial brick building. The interior, which is entirely devoid of ornament, is about sixty feet square, having two galleries and benches in the area, affording sitting room for about five hundred persons. The present meeting house was erected, about sixty years ago, upon the foundations of an older structure, known as the Peel, which had fallen into decay. The site has been appropriated as it at present is for at least two hundred years. A lamentable history of the persecutions which the Quakers assembling at the Peel meeting, as well as elsewhere, endured for their religion's sake, attaches peculiar interest to this spot. In 1662 the Peel meeting was rudely interrupted, and five of the Friends were seized and carried away.[3] In 1670, when a renewal of the Conventicle Act came into force with great rigour, the meetings of the Friends were broken up as unlawful, and many of those who attended them, especially those who preached, were seized. From the Peel meeting, in St. John-street, at one time no less than one hundred were committed to prison, and on another occasion about eighty. "The behaviour of the Quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the spirit of martyrdom. They met at the same place and hour as in times of liberty, and when the officers came to sieze them none would stir,—they went together to prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged they went to their meeting-house again as before, and when the doors were shut by order they assembled in great numbers before the doors, saying that they would not be ashamed nor afraid to own their meetings together in a peaceable manner to worship God. Some called this constancy, others firmness, but by it they carried their point, Government being weary of contending against so much resolution."[4]

The Conventicle Act became null and void by the Declaration of Indulgence of Charles II., published in January, 1672, and in a few months, by the king's clemency, the Friends who were in prison were all discharged under a pardon granted for this special purpose. This pardon, consisting of eleven sheets of vellum, is still preserved in the archives of the Society of Friends in London John Bunyan, with others, was released by this instrument.[5] But the persecution of these peaceable

[1] Communicated by WILLIAM BELL, Phil. Dr.
[2] APPLEBEE'S *Journal*, Sep. 3rd, 1720.
[3] SEWELL'S *History of the Quakers*, fol. 1725.
[4] NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, pp. 673-676.
[5] *Epistles from the Yearly Meetings of the Friends in London*, vol. i., *Historical Introduction*, pp. 15, 16.

religionists did not now cease, for many years after they suffered both indignity and outrage, and by ignorant people they were insulted with impunity. They, however, meekly submitted to it all. The celebrated George Fox, the founder of this remarkable sect, has recorded in his journal two of his visits to the Peel meeting, the first of which was in October, 1682. With the characteristic precision and simplicity of his followers he thus writes:—

"1682, 10th month. I went to the meeting at the Peel, in Jones-street, and the sessions were holden the same day at Hicks's Hall. I went to the Peel in the morning; and William Mead being to appear at the sessions house for not going to steeple house worship, came once or twice to me at the Peel, which some ill-minded observing went and informed the justices at the bench that he was gone to a meeting at the Peel. Whereupon the justices sent a messenger to see if there was a meeting, but this being in the forenoon there was none. Then others informed the justices that there would be one there in the afternoon; whereupon they sent for the chief constable and asked him why he suffered a meeting to be at the Peel so near him? He told them he did not know of any meeting there. They asked him how he could not know and live so near it. He said he was never there in his life, and did not know there was a meeting there. They would have persuaded him he must needs know of it; but he standing stedfast in the denial of it, they said they should take order to have it looked after in the afternoon. But a multitude of business coming before them at the sessions, when dinner time came they hastened to it without giving order, and when they came to the bench again after dinner the Lord put it out of their minds, so they sent no officer. The meeting was quiet, beginning and ending in peace; and a blessed one we had, the Lord's presence being preciously amongst us. Many Friends had a concern lest I should be taken; but I was freely given up to suffer, if it was the Lord's will, before I went to the meeting, and had nothing in my mind concerning it but the Lord's glory. I do believe the Lord put it out of their minds that they should not send to break up our meeting that day, yet, the first day after, three or four justices (as I heard) came to the Peel and put Friends out of their meeting there and kept them out."

"1683. I went to the meeting at the Peel, which but a little before the justices and constables had broken up, and had carried themselves very roughly, and a glorious one it was. Blessed be the Lord."[1]

For some particulars relating to the Quakers' Meeting House the reader is referred to a tract by Nathaniel Smith, 1669, a copy of which is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[1] *Journals of George Fox*, by T. Armitage, vol. ii., pp. 252-262.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, CLERKENWELL—Continued.

Red Lion-street:—The Site of Bocher or Butt Close, and Garden Alleys—The former Gentility of this Street—Simon Michell—Mr. Wildman—Eclipse, the Racehorse—The Red Lion Tavern—John Britton, the Architect, apprenticed to his Uncle—His Immurement in the Cellars of this Tavern - His Literary Work—The Residence of Dr. Trusler, the Sermon Maker—A Biographical Notice of this remarkable Individual—Aaron Gibbs—Simons, a rich Jew—Caroline Austin. St. John-street:—The oldest Road from the City to Islington—Its bad state of repair in the time of Edward III., Richard II., and Henry VIII, and at a later period—The nearest way over the Fields taken in consequence—The Long Causeway—The Battery and Breastwork at the end of St. John-street, in 1642-43—The zeal of the Labourers in constructing it—Hicks's Hall, the first Middlesex Sessions House—Why so called—A short Biographical Notice of Sir Baptist Hicks—Extracts from the State Papers relating to him—Some Account of his Hall—The famous Trials which took place in it—When Demolished—The Visits of the famous Guy Fawkes to the House of a Printer in St. John-street, in 1605—Remarkable old Inns in this Street—Cranmer's Catechism printed in this Street—Tradesmen's Tokens. St. John's-square:—The Ancient Priory Court—Its former pleasant aspect—Father Corker's Convent—Destroyed by a Mob, whose Riot was quieted by the Soldiery—The Little Square, formerly North's-court—The Residence of Sir John North—Dr. Goddard—Dove, the Printer—An Account of the Free Thinking Christians' Meeting House—Famous Residents in the Square—Charles Howard, First Earl of Carlisle—Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex—Horatio, First Lord Townshend—Sir William Fenwicke—Sir William Cordell—John Wilkes, Esq.—Colonel Magniac—Short Biographies of them—Smith & Son's Clock Manufactory—How a Clock is Made—Clock and Watch Makers' Asylum—Burnet House, once the Abode of the Bishop of Salisbury—Let out in Tenements—Handsome Mantelpieces in several of the Rooms—An old Leaden Cistern—A Biographical Sketch of Bishop Burnet—His Death in the House, and insulting Burial—Afterwards Residence of Dr. Towers, the Unitarian, and the occasional Lodging of Dr. Adam Clarke—Some Account of the Wesleyan Chapel—A Brief History of Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington's Printing Office.

RED LION STREET.

All the houses in this street, with the gardens belonging to them, and several of those contiguous in Berkeley-street and Albion-place, extending from the site of the west wall of the hospital court nearly to Turnmill-street, occupy that which was formerly an open plot of ground belonging to the hospital, and which was subsequently called Bocher, or Butt Close, and afterwards Garden Alleys. It has been conjectured that from the vicinity of this plot to Cow Cross and Smithfield Market Bocher Close is a corruption from Butcher's Close, and that it was for some time used either for the slaughtering or turning out of cattle. Of the same plot, and another adjoining it on the north side of the hospital precinct, and extending from the wall on that side to the south line of the present Clerkenwell Green, we gather the following particulars[1]:—By letters patent, dated October 30th, 1591, 15th Elizabeth, enrolled in Chancery, was granted to Edward Grimstone, jun., and Richard Strode, and their heirs, all that whole close of land called Bocher Close *alias* Butt Close, in the parish of Clerkenwell, on the west part of the site of the priory or hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, then lately dissolved and converted into several gardens, containing by estimation three acres, to hold the same of the queen and her successors, as of the manor of East Greenwich, by fealty

[1] Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 172



PRISONERS HALTING AT THE OLD BAPTIST'S HEAD, IN ST. JOHN'S LANE.

only in free soccage. On the 16th of November following, the said close was conveyed to Thomas Seckford, Esq., of Ipswich, and his heirs; and in the 32nd Elizabeth, on Mr. Seckford's death, his executors sold it for the payment of his debts. By a deed dated 27th June, 35th Elizabeth, enrolled in Chancery, it appears that Queen Elizabeth, by her letters patent, dated 15th November, in the 31st year of her reign, had granted to Sir Edward Stanley and his heirs a parcel of land encroached at Clerkenwell Green, as it was enclosed with a wall, containing in length two hundred feet and in breadth thirty feet, then in the possession of the Countess of Derby, and all those buildings adjoining upon the walls, which compassed the queen's house there, called St. John's, and upon Butter's Garden, containing in length fifty-eight feet and in breadth two feet, encroached out of the queen's waste soil there in the tenure of Henry Seckford. The wall above mentioned it is supposed extended from the west end of Aylesbury-street to the four brick houses on Clerkenwell Green, which we shall presently mention. Therefore, if thirty feet be measured towards St. John's-square from the south front line of Clerkenwell Green, we shall get the line of the hospital north wall. By a deed of the 31st August, 37th Elizabeth, Sir Edward Stanley granted to John Ballet, all his messuages, tenements, and hereditaments in the parish of St. James, at Clerkenwell, or in the places called St. James, at Clerkenwell, and St. John, Middlesex. This estate remained in the family of the Ballets until 1703, when it was sold, agreeably to the will of John Ballet, Esq., and divided among his children, and an Act of Parliament obtained to carry the trust into execution; it is described as consisting of eighty messuages and sixty gardens. The trustees, in 1705, sold a part of the estate to Marshal and Palmer, on which four houses were built on Clerkenwell Green, and two houses behind, which formed part of the east side of Red Lion-street. In 1715, the trustees conveyed to Simon Michell five several messuages fronting Clerkenwell Green north, and standing together in a row, whereof one was a brick messuage being eastward of the said other messuages, and at the corner on the west side of a street or passage there called Garden-alleys, and also Bocher's Close *alias* Butt's Close, then or lately called Garden-alleys or Round-court, containing five acres, on which it appears there were then twenty-eight houses. The brick messuage last mentioned was No. 1, Red Lion-street, to which we shall presently refer.

The large size and somewhat aristocratic exterior of the principal houses composing Red Lion-street are tolerably certain indications of their having been intended originally as residences for a wealthier class of persons than those who at present inhabit them; moreover they were built at a time when there were many carriage-folks in Clerkenwell. In 1739 there were twenty-three persons who had carriages in this parish,[1] and the "oldest inhabitant" remembers that there were five or six in Red Lion-street, when Red Lion-yard was the mews. We are informed of the proximate date of the erection of the houses in this street by a small tablet, let into the wall of a house at the north-east corner of it, the inscription on which, "Red Lyon Street, 1719," now almost effaced, determines the period when they were principally built by Simon Michell, Esq., a gentleman of wealth and influence as a magistrate, who, soon after the erection of these houses, in 1721, purchased the present St. John's Church, then Aylesbury Chapel, of the Aylesbury family, part of whose patrimony it then was—he being desirous of providing the inhabitants of this and neighbouring streets with a place of worship distinct from the mother church of St. James's.[2] Mr. Michell's residence formerly stood on the east side towards Clerkenwell Green; and upon his death, in the year 1750, at the advanced age of 74,[3] it became the residence of Mr. Wildman, a gentleman distinguished in the annals of the turf, and once the fortunate possessor of the celebrated race-horse, Eclipse, which was bred by the Duke of Cumberland (the victor of Culloden), and so named from having been foaled during the "great eclipse." When a yearling he was sold, with the rest of the stud, by public auction; and was then purchased by Mr. Wildman for forty-six guineas. When the horse was four or five years old, Mr. Wildman sold him for seventeen hundred guineas to Colonel Dennis O'Kelly, who amassed a large fortune by gambling and the turf. For the colonel he won the king's plates and everything he ran for, until the death of his owner, who deemed him so valuable as to insure his life for several thousand pounds. He bequeathed him to his brother, Philip O'Kelly. Eclipse survived his master little more than a

[1] Maitland's *London*, 1739. [2] *Vide* page 226. [3] *Vide* page 228.

year, and died in February, 1789, in the 26th year of his age. He won more matches than any other racer known, and never was beaten. His muscles were of unparalleled size, and rather those of a cart-horse than a racer. In a pamphlet published in 1791, "On the Proportions of Eclipse," by Professor St. Bel, of the Veterinary College, it was calculated that this noble animal could cover an extent of twenty-five feet at each complete action on the gallop, and could repeat this action twice and one-third in each second of time, and consequently could run nearly four miles in the space of six minutes and four seconds. His heart weighed 13lbs., and it was doubtless the size of that organ that enabled him to accomplish what he did in speed and strength.

The large house, No. 1, at the north-west corner of Red Lion-street, was once in the occupation of Ralph Kingston, a coffee-man. It was also occupied for a considerable period by the Haughton family, who removed to it from the site of the charity school in Aylesbury-street. It was for many years a tavern known by the familiar sign of the Red Lion—a sign which would seem to have been originally derived from the arms of Scotland, now quartered on the British shield, a red lion rampant on a gold field :—

> The dazzling field,
> Where, in proud Scotland's royal shield,
> The ruddy lion ramped in gold.[1]

Subsequently this house became the Jerusalem Tavern. At this tavern meetings on parochial matters were usually held, occasional dinners given, and sales by auction of house and landed property at times took place. We read in the "Gazetteer," of the 19th November, 1776, as follows :—"Jerusalem Tavern, Clerkenwell Green, November 14, 1776.—At a meeting of the Master Bakers it was unanimously resolved to second the good intentions of the society lately established for putting a stop to the evil practice of profaning the Sabbath, by leaving off the selling of bread and flour, and discontinuing the baking of dinner pans from and after the 17th inst."

This house was kept by Mr. Mendham, whose full quart-bottles were locally known by the name of Jerusalem bottles. In the dark and cobwebbed cellars of this house that eminent architect and author, the late Mr. John Britton, served a term of six years (1787 to 1793) apprenticeship to his uncle, Mr. Mendham, who, according to the terms of his indentures, was to instruct him "in the whole art and mystery of a wine-merchant." These six years, spent chiefly in the monotonous employment of drawing-off, bottling, corking, and binning of wine, were, as Britton himself tells us, "dragged on as a lengthened and galling chain; for my health, always weak, was greatly impaired by constant confinement in damp, murky cellars. My occupation was a continued series of bodily labour, without mental excitement or amusement: every succeeding day presented only a dull, monotonous repetition of the former. During this apprenticeship—this immurement in a London cavern—I stole an occasional half-hour in the morning, between seven and eight o'clock, to look at the sky, breathe a little fresh air, and visit two book-stalls in the vicinity of my prison cave." By these early morning visits to the old book-stalls, he was enabled to purchase at a cheap rate some very useful books, which, he tells us in his autobiography, he perused with great avidity; but all the reading he could indulge in was by candle-light in the cellars, at intervals abstracted from his systematic duties. Towards the close of the term of his hard servitude, during one of his early morning walks, he chanced to fall into the company of a man who by trade was a dial painter. Essex—for this was the name of his new found friend—was a man of reading and reflection, and possessed a considerable number of select works, any of which he readily offered to lend Britton; and more than this, counselled him, from his own experience, as to the choice he should make. The shop of Mr. Essex, the dial painter, was a kind of literary club, and here Britton first became acquainted with his life-long friend, Mr. Edward Brayley, and was introduced to the Rev. Dr. Trusler and Dr. Towers, both eminent for their literary accomplishments.

Britton's unremitting labours in his uncle's wine-cellar sadly affected his health. He ventured to remonstrate with his master, but without any remission of labour or improvement of comfort. His

[1] Scott's *Marmion*, canto iv., 28.

complaint being unheeded, he fell into a low desponding way, and a gloomy melancholy settled upon his spirits. Unable to work any longer, he had recourse to the dispensary in St. John's-square, and took the medicines prescribed for him, but without avail, his health still declining. At length his uncle, seeing there was little prospect of his recovery, gave up his indentures, which had yet six months to run; and giving him two guineas, instead of twenty, as was originally stipulated, dismissed him. Turned adrift upon the world, he energetically worked his way through it, to reach the goal of fame, advancing step by step—now a lawyer's clerk; then a lecturer; and, lastly, an author, engaged for seventeen years, in conjunction with his tried friend, Brayley, in "getting-up" the "Beauties of England and Wales," in 26 vols. 8vo. Britton was born in the village of Kington St. Michael, Wiltshire, on July 7th, 1771. He was F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Royal Institute of Architects, and of many other societies. He obtained the gold medal of merit, which was presented to him in 1843, by his Majesty the King of Prussia. His principal works were "Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London," "Picture of London," "History and Antiquities of the Tower of London," "Memoirs of the Tower of London," "Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain," "Carter's Antient Architecture, with Notes," "Brief Memoir of Sir John Soane," "Beauties of Wiltshire," "Union of Architecture and Sculpture," "Dictionary of Architecture," "Cathedral Antiquities," "Beauties of England and Wales," and "Historical and Descriptive Account of Cathedrals." After a life of unwearying industry, fruitful in its additions to literature, he "shuffled off this mortal coil" on the New Year's Day of 1857, in the 86th year of his age, regretted by all who knew him.

At No. 14, Red Lion-street, resided, in 1787, the Rev. Dr. Trusler,[1] a very "chameleon of literature," who wrote on all kinds of subjects, and to whom nothing in a literary way seemed to come amiss. He is notorious as being the first to publish sermons in script characters (an idea peculiarly his own) for the use of the clergy of his time; a great many of whom were either unable or unwilling to compose their discourses for the pulpit. He was born in London, in the year 1735, and was the son of a Mr. Trusler, who subsequently became proprietor of the "Marybone Gardens," a famous place of resort during the summer season for the townspeople, owing to the nightly galas of singing and dancing, which rendered the gardens attractive to even the fashionable society of a former period.[2] About the year 1758 young Trusler wrote, or rather translated, for his father, one of those farcical compositions then much in vogue, a burletta, entitled "La Serva Padrona, or the Servant Mistress." This was performed at the Marybone Gardens during the season "with great applause."

Trusler's sister made the seed and plum-cakes which were sold at this establishment, "so much admired by the nobility and gentry," as we read from the following advertisement:—

"Marybone Gardens.

"Mr. Trusler's daughter continues to make the rich seed and plum cakes so much admired by the nobility and gentry. They are made in a square form, and will cut out as large slices as those four times the price; they are always kept ready made, and will be sent to any part of the town when bespoke, at half-a-crown each."[3]

At a very early period in his life Mr. John Trusler obtained, or assumed, the distinction of LL.D., and to this the wits of the day, in reference to the employment of his sister, humorously added the sobriquet of "Seed and Plum Cakins." Certain it is he had no collegiate education, but was brought up to the profession of medicine in a very humble way, he having been apprenticed to an apothecary. He afterwards, by dint of study, contrived to be admitted to holy orders, and for some time after officiated as a curate in and about London. The year 1771 commenced a new era in the life of this remarkable man, for he then, after due consideration, started a scheme peculiarly his own, viz., that of abridging the sermons of eminent divines, and afterwards printing them in the form of manuscripts; and it is averred that he showed as much skill and judgment in making up sermons as his sister did in the manufacture of seed and plum cakes. He had noticed that many of the clergy had pleasanter pursuits than the study of theology, and that when they sat down to indite a sermon they were unable to concentrate their thoughts sufficiently for the task; and they feared to use a printed composition,

[1] For some particulars of Dr. Trusler see the *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1820.

[2] *Vide* page 129.

[3] *Public Advertiser*, Aug. 16th, 1758.

lest they might be overlooked from the gallery of the church and the shameful cheat should be discovered. In this dilemma the Rev. Dr. Trusler came to their rescue, a capital idea for them having struck his sagacious mind, that a description of type used by printers called script would prevent the inconvenience complained of. Having well matured his plans, he had several sermons so printed. He then sent a circular to every clergyman in England advertising his project, and dilating upon its manifold advantages, and assuring them that there was little risk of detection, for although the discourses which he had selected were the most admired, they were the least known. At the end of one of these script sermons now before us, entitled "A Preparation for the Sacrament," 1 Cor. xi., 28, 29, is the following advertisement:—"As the utility of this undertaking depends on a careful distribution, Dr. Trusler will stamp his name on the last page of every sermon; and if any gentleman already has, or should in future receive, any discourse without being so signed, it is hoped he will make him acquainted with it, otherwise he shall never be able to assure the clergy that the same subjects shall not go into the same neighbourhood, which at present he can with safety do." This sermon publishing brought down upon Trusler and his customers a just and wrathful censure from the able pen of a contemporary, the poet Cowper:—

> But hark, the Doctor's voice! Fast wedged between
> Two empirics he stands, and with swollen cheeks
> Inspires the news, his trumpet. Keener far
> Than all invective is his bold harangue,
> While through that public organ of report
> He hails the clergy; and, defying shame,
> Announces to the world his own and theirs!
> He teaches those to read, whom schools dismiss'd,
> And colleges, untaught; sells accent, tone,
> And emphasis in score, and gives to prayer
> The *adagio* and *andante* it demands.
> He grinds divinity of other days
> Down into modern use, transforms old print
> To zigzag manuscript, and cheats the eyes
> Of gallery critics by a thousand arts.
> Are there who purchase of the doctor's ware?
> Oh, name it not in Gath! It cannot be,
> That grave and learned clerks should need such aid.
> He doubtless is in sport, and does but droll,
> Assuming thus a rank unknown before—
> Grand caterer and dry-nurse of the Church![1]

But Trusler's plan was approved of by a great number of the clergy, much to their shame and reproach; and so great was the demand for sermons in script characters, that Dr. Terrick, then Bishop of London, sent for Trusler, and pointed out to him, in a very forcible manner, the great inducement he was offering to idleness among the clergy. To this the wily doctor replied by saying that he had gained £150 a year by the sale of his manuscript sermons, but if his lordship would give him a living of that value, as he was without any preferment, his script types should no longer be put in requisition. To this arrangement, however, the bishop did not assent. In 1782 we find Trusler aiding his clerical brethren by publishing for their especial use, "The Sublime Reader, or the morning and evening service of the church so pointed, and the emphatic words throughout so marked, as to display all the beauty and sublimity of the language, and render it, with the least attention, impossible to be read by the most injudicious readers but with propriety." Cowper alludes to this work in the lines which we have just quoted:—

> He teaches those to read, whom schools dismiss'd,
> And colleges, untaught; sells accent, tone,
> And emphasis in score, and gives to prayer
> The *adagio* and *andante* it demands.

[1] *The Task*, book ii.

Dr. Trusler, by his extraordinary success, was enabled to commence business as a printer and publisher in a large way; and from the "Literary Press," No. 62, Wardour-street, as his establishment was called, issued many of the compositions of his own prolific pen. A host of books and pamphlets of a singularly diverse character were issued in his name. As a writer his versatility was confined to no province in literature; he roamed discursively over its ample fields, and hence the labours of his pen will appear strange when viewed in contrast. Of his smaller works were, "The Art of Carving," "The County Lawyer," "The London Adviser and Guide, containing every instruction and information useful and necessary to persons living in London, and coming to reside there," "The Honours of the Table, or rules for behaviour at meals," eight years' Almanacs on a sheet, "The Art of Gardening," "A Rhyming Dictionary," "The Gentleman Farrier," "An Essay on Literary Property," "The Importance of a Farmer's Life," "The Way to be Rich and Respectable," a work showing, we believe, how the doctor succeeded as a farmer, he having at one period occupied a farm of some two hundred acres; and such were the profits resulting from his skilful management, that he wrote to prove that anyone might soon realize a handsome fortune by engaging in such an undertaking, and, as if to show that he had done so, he soon after relinquished his farm. But of all his numerous works, the separate mention of which would be tedious, posterity has acknowledged the merit of only two or three—"The Habitable World Displayed," 20 vols. 8vo.; "Chronology, or a Concise View of History," and "Hogarth moralised." The unexampled success of Trusler in his multifarious undertakings enabled him to reside for a time in the then fashionable city of Bath on the goodly profits which he had realized. This veteran in the ranks of literature lived to the ripe old age of 85, and died in the year 1820, in his quiet villa at Englefield Green, Middlesex, having during his lifetime published upwards of twenty-five separate works.

On April 29th, 1724, Queen Anne's commissioners for building fifty new churches purchased of Mr. Michell the house and premises No. 59, on the east side of Red Lion-street; consisting of a brick built house and garden, about ninety-six feet in depth and twenty feet wide, for £650, as a residence for the rector of St. John's. This parish still retains this property, but the present rector lives in River-street, Myddelton-square.

In Parker's "London News," No. 956, January, 1725, we read as follows:—"Last Tuesday died at his house in Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell, Mr. Aaron Gibbs, an eminent rag merchant, reckoned worth £40,000."

In 1760 an apothecary was attacked in Red Lion-street by two ruffians, who forcibly carried him to Black Mary's Hole, Bagnigge Wells-road; but there released him upon discovering that he was not the person whom they were in search of.

Early in the present century Mr. Simons, an Armenian Jew, by profession a diamond merchant, resided in this street. At one period he was possessed of property which was estimated to be of the value of £200,000; but by the extravagance of himself and his son he became so reduced that he died in the parish workhouse.

Mr. Britton tells us that he saw a man flogged at a cart's tail in Red Lion-street, and that the ceremony was of a most horrid kind.

By a return of the Registrar-General, in 1857, we are informed of the death of Mrs. Caroline Austin, a widow lady, who for many years resided at 22, Red Lion-street, and who lived to the rare old age of 105, enjoying a general good state of health, and the use of her faculties until within a few hours of her death, an instance of longevity almost unparalleled in this parish.

ST. JOHN STREET.

The principal roads by which the parish of Clerkenwell is intersected are St. John-street, Goswell-street, Pentonville-road, and Farringdon-road (formerly Victoria-street), which form with their continuations grand trunk lines of thoroughfare from one extremity of London to the other. Of these highways the former is the most ancient. It is mentioned in a charter of confirmation, about the year

1170, as "that street which goeth from the bar of Smithfield towards Yseldon." St. John-street, which at first was a packhorse road, very soon became an important highway, and was so much traversed that it frequently became out of repair. From ancient records of London it appears that customs were granted in the year 1364, (the 37th of the reign of Edward III.), for the mending of the way between Smithfield and Highgate; and in the fourth year of the reign of Richard II. (about the year 1380) a royal patent was issued for the "pavage of the highway from Smithfield-bars to Gore's-place, Isledon." The tenor of this paviage grant in English is as follows:—"The King to his beloved William Stowe and Roger Barnard sendeth greeting. Know ye, that in aid of the emendation of the highway from Smythefelde Barre to Gore's Place in Iseldon, which in many places is destroyed and broken up, to the great damage and hurt of our people by the said way passing, to the emendation or reparation whereof no one is bound except it be by his own mere and proper will, as we understand; We have granted to you our special grace, that from the day of the execution of these presents until the end of one year next ensuing to be fully complete, that you may take by yourselves and by your deputies of articles for sale by the said way passing the customs underwritten; that is to say, For every horse load of corn, of whatsoever kind it be, or malt for sale, one farthing; for every horse, mare, bullock, and cow for sale, one farthing; for ten sheep, goats, and hogs, one penny; for every horseload of cloth for sale, one farthing; for every entire cloth for sale, one farthing; for every hundred of linen cloth, canvass, Irish Galway cloth and worsted for sale, one halfpenny; for every tun of wine or ashes for sale, one penny; for every cart load of honey for sale, one penny; for every truss of cloth brought by cart, one penny; for every cwt. of dead stock for sale, one penny; for every weigh of tallow and fat for sale, one penny; for every hundred of wood for sale, one penny; for every hundred of alum, copperas, potter's clay, and verdigrise for sale, one farthing; for every 2000 onions for sale, one farthing; for every ten sheaves of garlic for sale, one farthing; for every 1000 herrings for sale, one farthing; for every horseload of sea fish for sale, one farthing; for every hundred of boards for sale, one halfpenny; for every millstone for sale, one penny; for every one hundred faggots for sale, one penny; for every quarter of salt for sale, one farthing; for every weigh of cheese or butter for sale, one farthing; for every cart load of billet wood or coals for sale, one penny; for every quarter of tan for sale, one penny; for every truss of whatsoever kind of wares exceeding the sum of five shillings, one farthing; for every cart laden with clay, sand, or gravel, always for the twelfth time, one penny; and of every article of sale not here specified by the aforesaid way passing, wool, skins, and wool fels only excepted, one farthing; And therefore we command you that you take the aforesaid customs until the end of the said year as is aforesaid, so that the moneys therefrom accruing be applied towards the reparation and emendation, and also the support of the said way, and not for other purposes; but the term aforesaid being complete the aforesaid customs shall wholly cease and be abolished. In witness whereof, &c. To last the aforesaid year. T. R. (*Teste Rege*), apud Westm., xxx. die September."[1] About the year 1544 the neglected state of this thoroughfare is again specially referred to by statute of the 34th and 35th of Henry VIII., c. 12, in which "the streate called Sainete John strete leading from the Barres of Smithfelde up to the pounde at the corner of the wall extending along the Heighe waie leading to Islington," is stated to be "very foul, full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, and very necessary to be kept clean, for the avoiding of corrupt savours and the occasion of pestilence." The last-mentioned statute was entitled "An Act for the paving of certain lanes and stretes in London and Westminster." By this statute it was provided that if the possessors of land or the occupiers of tenements "doo sufficientlie repaire and pave before theyre mansions and dwelling places," then such inhabitant might deduct from the rent due to his landlord as much money as he "canne prove to have expended in and about the same paving and repayring."[2]

St. John-street in Stow's time was used by persons coming to Clerkenwell from Highgate, Muswell, &c. The badness of this and other roads in the vicinity of the metropolis induced several of our sovereigns to turn aside from them and to make the nearest way "over the fields" to the place

[1] Tomlins's *Yseldon*, pp. 19, 20.

[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iii., p. 911.

of their destination. Thus did Elizabeth in July, 1561, when she made progress from the Tower through Houndsditch to the Spittle, and down Hog-lane to the Charterhouse; from whence in a few days she rode "by Clarkynewelle, over the feldes unto Savoy, unto master secretore Sysselle (Sir Robert Cecil) to soper and ther was the consell, and mony lordes and knyghtes and lades and gentylwomen, and ther was grett chere tyll mydnyght, and her grace ryd to my Lord North's to bed at the Charterhowse."[1] And on another occasion, when she travelled from Enfield to St. James's, from Islington to her palace, the hedges and ditches were levelled to make the way for her. King James I, on his first coming to London after the death of Elizabeth, was met at Stamford-hill by the Lord Mayor and aldermen, in scarlet gowns and chains of gold, together with the principal city officers, and "500 grave citizens," all mounted on horseback, and splendidly attired; and this royal escort, regardless of the appointed highways, returned with their sovereign "over the fields" to the Charterhouse.[2] Charles I., returning from Scotland in 1641, shewed a like preference by crossing the fields from Newington to Hoxton, by Sir George Whitmore's, and entering the city by Moorgate, accompanied by his queen, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and a splendid cavalcade of nobles. The example of royalty was followed by other great personages, who, forsaking the highways for fear of the sloughs and pitfalls, travelled with their equipages over the fields, which must then have been in a state of commonage, otherwise this deviation would have been justly opposed by the land owners.

Before the introduction of an uniform plan of road-making a raised causeway paved with stones led from St. John-street to Islington Church, which way, from its unusual length, was distinguished as the "Long Causeway." Its construction, which was a work of necessity for the safety and convenience of pedestrians, appears to be of very ancient date, as Richard Cloudesly, by his will, dated January 13th, 1517, does thereby "give and bequeath to the repairing and amending of the Causeway between my house that I now dwell in and Islington Church, lxs." Cloudesly dwelt about the spot where the Angel now stands, or perhaps a little lower down.[3] Occasional references to this famous causeway occur in newspapers of early date, thus in "The True Domestick Intelligencer," No. 83, published in 1680, we read that "a man going along the cawsey between Swan-alley (Sutton-street) and the Unicorn brewhouse stumbling upon something, fell down and died; it is thought upon his fall he hit his breast upon some stone that was higher than the rest, which beat the breath out of his body." In the "Daily Post" for September 25th, 1742, is the following:—"On Thursday Mr. Swift, a refiner, was attacked and robbed by three footpads on Islington-causeway; one of them stabbed him in the breast." Again, we read in Rayner's "London Morning Advertiser," September 27th, 1742, that "On Friday evening last one Morgan, that drives a stage coach, was going on foot to Islington on the causeway leading from the Turk's Head to the New River, was attacked by a single footpad, who ran up to him in a hurry, and damning his blood, swore if he did not stand and deliver he would immediately blow out his brains, at the same time gave him a desperate blow on the side of the head and face with a bludgeon; but Morgan, being a stout, active man, took the opportunity, and with one blow which he gave the rogue with a large stick which he held in his hand, knocked him over the causeway into the field." "On Sunday night, about 9 o'clock, a young man coming along the causeway which leads from Islington to St. John-street, was attacked by five fellows, one of whom demanded his money, but an opportunity offering, he jumped from them and ran away; they pursued him as far as Hicks' Hall. When they left him they swore with the bitterest imprecations that if they had caught him they would have done for him."[4]

During the civil wars of the year 1642-3 a battery and breastwork were erected at the south end of St. John-street, by order of the Parliament, for the defence of the capital against a threatened attack upon it by the Royalists. The Earl of Essex being appointed generalissimo of the Parliamentary army set out from London in great state, accompanied by many of the members of both houses, to his head-quarters, at St. Alban's, and from thence to Northampton, where he put himself at the head of his army, consisting of about 1500 men. The petition which the earl carried

[1] Machyn's *Diary*, x. and xxiii., July, 1561.
[2] *Vide* page 154.
[3] Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p. 23.
[4] *London Daily Advertiser*, August 18th, 1752.

along with him from the Parliament was rejected by his Majesty, who now, by great increase of men and money, found himself in a condition to face his enemies, and with that intent began his march towards London; which the Parliament receiving advice of in the utmost consternation ordered the London trained bands to be in readiness, and all the passages and avenues leading to the City to be fortified with posts, chains, and counts of guards. The terror of the citizens on this occasion was so great that a prodigious number of persons of all ranks, ages, and sex, that were able to labour, willingly offered themselves to work, who by unfeigned application in digging, carrying of earth and other materials, soon accomplished their works of fortification.[1] "It was wonderful," says a contemporary, "to see how the women and children and a vast number of people would come about digging and carrying earth to make new fortifications."[2]

> From ladies down to oyster wenches
> Labour'd like pioneers in trenches;
> Fell to their pickaxes and tools,
> And help'd the men to dig like moles.[3]

On the 9th of May, 1643, many thousands of citizens with their wives and families went out to dig in and about the City to the number of two thousand; May 23rd, five thousand felt makers and cappers went to work at the trenches, and near three thousand porters with a great company of men, women, and children; May 24th, four or five thousand shoemakers; June 5th, six thousand taylors.[4] At a meeting of the British Archæological Association, held March 24th, 1852, was exhibited a series of pen and ink drawings of different parts of London, representing the fortifications erected by Cromwell, which drawings were twenty-two in number, and were executed by Captain John Eyre, of the Eyres of Bakewell, Derbyshire, and of Cromwell's regiment. Amongst them was one of the fortifications in St. John-street.[5] Beside the battery and breastwork at the end of St. John-street, were the fortifications at Mountmill, in Goswell-street-road;[6] a large fort, with four half-bulwarks at the New River upper pond; and a small redoubt near Islington Pound; all being erected for the protection of the metropolis on the northern side. These fortifications consisted of a strong earthen rampart. After the entrenchments had been made round London by the united and zealous labours of the citizens, the Royalists made a satirical song upon them, "Round-headed cuckolds, come dig."

HICKS'S HALL.

In the widest part of St. John-street, without the so-called Smithfield-bars, and near the entrance to St. John's-lane, in the middle of the highway, formerly stood Hicks's Hall, a knowledge of which the old mile-stones on the great north road have transmitted to districts remote from this spot, and it may be they have often set the rustics thinking and wondering what sort of a place Hicks's Hall might have been that the very milestones should make mention of the place where it formerly stood. This spot was once the northern starting point. An inscription on a public-house which stands some two hundred yards from Smithfield, anciently the town green, states that Hicks's Hall formerly stood there. The inscription is as follows:—"Opposite this place Hicks's Hall formerly stood. 1 mile, 1 furlong, and 13 yards from the Standard, in Cornhill; 4 furlongs 205 yards from Holborn-bars, down Holborn, up Snowhill, Cow-lane, and through Smithfield." "Here then, two centuries ago, was something like the beginning of London proper to those who arrived from the country. The Hall was surrounded with fields and scattered houses; and it was of course a remarkable object to those who entered the metropolis from the north."[7] The origin of Hicks's Hall is a matter of history. During the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, the magistrates of Middlesex could find no more convenient place wherein to administer the law than the chief room of an inn. During this

[1] Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, vol. iii., p. 2.
[2] Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 60.
[3] *Hudibras*, pt. ii., c. ii., 805.
[4] *Perfect Diurnal*, cited by Lysons.
[5] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. viii., p. 140.
[6] *Vide* page 283.
[7] Knight's *London*, page 246.

long period they generally met at some tavern, either at the "Windmill," or the "Castell in Jone-strete by Symthfelde-barres." As the business of these inns increased the justices were much annoyed by the noise of the country carriers and other persons coming hither, and they applied to the king, James I., to furnish them with better quarters. He, for the better administration of justice, and the comfort and convenience of its appointed ministers, by royal letters patent, dated June 17th, 1610,[1] granted to Sir Thomas Lake, and fourteen other knights and esquires of the county of Middlesex, a plot of ground 128 feet of assize from north to south in length, thirty-two from east to west in breadth, reserving twenty feet on each side thereof for a carriage way, such ground to be for ever used and employed for a sessions house, and for keeping a prison or house of correction in the same county. This ground was to be held of the king as a part of the manor of East Greenwich, in fealty, free, and common soccage. In the nineteenth year of Elizabeth a lease was granted to Christopher Saxton, for sixty years, of a piece of waste land in St. John-street, in the parish of Clerkenwell Monastery, to build a sessions house; but it does not appear that the building was ever raised, for if it had been it could hardly have become so decayed as to compel the justices to meet at an inn.

To carry out the purpose and intent of the letters patent before mentioned, a knight and worthy citizen, "Sir Baptist Hicks, knight, one of the justices of the county, builded a very stately Session House of brick and stone, with all offices thereunto belonging, at his own proper charge; and upon Wednesday, the 13th of January, this yere, 1612, by which time this house was fully finished, there assembled twenty-six justices of the county, being the first day of their meeting in that place, when they were all feasted by Sir Baptist Hicks; and then they all, with one consent, gave it a proper name, and called it Hicks's Hall, after the name of the founder, who then freely gave the same house to them and their successors for ever."[2]

Sir Baptist Hicks was a citizen and mercer of London, having a shop at the end of Soper-lane, Cheapside, and residing at Kensington. He was born in the year 1551, and was the youngest son of Robert Hicks, citizen and mercer, of London, who kept a silk mercer's shop at "Soper-lane-end, at the White Bear," in Cheapside. He was a descendant of the ancient family of the Hickes, of the county of Gloucester. He was a wealthy citizen, and by Julian (daughter of Arthur Clephane, of Somersetshire, Esquire), his wife, he had three sons, viz., Michael, Francis, and Baptist. Michael, the eldest, was secretary to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and was knighted. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Colston, merchant, of Low Leyton, Essex, and dying August 15th, 1612, aged 65, left two sons, William and Michael. William, the eldest, was created a baronet, July 21st, 1619, and described as of Beverston, Gloucestershire. He suffered in the civil wars, and died in October, 1680, aged 84. The baronetcy became extinct on the death of Sir William Hicks, a few years since.

Baptist Hicks, the elder, being brought up to his father's trade, had extensive dealings at Court, and was sworn the king's servant. On the accession of King James I. he obtained that monarch's favour and patronage, and by supplying the Court with silks and rich mercery wares, and giving long credit to the "bare Scotch nobility and gentry," he acquired great wealth. He was knighted by the king in 1603, and it is related of him that he was one of the first citizens who after knighthood kept a shop. This greatly offended the aldermen knights, who according to custom laid aside their trade after knighthood. Sir Baptist being charged with it by some aldermen, gave this answer for it:—"That his servants kept the shop, though he had regard to the special credit thereof; and that he did not live altogether upon interest as most of the alderman knights did, laying aside their trade after knighthood; and that had two of his servants kept their promise, and articles concluded between them and him, he had been free of his shops two years past, and did then but seek opportunity to leave the same." This was in the year 1607. A dispute lasted several years upon the question whether a knight commoner was entitled to precede a knight alderman on the ground of seniority of date in respect to their knighthood—"the aldermen knights and their wives striving for precedency, and Sir Baptist and his lady sometimes for peace sake granting it." The contest, however, becoming

[1] Pat. 7, Jac., p. 3, m. 11.

[2] E. Howe's *Chronicle*, 1631.

warm, the Lord Mayor and knights aldermen petitioned the king, who referred the case to "the Lords Commissioners of the office of Earl Marshal," in 1607. He and another knight commoner named Herrick (who joined him in support of his case), after being thrice summoned to appear at Whitehall, and not appearing, "alleging that they would no longer stand in opposition to the premises," the Lords Commissioners (H. Northampton, Lenox, Nottingham, T. Suffolk, and E. Worcester) decreed that the aldermen knights should "take place and superiority in precedency within the City before the knights commoners."

In 1611, Sir Baptist Hicks was elected alderman for the ward of Bread-street, but, at the express desire of the king, was discharged on paying £500 fine.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610, *temp* James I., mention is made of a warrant dated August 7th, 1603, to pay to Sir John Fortesque 5000*l.*, whereof 2000*l.* is for charges of the coronation, and 3000*l.* to be paid to Sir Baptist Hicks, for silks and stuffs. And in the same Calendar we find a warrant dated July 20th, 1604, for a discharge to Sir Baptist Hicks of a debt due by him to the Crown, in abatement of the sum owing to him by the king. We also a find a letter dated July 25th, 1607, from Sir Julius Cæsar [1] to Sir Thomas Lake, to engross a warrant prefixed, for repayment to Sir Baptist Hicks, on February 1st, 1608, of 12,000*l.* with interest, part of a sum of 24,000*l.*, of which 16,285*l.* 9*s.* 6½*d.* was balance due to him from the Great Wardrobe, and the remainder advanced to meet the king's urgent occasions. Again, on December 28th, 1607, was a warrant to pay to Sir Baptist Hicks and to Peter Van Lore, several sums due to them by assurance of letters patent from the king. In the same Calendar we find another warrant, dated January 22nd, 1608, for a bond from the king, in the sum of 150,000*l.*, to Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir Baptist Hicks, and others, to secure 63,038*l.* 16*s.*, advanced by them on loan; and also to make a grant to them of divers rents on customs, &c. On March 21st, 1608, was a warrant to pay to Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir Baptist Hicks, William Garway, and others, money borrowed by the king, with interest; and also 80,000*l.*, with interest, borrowed of divers citizens and merchant strangers in London. On November 5th, 1608, was a warrant dated from Westminster, to repay to Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir Baptist Hicks, and others, of London, 120,000*l.*, lent by them to the king, with interest thereon. In the same Calendar is a grant, dated May 17th, 1609, to John Shepherd and his heirs, in fee farm, of lands and tenements, value 20*s.* per annum, at the nomination of Sir Baptist Hicks and other contractors for lands. In the same year, on July 7th, was a grant to Robert Angel and John Walker, and their heirs, in fee simple, of certain manors, &c., value 125*l.* 12*s.* per annum, at the suit of Sir Baptist Hicks and others, contractors for crown lands. In the same year, on November 7th, was a grant to Edward Bates and Henry Elwes, of manors and lands, value 102*l.* 14*s.*, 2¼*d.* per annum, in fee farm, at suit of Sir Baptist Hicks, and other contractors. In 1610, May 31st, was a grant to George Salter and John Williams, of certain lands and tenements in fee farm, value 123*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* per annum; and of others in fee simple, value 70*l.* 8s. 10¼d., at suit of Sir Baptist Hicks and other contractors. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1611-1618, *temp* James I., mention is made of a grant dated July 6th, 1611, to William and Robert Angell and Justinian Povey,[2] in fee simple, of a manor and other lands not named, at suit of Sir Baptist Hicks and others, in part of 75,000*l.* lent by them. On the same date was a confirmation of a contract with Sir Baptist Hicks, Alderman Cockayne, and others, for the sale of the remainder of tithes, rectories, and chantry lands, of the value of 500*l.* per annum, and for converting 500*l.* per annum of rents reserved on former sales to fee simple; and a warrant for passing the remainder of a former bargain to the value of 140*l.* per annum of like lands. On February 6th, 1612, was a warrant to pay to Sir Baptist Hicks, mercer, 1909*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* On March 6th, 1612, was a grant to Sir Baptist Hicks, Rich. Pyatt, Edw. Barkham, aldermen, and eleven others, of London, of tenements in Grub-street, the Old Jewry, and Queenhithe, on nomination of Sir Walter Cope and others, contractors for parsonages. On March 17th, in the same year, was a grant to Sir Baptist Hicks on nomination of Sir Wm. Ryder and others, contractors for parsonages, of purchase of the rectory of Cheltenham. On September 5th, 1613, was a grant to Sir Baptist Hicks of payment to

[1] *Vide* pages 20 and 221 note.

[2] *Vide* page 265.

him from Sir Marmaduke Darell, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Thomas Bludder, of the several sums of 2050*l.*, 2016*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and 1833*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, out of the money arising from imposition on coal. In a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, dated March 17th, 1614, we read that the Earl of Somerset has borrowed Sir Baptist Hicks's house at Kensington, and there settled his lady. In 1614 (?) was a mandate from the king to the Lord Mayor, &c., of London, to stay the prosecution of Sir Baptist Hicks, on complaint by Sir Thomas Hayes, alderman, of violence offered in a quarrel between them. Sir Baptist being a knight and servant of the king, the cause is to be tried elsewhere. On March 7th, 1617, was a warrant to discharge Thos. Watson, teller of the Exchequer, for 2000*l.* paid by him to Sir Baptist Hicks without special warrant; also to pay to the said Hicks 126*l.* 8*s.* in full of his account for certain cloth of tissue and gold, satins, &c., purchased five years before for the king. On the 26th of the same month was a grant to Sir Paul Banning, Sir Baptist Hicks, and Sir Wm. Herrick, of the fines for alienations, and the profits of the Hanaper, until the 7500*l.* which they lent to the king be paid with interest; 8000*l.* to Sir Noel Caron, Robt. De la Bar, and Philip Jacobson, to be first paid out of the said fines. On May 13th, 1617, was a letter from Sir Hen. Yelverton to Lake, in which we read that Sir Baptist Hicks had just become a suitor for Chipping Campden, co. Gloucester. On April 20th, 1618, was a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton. "The Archbp. of Spalato preached at the Mercer's Chapel, but indifferently, dwelling chiefly on the differences about keeping Easter. The Chancellor was there, in as great pomp as he went a while ago to Sir Baptist Hicks' and Barnes' shops to cheapen and buy silks and velvets." In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1619-1623, *temp* James I., mention is made of a grant dated June 24th, 1620, to Sir Baptist Hicks, of the rank of a baronet. We find on November 10th, 1621, a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, in which it is stated that Sir Baptist Hicks, Sir Wm. Cockayne, and Peter Van Lore, who is knighted, have advanced 30,000*l.* for the Palatinate. On December 12th, 1621, was an Order in Council for registration of the king's command that Sir Baptist Hicks, Sir Wm. Cockayne, and Sir Peter Van Lore be repaid, from the first moneys that come in, the 30,000*l.* taken upon their credit for the Palatinate, the Council being ordered to enter into bond to the said knights for their security. In the Calendar, 1623-1625, under date March 23rd, 1625, is a warrant to Lord Keeper Lincoln, to add Sir Baptist Hicks to the number of deputy lieutenants for Middlesex. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1625-1626, *temp* Charles I., mention is made of a warrant dated November 15th, 1626, to pay to Sir Baptist Hicks 10,000*l.*, lent by him to the late king. And on the 24th of the same month was a warrant to pay to Sir Baptist Hicks 4966*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, being the use and interest of 10,000*l.* lent to the late king, and of 10,000*l.* lent to his now majesty. In the Calendar for 1628-1629, we find under date August 12th, 1628, a list of Privy Seals sent down to be drawn up at the signet. Amongst them is to Viscount Campden, 2500*l.* In the Calendar for 1629-1631, under date March 13th, 1631, is an account of sums paid into the Exchequer as loans for the public service. Among the sums and persons mentioned are in Easter Term, in the fourth year of the reign, Viscount Campden, 2500*l.*

On May 5th, 1628, Sir Baptist Hicks was advanced to the peerage by the titles of Baron Hicks, of Ilmington, and Viscount Campden, with remainder, in default of male issue, to his son-in-law, Edward, Lord Noel, Baron of Nidlington, county Rutland, who was advanced to that dignity March 23rd, 1616.

Sir Baptist Hicks died in the year 1629, and was buried at the church of Campden, in Gloucestershire, from which he derived the title of Viscount Campden.[1] A monument was erected by his lady in the church, on which she caused to be inscribed—"To the memory of her deceased husband, Baptist Lord Hicks, Viscount Campden. Born of worthy family in the City of London. Who, by the blessing of God on his ingenuous endeavours, arose to ample estate and to the foresaid

[1] It may be interesting to note that the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, M.A., son of Charles Edward Noel, Earl of Gainsborough and Viscount Campden, received the Christian name of Baptist, by which he is so favourably and familiarly known to the public, from the circumstance of one of his ancestors, Sir Edward Noel, having married, about the year 1616, "Juliana, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Baptist Hicks, created Baron Hicks and Viscount Campden, which two last titles were granted to him and his heirs male after the death of the said Sir Baptist Hicks." The reverend gentleman has a surviving sister, the Hon. Juliana Hicks Noel.

degrees of honour; and out of those blessings disposed to charitable uses in his lifetime a large portion to the value of £10,000; who lived religiously, virtuously, and generously to the age of 78 years, and died Oct. 18, 1629.

"Reader! know, who'er thou be,
Here lies faith, hope, and charitie.
Faith true, Hope firm, Charity free,
Baptist Lord Campden was all three.
Faith in God, Charity to his brother;
Hope for himself—what ought he other?
Faith is no more, Charity is crown'd;
'Tis only Hope is under ground."

By his will, dated October 12th, 1629, Sir Baptist Hicks gave £200, to be employed yearly for the good of the poor of Kensington, in such manner as his son-in-law, Lord Noel, Sir William Blake, and the churchwardens should think best. He also founded an hospital for six poor men and six poor women at Campden; he was one of the "great benefactors" to the Mercers' Company, of which guild he was a member, and who now, in his name, award nine exhibitions of £100 each to scholars of St. Paul's School to Trinity College, Cambridge: these and other charitable works make the name of Hicks immortal.

Sir Baptist Hicks, in the same year that he built his patronymic hall (1612), also erected Campden House, at Kensington, which he named from his title of Viscount Campden in the peerage, 1628. He had considerable property in Kensington parish. The site of Campden House was bought (some say won in a game of chance) by him of Sir Walter Cope. The house contained sixty rooms, and in the large bay window in the front, formerly were to be seen the arms of himself and his two sons-in-law. Campden House was, on the 23rd of March, 1862, almost entirely destroyed by fire. A minute account of the mansion, its founder, the several tenants, and the conflagration by which it was reduced to blackened walls, will be found in Chambers's "Book of Days," part vii.[2]

About 1584, Baptist Hicks married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard May, of London, by whom he had three sons (who died in infancy) and two daughters. The eldest, Juliana, was married to Edward, Lord Noel, already alluded to; the youngest, named Mary, married Sir Charles Morison, of Cashiobury, Herts, Knt. and Bart., whose effigies, by Nicholas Stone, are in Watford Church. To each of these daughters, it is said, he gave £100,000 as a marriage portion.

Viscountess Campden survived her husband about fourteen years, and by her will, dated February 14th, 1642, gave £600 each to the parishes of St. Lawrence Jewry and St. Mary Magdalen, in the City of London, to provide two lecturers, &c.; £3100 to the Mercers' Company, for which, in 1652, that guild founded a lectureship at Grantham, Lincolnshire, and another at Wakefield, Yorkshire; also £1000 to the same company, for the purpose of lending eight young men £125 each *gratis* for four years, for ever; also £300 to the company for carrying out her will, and £200 to the parish of Kensington, to provide lands of the value of £10 per annum; half of which to be laid out in apprenticing poor boys of the parish, and half for the poor people also of the parish.

Respecting Lady Campden's relatives, we find in the Journals of the House of Commons, under date the 4th April, 1643, an entry stating that a message from the Lords was received from Sir Robert Rich and Mr. Page, in which the Lords had granted (on being requested), that Mr. Adrian May, now a prisoner at Coventry, and related to "the old Lady Campden," of whom he expected much bounty, should be removed to London near her. "The Lords are very well inclined to grant this request, and desire this house to concur therein." Again, another entry, 20th June, 1643, says "An ordinance for indemnifying of Mr. Thomas May, executor of the last will and testament of the Lady Viscountess Camden, for £5000, bequeathed to persons in actual war against the Parliament, and by him paid to the service of the Parliament."

Lord Noel, second Viscount Campden, espoused the royal cause, and died in the garrison at Oxford, 1643. He was carried to Campden, and buried there under a large mural monument erected

[1] Strype's *Stow*, bk. iv., p. 251.

[2] *Illustrated London News*, 28th Feb. 1863.

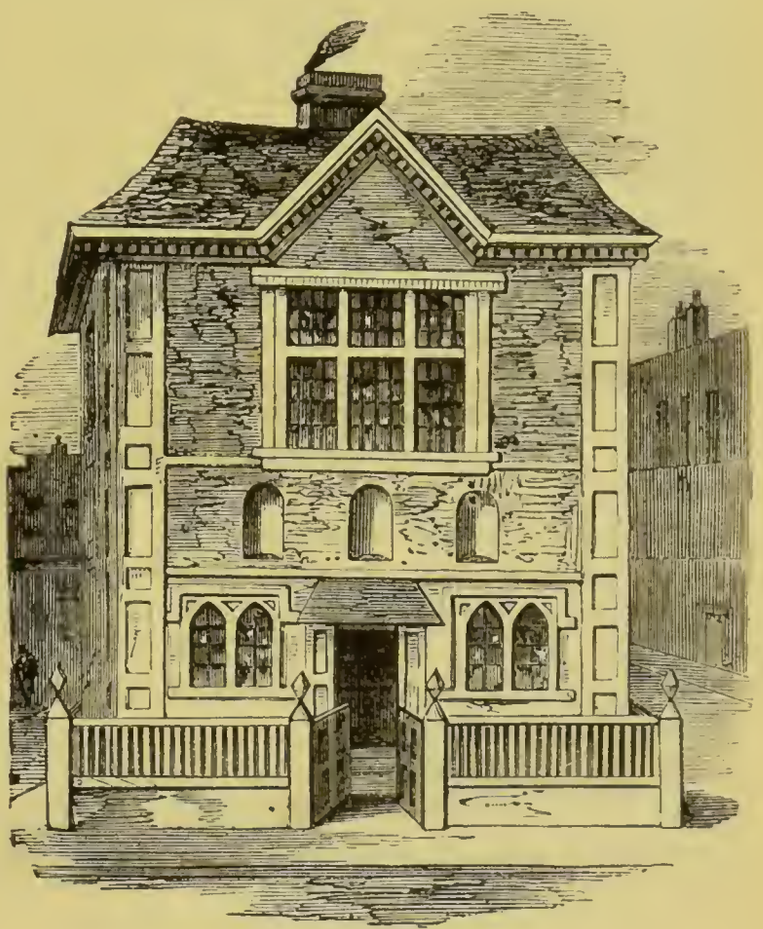
by his widow, Lady Juliana (daughter of Sir Baptist Hicks), who resided at Brook many years, much respected, and died greatly regretted, 25th November, 1680, of great age. Baptist, third viscount, married four times, his last wife being Elizabeth, daughter of Montagu, Earl of Lindsay, on whom was settled the Campden House estate. In the register of baptisms, of St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, appear—

1646 : February 4.—Juliana, daughter of Hon. Lord Viscount Campden, and Lady Hester, his wife.

1658 : November 2.—Baptist, son of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, and Lady Elizabeth, born in Covent Garden parish.

Earl Lindsay died at Campden House, 25th July, 1666.[1]

The sessions building in St. John-street, of which Sir Baptist Hicks was the munificent founder, according to Strype, cost about £900 in its erection; elsewhere he states £600. It was a very plain structure, having scarcely any other embellishment than a stone portico. It has been described as "a shapeless brick lump, containing a great warehouse for the court, and houses for the officers all round joined on to it."[2] By the courtesy of the editor of the "Illustrated London News" we are enabled to illustrate this history with a copy of a print of Hicks's Hall of some rarity in a private collection.



HICKS'S HALL.

Annexed to the hall was a round-house. Of this building we read in the "Morning Post" for Thursday, May 18th, 1775, as follows:—"On Tuesday night a number of persons were lodged at the round-house at Hicks' Hall, where they sung psalms and drunk gin during a greater part of the night." In the immediate vicinity of the hall was formerly a pillory, of which we read in the "Daily Journal" for November 7th, 1730, as follows:—"A man stood in the pillory at Hicks' Hall for uttering base and counterfeit money; pursuant to his sentence." In the "Public Advertiser" for April 28th, 1762, we read as follows:—"Yesterday at Hicks' Hall, Matthew Lawless, for taking a child out of its grave in Islington Churchyard, was sentenced to be publicly whipped, but as he has consented to serve as a soldier abroad it is expected he will be pardoned." Another newspaper of the same period thus reports this affair:—"One Stephen Lawless was tried at Hicks's Hall, for stealing the body of an infant, out of Islington Churchyard, and was sentenced to be whipped, a full mile and a quarter, and to suffer one year's imprisonment in Newgate, or enter into his majesty's service for life." At Hicks's Hall, too, was formerly a public dissecting room. "There are some persons still living," says Mr. Andrews, "whose curiosity drew them to Hicks' Hall to see the public dissection of criminals, and whom the horrid scene, with the additional effect of the skeletons of some noted criminals hanging on the walls, drove out again sick and faint, as we have heard some relate, and with pale and terrified features, to get a breath of air."[3] In the

[1] The Editor is indebted to Mr. T. C. Noble for some information relative to Sir Baptist Hicks.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov., 1827.
[3] *New Monthly Mag.*, 1855, p. 376.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1619-1623, *temp* James I., is a list, dated August 13th, 1621, Hicks's Hall, of the names of the commissioners for the subsidy of Middlesex, who were present at the assessing of Sir Fras. Darcy, Sir Fras. Ashby, and others, justices of the peace. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1625-1626, *temp* Charles I., we find a commission dated September 23rd, 1626, from the king to Sir Baptist Hicks and others, to require and collect a loan for the king's use from persons able to lend, and dwelling within the county of Middlesex. In the same Calendar, under date November 4th, 1626, is a letter from Sir Benjn. Rudyerd to Sir Fras. Nethersole, from which we learn that the Lords of the Council had been at Hicks's Hall, and most gentlemen subscribed to lend as much as they are rated at in the subsidy book. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1627-1628, *temp* Charles I., mention is made of a letter dated from Staines, May 24th, 1627, from Nicholas Bestney to Sir Baptist Hicks and Sir Henry Spiller, deputy lieutenants of Middlesex. Sec. Conway having sent the enclosed letter for the discharge of Samuel Hubbard, one of the trained band of St. Giles's, pressed to serve the king, the writer, conductor of these men to Southampton, gives reasons why he should not be discharged. Enclosed was a letter from Sec. Conway to Capt. Abraham, dated Whitehall, May 23rd, 1627. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1660-1661, *temp* Charles II., under date June (?), 1660, is a letter from Lancelot Girlington to Sec. Nicholas, "For the place of crier and keeper of the prison at Hickes' Hall, where he has been many years clerk, he and his parents being ruined by their loyalty. With certificate by Sir Philip Musgrave, and six others, in his favour." In the same Calendar, under date August (?), 1660, is a certificate from Sir Gilbert Gerard, and three other justices of the peace, and Sir Lancelot Lake, to Sec. Nicholas, "Certify that George Dodson has been twenty-four years Crier at the sessions of peace for Middlesex at Hickes' Hall, and recommend his continuance in office." In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1661-1662, *temp* Charles II., mention is made of a warrant dated October 20th, 1662, for a grant to Rebecca Ash, tenant of a water spring in Shoreditch parish, called Dame Annis St. Clere, of recognizances forfeited by Thos. Dawson and three others, and by their sureties, for their nonappearance at the gaol delivery at Hicks's Hall, St. John-street, Middlesex, to answer for disturbance of her possession of the said water spring, and for other wrongs done to her; granted in compensation for the same. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1664-1665, *temp* Charles II., mention is made of a summons, dated September, 1664, from William Tomson, high constable of Middlesex, to John Smith, of Clerkenwell, to appear at Hicks's Hall, St. John-street, on September 22nd, with his arms and crest, that he might be entered in the Middlesex Registry, to prevent his name being returned to the Marshals' Commissioners. At Hicks's Hall, on the 9th of October, 1660, was "the tryal of the twenty-nine regicides, murtherers of his most sacred majesty, King Charles 1st, of glorious memory." In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1660-1661, *temp* Charles II., mention is made of a letter dated from Whitehall, October 8th, 1660, from Sec. Nicholas to Sir Hen. Bennet, "This day the bloody murderers of the late king are removed to the common prison of the county, to be tried at the Sessions' House, St. John-street, when several of the Council will assist." In 1666 several persons were examined here by a judicial committee, especially appointed, on suspicion of their having been accessory to the burning of London. On the 15th of January, 1679, the grand jury sat at Hicks's Hall to hear the evidence of the king's witnesses, Titus Oates, Bedloe, Dugdale, Prance, and Dangerfield, against several popish priests and Jesuits concerned in the famous "Meal Tub Plot." The jury found true bills of indictment against the conspirators, and they were tried at the ensuing Old Bailey Sessions. Lutterel says, under the date of July 13th, 1682, that "At the late session at Hicks's Hall the Justices of the Peace fined Mr. Goodenough, the under sheriff, £100, because he would not alter the pannell as they pleased." In 1688 the grand jury here found a bill of high treason against the Earl of Salisbury for turning Papist, and presented his troops as a nuisance riding about the streets armed, contrary to law.[1] In the beginning of the year 1751 a cause was tried at Hicks's Hall between the tin-plate workers and one Milton, whom they indicted upon the statute of Elizabeth for

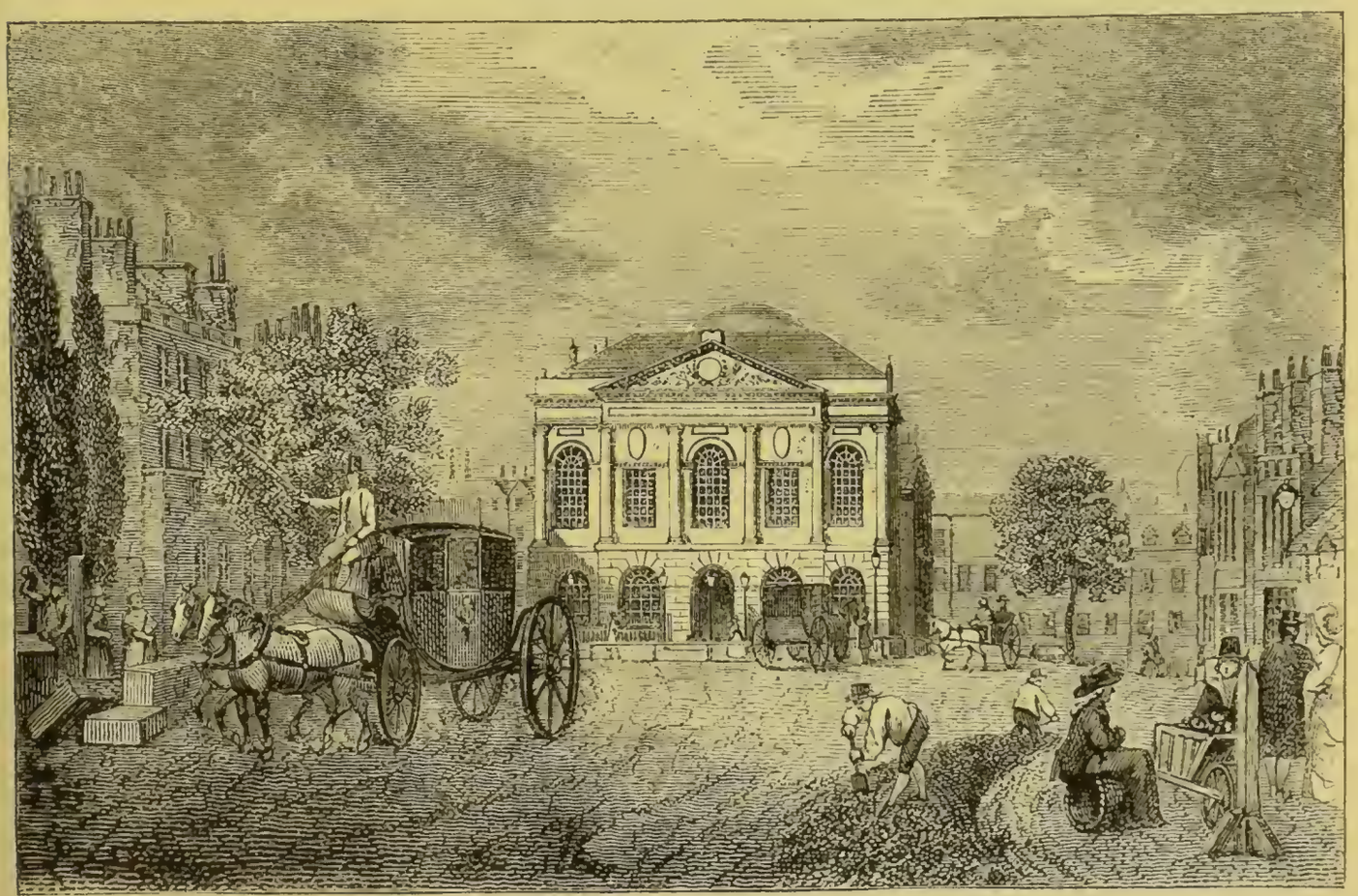
[1] *Lutterel's Diary*, Dec. 7th, 1688.

exercising their art and mystery, not having served a regular apprenticeship to the same. The verdict was given for Milton because the tin-plate workers were not incorporated until many years after the enacting of that statute.[1] At Hicks's Hall Count Koningsmarck, the real though not the actual assassin of Mr. Thynne, was acquitted. And in March, 1765, a bill of indictment was found at the sessions at Hicks's Hall against the Count de Guerchy for the absurd charge of a conspiracy to murder the Chevalier D'Eon.

Hicks's Hall is referred to in "Hudibras," part iii., canto 3 :—

> An old dull sot, who told the clock
> For many years at Bridewell Dock,
> At Westminster and Hicks' Hall,
> And hiccius-doccius play'd in all.

It is related of Sir John Hawkins, the father of the author of "The History of Music," that



MIDDLESEX SESSIONS HOUSE AND CLERKENWELL GREEN, IN 1796.[2]

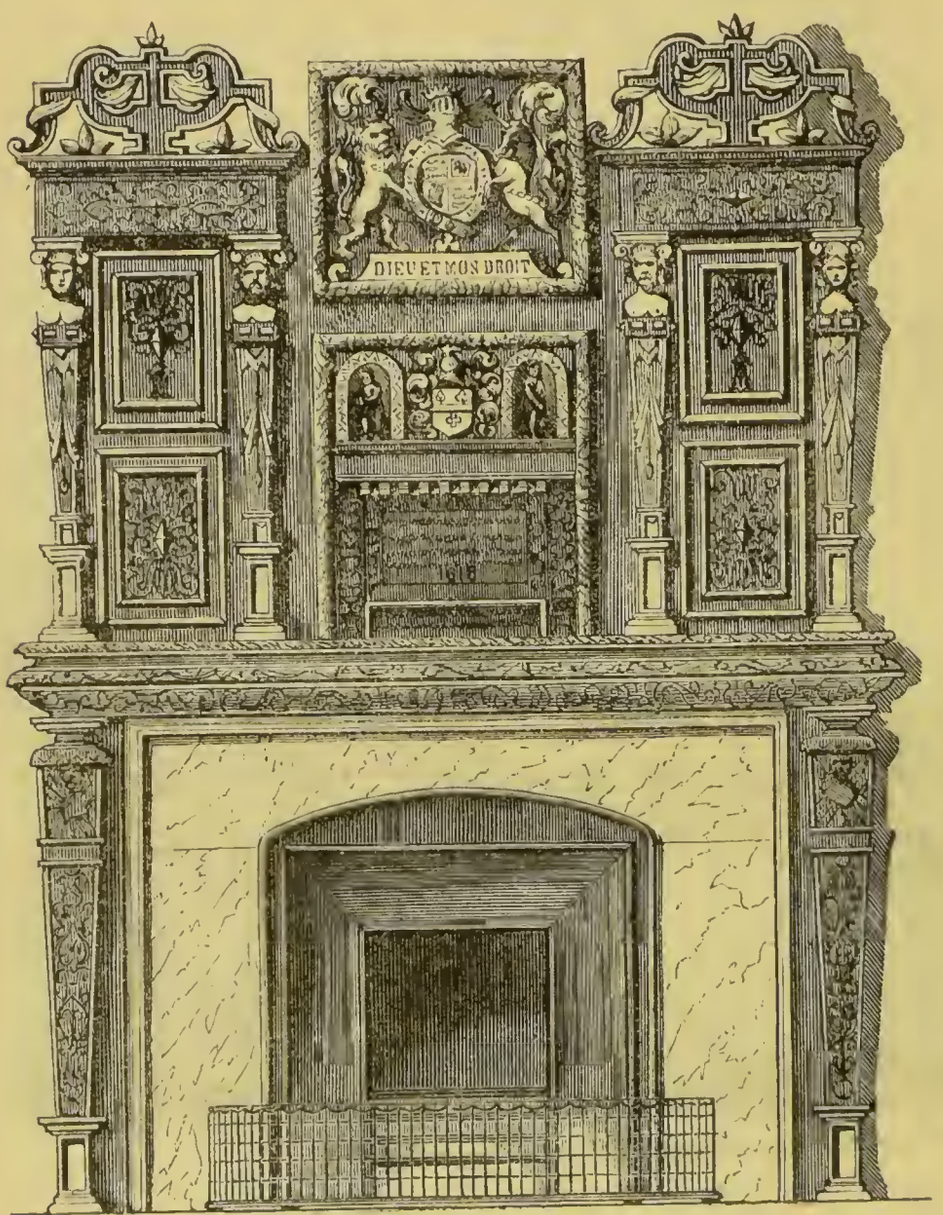
while he was chairman of the Middlesex quarter sessions, when they were on, he used to proceed regularly from his residence at Highgate to Hicks's Hall in a stately carriage drawn by four horses.

In the year 1777 Hicks's Hall was in so ruinous a condition that the justices deemed it advisable to obtain from Parliament permission to rebuild it on a more commodious plan, and to raise a sum not exceeding £12,000 for this special purpose. To this Parliament objected, considering that the vicinity of the site to Smithfield market rendered it but ill-adapted to secure the quiet essential to a court of justice; moreover, the way on each side of the hall was too narrow to admit of any further encroachment upon it without great inconvenience to the market traffic. In the following year the legislature was again applied to for leave to remove the building to another and more favourable site; this was readily granted, and the west side of Clerkenwell Green was chosen for the erection of a new sessions house, and to this, when completed, the justices removed in 1782, and Hicks's Hall,

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov., 1827 ; ALLEN'S *London*, p. 49.

[2] *Vide* page 103.

becoming ruinous and much impeding the thoroughfare, was afterwards razed to the ground. On its site it was intended to erect a stone column with four lamps on the top. On this column, which was to serve, like the hall, as a *miliarium*, was to be inscribed, "Here stood Hicks's Hall, pulled down in 1782." But this project was never carried out. Long after the demolition of Hicks's Hall, the new sessions house was called by that name. The architect, Rogers, removed here from the old hall a fine Jacobean chimney-piece; and here is preserved, also, a portrait of Sir Baptist Hicks, believed never to have been engraved; it hung in the dining room at the first sessions house.[1] Upon the chimney-piece is the following inscription: "Sir Baptist Hickes of Kensington in the covnty of Middlesex knigt one of the jvstices of the peace of this covnty of Middlesex of his worthy disposition and at his owne proper charge bvylt this session hovse in the year of ovr Lord God 1612 and gave it to the jvstices of peace of this covnty and their svccessors for a sessions hovse for ever, 1618." Underneath this inscription is the following one:—"On the erection of the present sessions house, Anno Dom. 1782, this antient chimney front (a part of the old Hickes Hall) was placed in this room, to perpetuate the memory of Sir Bts. Hickes as set forth in the above inscription." Charles Knight wrote a pleasant paper upon Hicks's Hall, entitled "Suburban Milestones."[2]



THE CHIMNEY-PIECE FROM HICKS'S HALL.

The neighbourhood of the site of old Hicks's Hall has undergone many changes latterly. From Smithfield-bars, near the top of Cowcross-street, to the open space of the old market, "the shops, hostelries, and houses are nearly all closed, and the inhabitants gone elsewhere. Placards announce the sale of materials; the auctioneers are busy; and soon the houses will be knocked down and carted away, and this valuable site will be made ready for the building of the new dead-meat market. Already the process of gutting the Rose Inn has commenced, and other work of demolition will soon follow. Nearly the whole of the houses are older than the time of the Great Fire, which, as our readers know, did not spread in this direction. The fronts of many of them have been altered; but from certain points, Smithfield-bars has an ancient and picturesque appearance, which seems more striking since the shops have been closed." Passing up Cowcross-street to Smithfield-bars, there are some quaint houses and shops. Parts of the fronts in Faulkner's-alley are of wood, and are worth notice

[1] *Vide* page 100.

[2] *London*, vol. i.

Leading from Coweross-street there are several alleys. In some of these, on the south side, are large slaughter-houses. In this street, at the corner of Red Lion-alley, there are the remains of a gateway which has been boldly and elaborately carved. It is of about the time of Charles II.'s reign, when carving was much used in London in the decoration both of shops and houses.

The hero of the Gunpowder Plot, Guy Fawkes, *alias* Johnson, in 1605, while his diabolical treason was concocting, came often to the house of Thomas Sleep, a printer, in St. John-street, to join in the deliberations of the disaffected Romanists who met there. At that time there were divers houses of recusants in St. John-street. We read in the Calendar of State Papers as follows:—"1605, Nov. 7, Salisbury House. J. Johnson to Mr. Percival. Informs him of divers houses of recusants in St. John-street, amongst them Sir Henry James's and Mr. Thomas Sleep. Johnson (Fawkes) was often at Sleep's house; there is a wonderful resort there since his apprehension."[1] "1606. Information by Turner concerning Butler Fitzjames, sent over to clear Owen and the Jesuits of the late treason. Bucke, Kellison, Redman, Betune, and others embarking or embarked at Calais. Their meeting place in London is Thomas Sleep's, printer, St. John-street. April 3."[2]



OLD HOUSES, ST. JOHN STREET, 1814.

In the year 1588, upon the threatened invasion of England by Philip of Spain, Queen Elizabeth directed letters to Sir Francis Walsingham, Keeper of the Privy Seal, in which, after reciting "that for the better withstanding of the intended invacon of this realme upon the great preparations made by the King of Spaine both by sea and land the last yere, the same having been suche as the like was never prepared at anie time against this realme," she commanded him to signify to the lieutenant of each county that her Majesty required from her loving subjects an extraordinary aid by way of loan for the defence of the country. In answer to this appeal several gentlemen of Clerkenwell contributed money:—"Sir John Arundel, of Clerkenwell, knight, £50;" "William Bowes, of St. John-street, gent., £25;" "Thomas Fermore, of Clerkenwell, gent., £25;" and "Robert Wilkes, of Islington, brewer, £30."[3] When we consider the relative value of money then and now, we shall see that these sums were large in amount. In 1600, Elizabeth, considering the times dangerous, charged the parish of Clerkenwell towards paying for a guard to her Majesty at Whitehall, "the subsidy men," 2d. in the pound, and others, 3d. In 1601 were "paid all the damages att the business which was abowt the Earle of Essex for shott, powder and matches, 5*s*." This payment has reference to the futile insurrection of the mad-brained Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's favourite, whose rash attempt to divert the affections of the people, although it signally failed,

[1] *Calendar of State Papers*, 1603-10, p. 44.
[2] *Calendar of State Papers*, 1603-10, p. 305.
[3] *Names of the Nobility, Gentry, and others who contributed to the defence of this country at the time of the Spanish Invasion in* 1588, *taken from a manuscript written in that year*; 1798.

occasioned no small alarm. The queen commanded the Lord Mayor at this critical juncture to see that all the citizens should be ready at their doors in an instant at her command. This order was cheerfully obeyed not only by the citizens, but also by the inhabitants of the suburb of Clerkenwell, who, although at a distance from the scene of the riotous disturbances, were prompt in their display of loyalty to the queen by arming in her defence. It would appear that in the days of Elizabeth it was thought to be essential that a small military force should be maintained in Clerkenwell to act in an emergency. In the churchwarden's accounts for 1598 we find an item of "Paide unto Goodman Horne for making of the place for the armour, 30*s*." In 1603 a "half year's contrabucion for our seaven armors" was paid out of the parish funds; and in 1607 there was "Paid unto Peter Brownrigge, armorer, for makinge cleean of the armes of the church and repayreinge the wants of the same, 41*s*."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1625-1626, *temp* Charles I., mention is made of a certificate, dated 1626 (?), of the names, descriptions, and residences of all foreign strangers residing within the county of Middlesex. Amongst them was, "In St. John-street, Matthias Lee, a Dutchman, a poet."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1628-1629, *temp* Charles I., mention is made of a note, dated March 30th, 1629, "of new buildings erected in St. John-street, Clerkenwell, contrary to the proclamation,[1] and the smoke whereof doth very much annoy the dwelling house of the Earl of Exeter, even in his dining room." The Earl of Exeter lived at the house called St. John's, where his widow died on the 26th of February, 1653.[2]

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1661-1662, *temp* Charles II., mention is made of a petition of John Peace and Nic. Paice, constables, of St. John-street, to Sec. Conway, "For release and pardon for their offence ignorantly committed, in searching the house of the Grand Duke of Tuscany's resident."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1663-1664, *temp* Charles II., mention is made of a letter, dated from St. Alban's, November 26th, 1663, from Sarah Simpson to Col. Frowde, Letter Office, London: "Catlin, the carrier, takes up letters every Tuesday night at 12 p.m., as he passes through, and delivers the carrier's bags to a porter, when he arrives at St. John-street on Wednesday mornings."

St. John-street was in olden time a place of great traffic; there were in it numerous inns at which travellers were lodged and entertained, and from whence the stage-coaches, waggons, &c., conveyed travellers to the several towns and villages on the great north road. At these inns many goods-carriers lodged during their temporary stay in London. Thus we are informed by an old tract, entitled "The Carriers' Cosmographie,"[3] published in 1637, that "There are carriers from divers parts of Warwickshire, that doe come weekely to the Castle neere Smithfield barres, but their days of comming are variable." The Castle Inn was on the west side of St. John-street.

"The carrier of Nottingham doe lodge at the Cross Keyes in St. John-street." This inn, which was on the east side of the street, near its commencement, has been replaced by a comparatively modern structure on the same site; and early in the last century it was a favourite resort of that well known poet and dramatist, Richard Savage, the bastard son of Anne, Countess of Macclesfield, and once the friend and boon companion of Doctor, then plain Mr. Samuel Johnson, when a literary hack in the service of Cave, the printer, at St. John's-gate.[4]

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1663-1664, *temp* Charles II., mention is made of a letter, dated 1664 (?), from Barth. Hesketh to Williamson: "The person about whom Capt. Dale speaks is a tall man called Smith, much disguised, who only goes out at night; he is said to be a rumper, and in fear of his life. With note that he lodges at the Key, St. John-street, opposite Hickes' Hall."

[1] As to the prohibition of buildings, *vide* page 11.

[2] *Vide* page 43, for information relating to this lady and her family.

[3] *The Carrier's Cosmographie; or a briefe relation of the Innes, Ordinaries, Hostelries, and other lodgings in and neere London, where the carriers, waggons, foote posts, and higglers doe usually come*; folio, 1637.

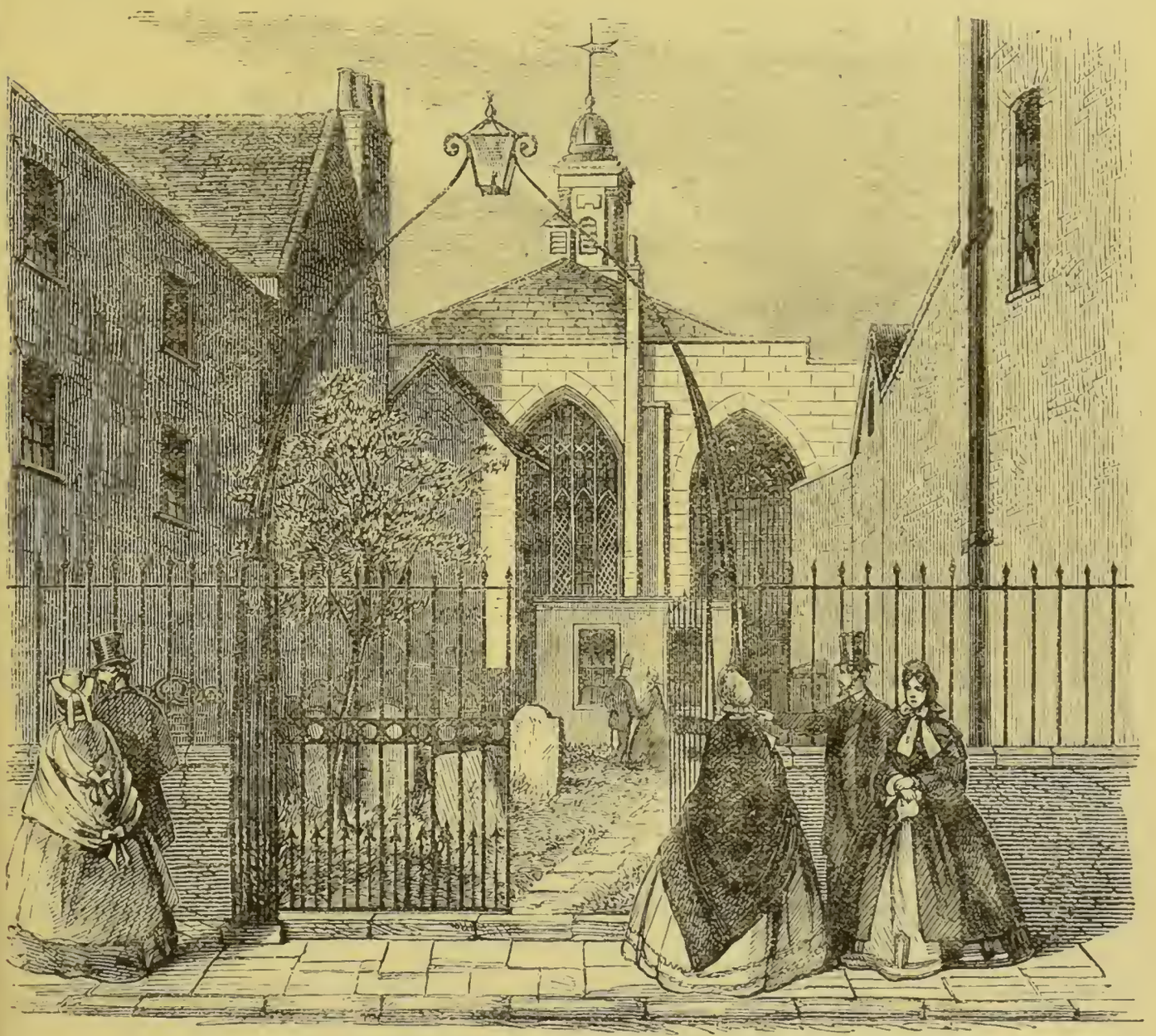
[4] *Vide* page 250.

We read in the "Daily Post," 1730, as follows:—

"By Permission.

"At the Cross Keys in St. John-street this evening will be performed, an entertainment by Mr. Clench of Barnet, who imitates the horn, huntsman, pack of hounds, the sham doctor, old woman, drunken man, and the bells, the flute, double courtel, the organ with three voices; all instruments are performed with his natural voice; also an Essex song by Mr. Clench, after which manner none but himself can perform. Admission one shilling."

"The Carrier's Cosmographie," before quoted, informs us that "The carrier from Stony Stratford doe lodge at the Rose and Crowne in St. John-streete." In Rose and Crown yard, on the east side,



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, FROM ST. JOHN STREET.

opposite to St. John's-lane, during old Bartholomew fair time, there was in general to be seen some such *lusus naturæ* as a sheep with five legs, or a calf with two heads, &c. Now it is used as a layerage for cattle. In a list of carriers published about the year 1690, we find several references to inns at present existing. Thus to the Pewter Platter came the Biggleswade carrier; to the Windmill, the Bedford carrier; and "Joseph Hickmann's coach comes to the Golden Lyon from Wheatstone, in Middlesex, and is in and out every day." In 1721 six convicts under sentence of transportation were temporarily lodged at the Swan Inn, St. John-street.[1]

[1] *Weekly Journal*, Oct. 21, 1721.

In the "Perfect Diurnal," No. 224, 1654, is the following advertisement:—

"A bright pacing mare with a small starre, black mane, and black tayl dockt somewhat short, great with foal, with an old sore upon the withers healed up, but no hair upon it, a little hip shotten, but hardly to be discerned, 14 handful high, and 8 years old. She was lost from Hampton Court abontt the end of December last; Whosoever shall give notice of her at the place aforesaid or to Mr. Lewes at the White Hart, St. John Street, shall have 20 shillings for his pains."

Several of these inns acquired an evil reputation as being the resort of thieves and other bad characters. "A reader of our paper," says "The Public Advertiser" of Nov. 2nd, 1775, "wishes Sir John Fielding to order his myrmidons to visit some public houses in Goswell-street and St. John-street. In the former they will meet with plenty of housebreakers and thieves; and in the latter all the silver coiners near the metropolis."

In "Mercurius Democritus," No. 85, 1654, we read as follows:—

"A mad countrey parson, comming riding up to London between Islington and the Red Bull (in St. John-street) met with a small coalman very black, with his sacke full of small coal at his backe. The pittiful parson, minding to put a jeer on the small coalman, made a sudden stop with his horse, saying with a loud voyce, that those that rode after him might partake of the jest, 'Fellow, fellow,' quoth he 'prethee tell us some news from hell, I see thou hast a whole sackful at thy back.' 'Truly,' quoth the small coalman, 'I can tell you but very little news from hell, onely the Devill wants a chaplaine, and you ride but a little faster and you may perchance have the place.'"

"Cranmer's Catechism" (Catechismvs. That is to say, a shorte Instruction into Christian Religion for the singuler commoditie and profyte of childre and yong people, 1548), was "Imprynted at London, in S. Jhones strete, by Nycolas Hyll, for Gwalter Lynne, dwellyng on Somer's Kaye by Byllynges gate."

Of the tradesmen who lived in this thoroughfare during a part of the seventeenth century some interesting mementoes are still preserved in the cabinets of the curious, in the form of farthing and halfpenny tokens, coined and circulated by these shopkeepers in the way of business. From two published catalogues of such tradesmen's tokens, we select descriptions of several of the most illustrative:—

Johnathan Grast in St. *Reverse*, John-street, Cheesemonger, 1657.

Thomas Sayle, at ye White Bear; in the field, a bear chained. *Reverse*, in St. John-street, Salter, his halfpenny, T. S. E.

At the Olfa Tree—an olive tree. *Reverse*, in Singon-streete, E. A. S.

George Scavington—five candles strung on a stick—In Singon-street.

John Dodson, his halfpenny. *Reverse*, in St. John-street, 1667.

John Radburne, Grocer, at ye Soldier—a pikeman in the field—in St. John-street, his halfpenny, 1688.

From the reign of Elizabeth to that of Charles II., owing to the scarcity of the small coin of the realm, tradesmen were permitted to issue a complementary coinage of their own, to supply this deficiency. In value their tokens never exceeded a penny, but were chiefly halfpence and farthings; they were round and sometimes octagonal in shape, and stamped out of tin, lead, copper, and brass; having the tradesman's name and device, with his place of residence and their current value impressed upon them. Every tradesman who issued this useful coinage was compelled to receive it again in exchange for his commodities; and in large towns, where the tokens of various tradesmen were current, each dealer kept a sorting box, into the partitions of which he placed the money of the respective coiners, which he afterwards forwarded to them and received silver in exchange. In 1672 the further necessity for tokens was obviated by an extensive coinage of halfpence and farthings by royal authority.

ST. JOHN STREET ROAD.

This road is in St. Mark's district, in the history of which it will be described.

ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

The area circumscribed by the houses in this square is that of the ancient priory court; for which reason, in the oldest maps extant, it is called "St. Jone's-court." It is described by that careful surveyor, Hatton, in his "New Remarks on London" (1708), as a "spacious, pleasant place, more like a square than a street." Its rural aspect, the venerable associations connected with it,



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, FROM ST JOHN'S SQUARE.

the amenity of its situation, and its nearness to town, rendered it attractive to the nobility and gentry as a place of residence.

In reference to St. John's Church, Mr. Griffith, in his MS. notes, says—"The vaults existing beneath the house No. 19, St. John's-square, abutted the crypt (formerly under the nave), on the north side next Jerusalem-passage. The walls are of considerable thickness, composed of brick and stone, and stand upon rubble work, and were no doubt appendages to the ancient priory. In a division wall in these vaults was a doorway of the Perpendicular period, in a perfect state in January,

1861; and at that time the vaults were converted into 'Turkish baths'—the floors paved with tiles, and the whole of the vaults rendered with cement, including the old doorway, and thus ignorantly destroyed. The baths were open only for a few months and then abandoned."

Most of the houses in this square are built upon the foundations of the rubble wall that once enclosed the priory court, and which may still be traced on the north, west, and south sides. "There are still in existence," says Mr. Griffith, "beneath the houses on the north side of the square, walls seven feet in thickness, containing splayed window openings." In the reign of James II., who literally "lost his kingdom for a mass," monasticism was revived for a brief space in its old quarters in Clerkenwell. One Father Corker came to St. John's, and there built "a mighty pretty convent." He had previously established a chapel in the Savoy, but owing to a dispute with the Jesuits, by the advice of the king, he removed. In the revolution of 1688 the "Factory," as this monastic establishment was called, was partially destroyed by an enraged mob, to the great loss and chagrin of its founder, who was dean of the rosary, and who in order to raise money for the building had melted down "the great gold chalice and patten," and supplied their place with less costly vessels of silver. "On the 11th of November, 1688," writes a contemporary, "the rabble assembled in a tumultuous manner at St. John's, Clerkenwell, the popish monastery there, on a report of gridirons, spits, great cauldrons, &c., to destroy protestants; they begun some outrageous acts till horse and foot guards were sent to suppress them; 'tis said they killed some first." Several of the London 'prentices, who in former days were ever ready to create a disturbance, appear to have lost their lives by this *emeute*. Sir John Bramston says:—

"Sunday, November 14, some boys and youths gathered together again, and now indeavoured to pull down a house in St. Johne's, where mass was sayd; and some of the Horse Guards were sent for and the Sherrif, and great stir there was. The boys threw stones, and had cudgels, and so prouoked the Guards that they shott bullets, and killed some of the boys, and with their swords wounded others, and with very much adoue droue the boys away; but yet they threaten to haue the house downe, and also other mass houses. But the King sent for the Lord Mayor, gaue him great charge to keep the city quiet, and sayd there should be no more vse made of those houses, that the goods should be removed, and that he should take care they might be safely conueyed (for three loads of goods that were carried from St. John's were met by the youths in Holborn and burned)."[1]

At a coroner's inquest, held a few days after, upon the bodies of those who had been killed by the military, the jury, with a magnanimity which redounded to their honour as Englishmen, gave a verdict against the Government, charging their armed soldiers with having murdered "several of those loyal persons who resorted to the mass house in St. John's, in order to disturb traitors and enemies to the nation."[2]

At a meeting of the British Archæological Association, held April 25th, 1860, Mrs. White exhibited a leaden figure of the Saviour, from a crucifix found in the sewer at Clerkenwell, near St. John's Gate.[3] This probably was a relic from the monastery which we have before mentioned.

The former conveniences of the old houses in this square may be judged of from the following descriptive advertisement of a house "To be Lett," in the "Englishman" of January 21st, 1714:—

"To be Lett, a new-built brick House, fit for any Gentleman, or person of quality, in St. John's-court, near Clerkenwell, of 3 large rooms on a floor, and 2 little ones, besides small closets, with fore-stairs and back-stairs, very well fitted-up and repaired, with a court before the house, and a garden; with coach-house, and stables for 4 horses, and other conveniences."

The Little-square, as the contracted portion of the western side is sometimes called, was formerly distinguished as North's-court, the reason for which name is as follows:—Dudley, Lord North, the grandfather of the celebrated Lord Keeper North, had a son named John, whose first wife "left him an estate," says Roger North, "in St. John's-court, by Smithfield, upon the ground where the chief house and garden was placed, and now a set of fair houses are built, making three sides of a square,

[1] *The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston*, p. 332, vol. xxxii., Camden Society's Publications.
[2] N. Luttrell's *Historical Relation of State Affairs*, 1678, 1714, Oxford, 1857.
[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1860, vol. liii., N.S., page 593.

and is called North's-court."[1] Sir John North resided here in 1677 and 1680; he was the son of Dudley, the third Lord North, who died in 1666. Newcourt speaks of these houses, in 1708, as "a pretty area of brick buildings lately erected." In Rocque's "Plan of London," 1747, the Little-square is distinguished as St. John's-square, and the square proper as St. John's-court. We read in the "Flying Post," in 1699, as follows:—"At St. John's House, in St. John's-court, near Clerkenwell, are taught the mathematics in French or Latin; Rhetoric, History, Cosmography, French, Greek, with the Propriety of the Latin tongue, pretended to by many, and understood by few."[2]



THE INTERIOR OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CLERKENWELL.

Dr. William Goddard, one of the Society of Chemical Physicians, who resided in St. John's-close, as the square was called, in 1665, was one of those who sold medicines "in pursuance of his Majesty's commands for the cure and prevention of the plague."

The "pretty area of brick buildings" above mentioned are thus referred to by Cromwell, in 1828:—"Facing the church stands a range of large houses, whose inhabitants at one period were mostly persons of such wealth as to keep their equipages. The offices of Mr. Dove, printer, occupy

[1] *Life of Francis North, Baron Guildford*, by Hon. Roger North, ed. 1742, preface. *Vide* pages 47 and 48 *ante*, where mention is made of Sir Dudley North and Lord Dudley.

[2] *Flying Post*, No. 722, Dec., 1699.

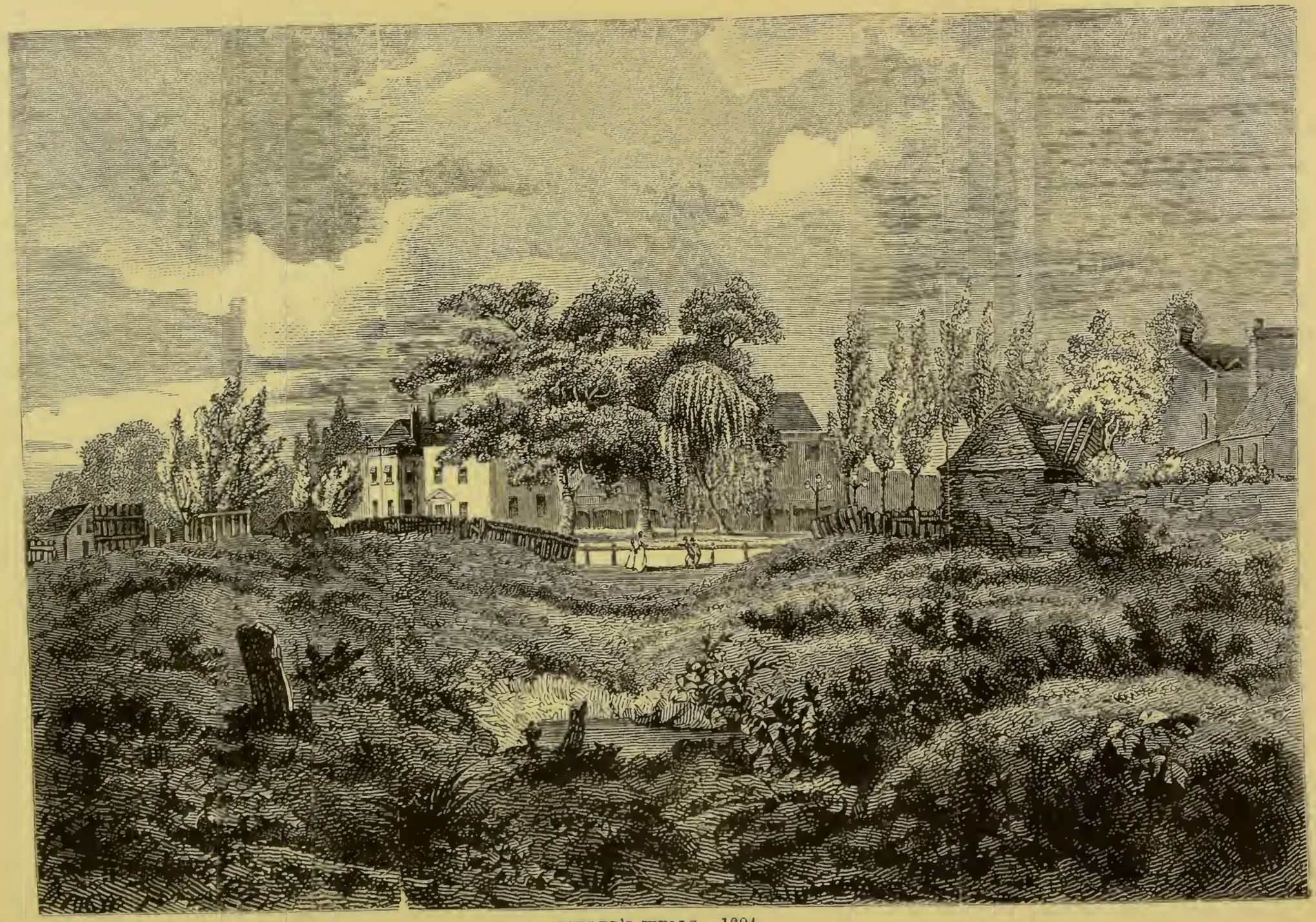
two of these." Mr. Dove's printing business was carried on in the premises at the south-west corner of Jerusalem-passage. They had an entrance for the workmen in that passage, which entrance is now bricked up. Mr. Dove was the printer of an elegant series of works by the best authors, entitled "Dove's English Classics," with a vignette on the title page of a dove in the clouds, bearing an olive branch, and beneath the motto "Perseverantia et Amicis." On reference to old plans of the Little-square an advanced building at the south-west corner of Jerusalem-passage will be seen. Further on westward the houses were still more advanced as they now are. The first mentioned building was demolished in 1780.[1] From the south-west corner of Jerusalem-passage to the now advanced buildings stand the houses numbered respectively 21, 22, 23, and 24, St. John's-square.

On the south side of the square is the Free-thinking Christians' Meeting House. This neat and unassuming building was erected about the year 1830, by the members of the above sect. They were dissenters from a church of Baptists meeting in Parliament-court, Bishopsgate-street. The cause of their dissent was, that the constitution of the church, having at its head a hired teacher, whose interest was connected with particular tenets, was incompatible with the free exercise of the mind, and obstructive to the progress of truth. These seceders determined, as a first principle, to exclude all motives of personal interest from their association; and, taking the New Testament for their guide, assimilated themselves to the plan and government of the Primitive Christian Assemblies. The first place of their public meetings was a large room in No. 32, Old Change, about half a century ago, where they assembled together for several years; but the boldness of their discussions occasioned alarm in the mind of their landlord, on account of the orthodoxy of the City magistrates, and they were compelled to leave. They next engaged an assembly room in Cateaton-street (now called Gresham-street), late the Paul's Head Tavern, where they were soon followed by the civil power, instigated, it was supposed, by the then Bishop of London, Dr. Porteus. They were summoned before the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, the proprietor of the room was threatened, and every means were resorted to by the bigoted and intolerant to suppress their meetings, but in vain. Among them were several very learned men, and their discussions became so popular, their numbers daily increasing, that a respectable meeting-house was built for their accommodation in Jewin-street-crescent, by the late Mr. Chatfield, a timber merchant, at his own expense. This proving too small, the building in St. John's-square was afterwards erected by a few of the most wealthy members, at a cost of about £2000. It is their own freehold. Their discussions are both moral and scriptural, in connection with, and illustrative of, some part of the New Testament. Each member is at liberty to speak. The head of the assembly is styled a deacon, under whose control the meetings are conducted. They dispense entirely with public prayer, and ceremonies of every kind. They meet every Sunday morning at eleven o'clock.

In 1661, Charles Howard, first Earl of Carlisle, resided in the precincts of St. John's-square. This dignity, with that of Baron Daere and Viscount Howard of Morpeth, was conferred upon him by letters patent, dated April 20th, 1661, by Charles II., in gratitude for the service which he had rendered that monarch in promoting his restoration. In 1663 he was sent by the king to the Czar of Muscovy as his ambassador; and in the year following, in the same capacity, he had audiences of the kings of Sweden and Denmark. In 1668, he was charged to carry to Charles XI. of Sweden the insignia of the Order of the Garter. On his return he was himself installed a knight of the same order. Subsequently he was made governor of Jamaica; after remaining there some years, he returned to England, September 4th, 1680. He died on February 4th, 1684, aged 56, and was buried in York Minster. This nobleman's mansion in St. John's was rated to the poor at 8s. per month.[2]

At the same period Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, resided within the ancient priory court,[3] and continued to do so until the year 1670. This nobleman was exalted to a semi-regal state, being made Viceroy of Ireland, in 1672, a post which he occupied until 1677, when he was made First Lord of

[1] *Vide* page 285. [2] *Vide* page 9 note. Mention of the Earl of Carlisle is made at pages 46 and 47.
[3] *Vide* page 9 note.



SADLER'S WELLS, 1804.

the Treasury. The end of his brilliant career was a melancholy one; being accused of having had some concern in the Rye House Plot, he was sent a prisoner to the Tower. Unable to bear his adverse fortune he laid violent hands upon himself, and was found dead, with his throat cut.

Another noble personage residing in this aristocratic locality was Horatio, first Lord Townshend. Succeeding to his paternal estates in Norfolk, at the commencement of the Civil Wars, being then a minor, he, with all the ardour and enthusiasm of youth, espoused the royal cause. "He engaged," says Clarendon, "very frankly to borrow money, and laid it out to provide arms and ammunition." He was one of the five commoners deputed by the Parliament of 1660 to attend the king at the Hague, and desire his Majesty to take the government of the kingdom in his hands. He came over from thence with Charles II., who, as a reward for his zeal, and to mark his high appreciation of the services which he had rendered him, advanced him to the dignity of a peer of the realm, as Baron Townshend of Lyme Regis, April 20th, 1661. He died in 1687. "The Lord Townshend" occurs in the rate-book of the parish for 1666, but he is not charged to the relief of the poor; the overseers, who were doubtless aware of his noble and generous spirit, wisely left it "at his honour's pleasure" what he would give.[1]

Sir William Fenwicke, Bart., of Wallington, Northumberland, was residing in St. John's-square, in 1661, being then forty years of age; he was a stanch supporter of the Commonwealth. He sat in the famous Long Parliament, to which he was called in 1643, in the room of his father, who had been discharged from it. He died in 1676.[2]

Another distinguished resident was Sir William Cordell, who for nearly a quarter of a century was Master of the Rolls in the times of Mary and Elizabeth. He was born, it is supposed, at Long Melford, in Suffolk, and was admitted a member of Lincoln's Inn, April 7th, 1538; called to the bar in 1543; and on the 30th of September, 1553, soon after the accession of Queen Mary, was made her Solicitor-General. On the 1st of November, in the same year, the benchers of Lincoln's Inn appointed him their butler; and on February 2nd, 1554, he was fined in the sum of xxvj*s.* viij*d.* for not "exercysing the office." As Solicitor-General he was engaged in the trial of Sir Thomas Wyatt for treason. On the 5th of November, 1557, he was promoted to the office of Master of the Rolls. In a paper preserved in the Cæsar collection it is stated that on the 6th of November, 1557, Sir William Cordell went from Lincoln's Inn to Westminster, and that "When he came from Westminser Haull he went to dynner to his house (then at St. John's). He kept no howse at the Rowles tyll Michaelmas term then followinge. In the meane tyme he dined in terme commonlye at Sergeant's Inne, in Chancerye Lane, and supped at St. Jyhn's."[3] In the last Parliament of Queen Mary he was M.P. for Essex, and was afterwards chosen Speaker. Troubling himself little with politics he was regarded with favour by the Court, and Queen Elizabeth paid him the compliment of commencing her progress in Suffolk by visiting him at Long Melford Hall, where he sumptuously entertained her, and it was whilst staying here that she received the envoys sent by Francis of Alençon to sue for her hand, on the 4th of August, 1578. He died without issue on the 17th of May, 1581, and was buried in Long Melford Church, where a handsome monument exists to his memory, on which is inscribed a Latin epitaph, of which Fuller gives this version:—

Here William Cordal doth in rest remain,
Great by his birth but greater by his brain,
Plying his studies hard his youth throughout,
Of causes he became a pleader stout;
His learning deep such eloquence did vent,
He was chose Speaker of Parliament;
Afterwards Queen Mary did him make (knight),
And counsellor state work to undertake;
And Master of the Rolls, well worn with age,
Dying in Christ, heaven was his upmost stage;
Diet and clothes to poor he gave at large,
And a fair almshouse founded on his charge.

[1] *Vide* page 9 note.

[2] Burke's *Extinct Baronage*. *Vide* page 16 *ante*.

[3] Landsdowne MSS., No. 163, fol. 95, Brit. Mus.; Nicolas's *Life of Hatton*, p. 61; Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. 1662, p. 72; Foss' *Lives of the Judges*, vol. v., p. 477; Weevers's *Funeral Monuments*.

Adjoining the church on the north, on the present site of Messrs. Smith and Sons' clock manufactory, was a handsome brick-built house, approached by a paved court with iron gates. It was distinguished as having been the birthplace of John Wilkes, Esq., F.R.S., of political fame, who in this mansion drew the first breath of life, October 17th, 1727. His father, Israel Wilkes, an eminent malt distiller, possessed of an ample estate, lived here like a fine old English gentleman, in the true style of ancient hospitality, to which both himself and his dame—Sarah, daughter of John Heaton, Esq.—were particularly attentive. Their coach was regularly drawn by six horses, and their house was resorted to by persons of rank, merchants, philosophers, and men of letters. To this circumstance, and to the unbounded indulgence of his parents, John Wilkes was much indebted for that literary turn of mind by which he was in early life distinguished.[1] On the death of Israel Wilkes this house became the residence of his son, Heaton Wilkes, who carried on the business of a distiller. On the 9th of September, 1770, he received a visit here from his brother, John Wilkes, then an alderman of the City of London, who, together with his daughter, dined with him. The "Public Advertiser" for the 9th of September, 1770, says:—"Yesterday Mr. Alderman Wilkes, with Miss Wilkes, his daughter, arrived in town from Brighthelmstone,[2] and afterwards dined with Heaton Wilkes, Mr. Wilkes' brother, in St. John's-square." Heaton Wilkes was churchwarden in 1776, and died in 1804.

The brewery or distillery contiguous to the house extended into St. John-street, in which thoroughfare was the business entrance to the premises. There was a distillery on this spot as early as the year 1747. At a subsequent period Colonel Magniac, a famous clockmaker, lived in the old mansion, and had his workshops here. This manufacturer's automaton clocks caused much interest at the Court of China and elsewhere, and perhaps did much to render Clerkenwell noted as the clockmaking parish. Two of the most remarkable clocks manufactured by him for the emperor were rare specimens of mechanical skill; in addition to regiments of soldiers, musical performers parading, beasts and birds, all displaying appropriate action, combined to show what varied and graceful motions could be produced by wheels, pinions, and levers, and while pleasing the eye also charmed the ear by the bell music, tunes, and chimes.

In 1793 the mansion and land thereunto belonging were vested in the Honourable Richard Walpole, to whom they were released and assigned by indenture, dated the 15th February, 1793. In 1811 they were granted on lease for twenty-one years, by indenture dated the 13th December, in that year, by Horatio, Earl of Orford, and Joshua, Lord Huntingfield, who were devisees in trust. Subsequently the ground was cleared; the fine old mansion was pulled down, and the materials sold by some rogues, who decamped with the proceeds and were ultimately transported; the ground being vacant was bought by Messrs. F. B. and J. Adams, from whom Messrs. J. Smith and Sons purchased the freehold and built their extensive and commodious clock manufactory upon it. The workshops and warehouses of this establishment are the largest of any used for clockmaking in Clerkenwell. Here a large number of workpeople are employed, and all descriptions of clocks are manufactured, from the ponderous church or turret clocks to the astronomical clock or regulator; and all the many branches of the trade which are usually considered distinct are here carried on, so that the works form a complete manufactory of that wonder of mechanism—an English clock. In the "Illustrated London News" of the 20th September, 1851, page 370, will be found an account of this establishment, with sketches of four of the workshops.

As it may prove interesting to our general readers we give a sketch of the various processes necessary for the production of an English clock, the superiority of which over foreign fragile horology a walk through the workshops of Messrs. Smith and Sons has enabled us better to appreciate.

In the yard round which Messrs. Smith and Sons' workshops are situated is stored a stock of mahogany, walnut, and oak, the logs of which are in the first instance cut up into boards, varying

[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*.

[2] Brighton; found written Brighthelmston, Brightelmston, Brightelmestone, Brighthelmestone, Brightelmyston, Brighthelymyston, Brighthelmyston, Brighthelmstead. It is said to derive its name from Brighthelm, a Saxon bishop, who lived either there or in the vicinity, and Anglo Saxon *tun* a town.—Charnock's *Local Etymology*, p. 45.

from three-quarters of an inch to two inches in thickness, which, for the purpose of seasoning, are racked in the open yard, in a horizontal position, for about two years; after which they are removed to a shed, and placed in a vertical position, being separated from each other. Here they remain for three years, after which they are ready for use. For clock cases intended for hot climates, the additional precaution is taken of stacking the boards where they can be subjected to artificial heat. Besides mahogany, oak, maple, rosewood, satin, and other fancy woods are used.

The principal divisions in the manufacture of a clock are the brass-casting, the wheel and pinion cutting, the case-making, and the movement-making.

In the foundry at the east end of the yard, the gun metal and brass work used at this establishment are cast. The furnace is constructed chiefly of Stourbridge bricks, and coke is used for it. The casting pots are mostly made of clay and powdered coke, and are formed with a small spout, but without any handle. When the metal is put into the melting-pot, the founder places it into the furnace by means of tongs of a peculiar shape. The pots are of conoidal form, some of which will hold 50lb. of metal, which consists of about two of copper, and one of spelter, or zinc, for most purposes in clockmaking. For turret clock work, gun metal is also used. The casting trough is made of wood, with sloping sides, and is placed opposite to the furnace. The sand used for taking the cast is from Hampstead Heath, and is mixed with loam from the same locality, in the proportion of about one-half of the latter to one of the former. The impression of one side of the article to be cast is first taken in the sand from a suitable pattern, the sand having been firmly pressed into one-half of an iron frame or mould; the same process is followed with regard to the other half. When the two half frames are put together by means of casting boards, one at top and the other at bottom, and secured together with wood screws, ridges are formed in the sand from each sinking or impression into the main channel which terminates with an opening on the side of the frame, through which the liquid metal is poured, and which fills up all the cavities. While the metal is being poured into the mould, it is placed with one side towards what is called a spilling trough, which receives the waste metal escaping from the pot. In a few minutes the boards are taken off, the sand removed, and the rough articles of metal are separated from each other, and taken to the various shops.

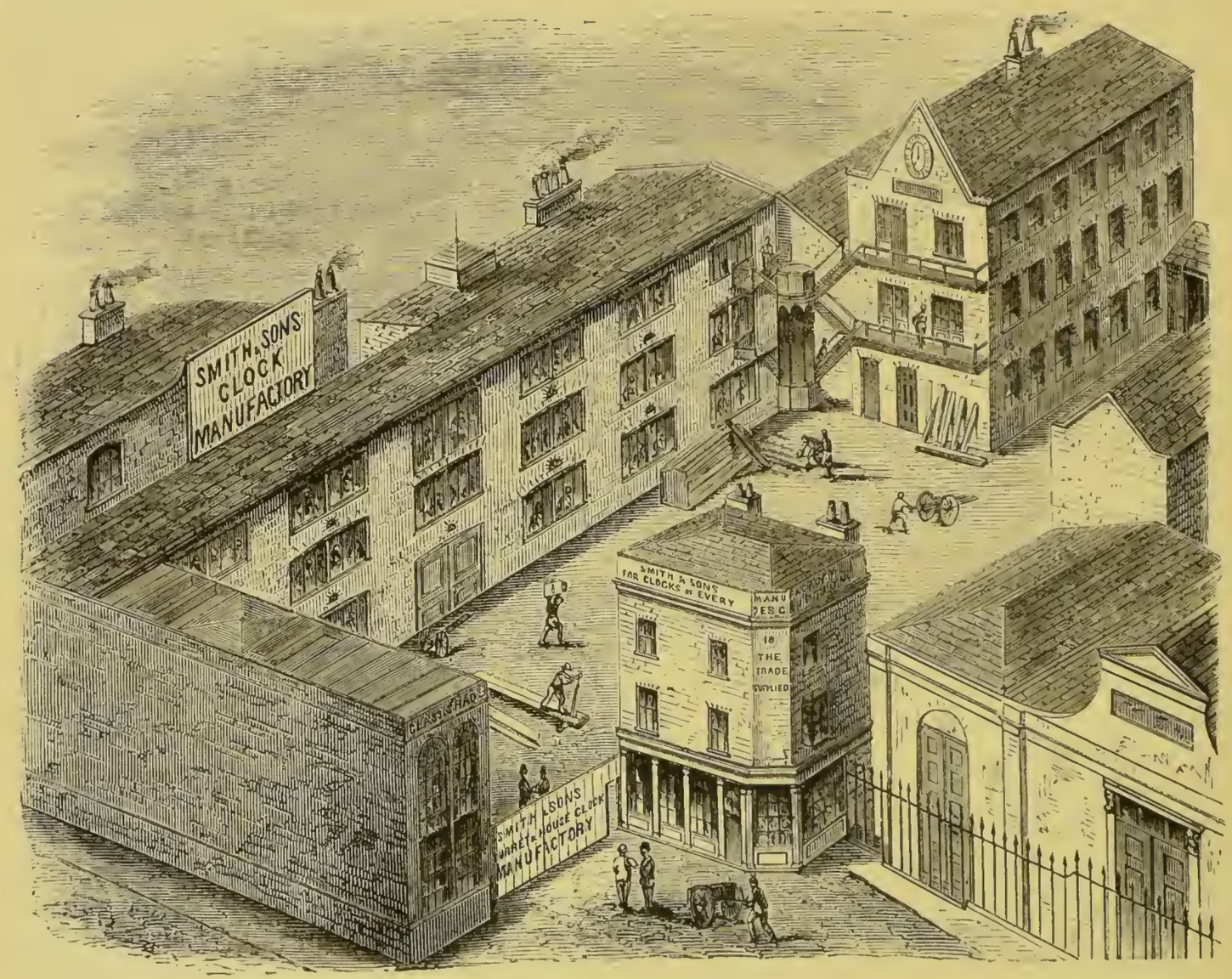
In the brass-finishing shop the clock rings, or bezels, are turned by the lathe, the hinges being let into the rings and soldered, and the whole subjected again to the operation of turning, and finally finished. Here, also, the dials are silvered. The cases for the clock weights and pendulums, which are of sheet brass, are also made in this shop, at one end of which is a forge, which is principally used for forging the hammer stems, pulley frames, pinions, repeating work, &c., of turret clocks. Here, also, the brazing and soldering are effected. The sheet brass is cut out by means of large shears. At the other end of the shop is a manu-motive wheel-cutting machine, specially used for cutting out from the solid brass the wheels for turret clocks. It consists of a large fly-wheel, which is turned by hand, communication from which is effected by a round band passing to a pulley fixed on the spindle of the cutter, by which the teeth are formed; the frame containing the cutter is furnished with both a horizontal and vertical movement, by which the exact portion of the wheel to be cut is regulated. Underneath the frame is a projecting arm, the use of which is to keep the wheel in its place during the operation. The number and size of the teeth of a wheel of any given diameter are regulated by a circular brass plate of about eighteen inches diameter, through which are perforated different series of holes, ranged in concentric circles.

Besides the wheel-cutting machine, there is another machine of a different construction, used for cutting the pinions of church clocks. It is furnished with a cutter, which rotates at considerable velocity on a stationary axis; the pinion is moved horizontally underneath the cutter, which is so constructed that it not only cuts the slit in the pinion, but also shapes the leaves at the same time.

The dials are made either of sheet copper, iron, or brass, the faces of which are coated with white flake, a superior kind of white lead, which is ground down with the finest description of copal varnish, and then put into a stove, similar to that used by japanners, until it becomes sufficiently hard to receive a polish, which is effected chiefly with pumice-stone, by which means a perfect surface is produced, ready to receive the figures, which are painted with lamp-black, varnish, and turpentine.

The church clock dials are coated six times with black paint, and sized and gilt in the ordinary way; the gold for this purpose is of extra thickness. The divisions of the dials are set out by means of an index plate.

By a simple and ingenious contrivance the edges of clock and watch glasses are ground. The operator stands in front of the work, with his right hand turning round a handle, placed vertically above the bench, and with his left hand holding a sort of hood, or cup, supplied with emery powder, by which the grinding is partially effected; the glass to be ground is temporarily fixed on a boxwood mallet, by means of cement, at the top of a spindle, which passes through the bench, and to which



SMITH AND SONS' CLOCK MANUFACTORY, ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

rapid motion is communicated by a round band from a horizontal wheel below the bench, turned by the right hand of the operator. After the grinding is completed, the edge of the glass is smoothed with pumice-stone, and finally polished with oxide of tin, usually called putty-powder.

The glass-bending shop is situated on the south side of the yard, and is fitted up with furnaces and an annealing oven. The crown glass, used for enclosing the dials of clocks and watches, before being moulded or bent into the required form, is first cut into circular shape by means of a circle-cutter, which consists of a circular board, covered with washleather, which is made to revolve on a pivot by one hand of the operator, while with the other hand he presses down a diamond on to the glass; the diamond is fixed at the end of an adjustable arm, which traverses a slot, the exact diameter of the circular plate to be cut being regulated by an index fixed at the side of the slot. The circular flat plates, which are removed to moulds turned out of solid firestone, the sinking of the

moulds being of flat elliptical section, are put into one or other of the furnaces, according to the size of the glass to be bent; while in the furnace, the mould is kept in continual circular motion by the long iron rod of the operator, until the glass sinks into the required form. The grinding and polishing the edge of the glass is the next operation.

In the clock-case making department is made every kind of case, some kinds being of a most beautiful description. The buhl work of brass and mother-of-pearl, &c., which is let into some of the clock-cases, is produced by a machine called a "neddy." The pattern intended to be used is first cut out in brass, which serves as a type from which to print any number of copies on thin paper; these paper patterns are pasted on the brass, pearl, or other material intended to be used. By means of a treadle worked by the left foot of the operator, the work is easily shifted; while with his right hand he cuts out the work by means of a very fine saw, made of watch spring.

The next department is set apart for the "system plan," each man attending continually to one particular branch of the business. In this shop is a fuzee engine, by which the spiral groove is cut in the solid brass intended for the fuzee. The brass is put upon a steel arbor, placed between two centres; the operator with his right hand presses a triangular sliding bar, furnished at the end with a steel cutter, against the brass, while with his left hand he turns a handle in connection with a sliding frame, on which is a brass bar placed at any given angle so as to regulate the size of the spiral groove; this bar is adjusted by means of a segment at either end. By this machine the grooves of fuzees of from three-quarters of an inch to the largest size are readily cut.

There are two other clockmakers' shops—one being devoted to the fine work required for bracket clocks, regulators, &c.; and the other for the works of turret and church clocks. In the former the frames are constructed; they are made of thick brass; these are hammered and then pinned up and filed square. The pillars by which the two frames are connected are next turned, and fitted with large screws; after this the arbors of the pinions are turned, by means of a turn-bench, worked by a drill-bow in the left hand of the workman. The back-cock and the crutch, the thumb-screws, and other brass works are then roughed out; and, finally, the several parts are finished, chiefly by means of a hand-lathe turned by the workman's left hand, while the cutting tool is held in the right hand. After the several wheels have been finished by means of the "throw," or hand-lathe, they are fixed on to their respective arbors of steel, and the depthening tool is used, by which the exact positions of the centres of motion are determined, in order to make the necessary perforations in the frames for the pivots of the pinions to work in. This tool consists of two similar horizontal pieces of brass, hinged together and turned up at each end, to receive a socket-piece, also of brass, and placed horizontally; there are four of such socket pieces, on the inside of each of which is a centre piece to receive the pivots of the wheels and pinions, and on the outside a steel pointer, by which the centres of motion are marked on the brass frames accurately. Thus the wheel and socket are placed on the arbor between the centre-pieces in one section of the depthening machine, and the pinion into which it is intended to work on the other; the relative position of wheel and pinion is regulated by means of an adjusting screw, by which the two portions of the machine are either brought nearer together or removed further from each other as required. The maintaining power, consisting of the barrel, the main-wheel, the going ratchet, and the two clicks, the brass dial-plate, with the hands of steel, and the compensation mercurial pendulum of glass, with its steel rod and index, make up the several parts of the regulator. In the turret clock shop the lathes are of a stronger description, and the tools generally are heavier.

In the show rooms is an extensive assortment of finished eight day skeleton clocks, regulators, hall clocks, musical clocks, bracket clocks, &c., in plain and elegantly carved cases of various designs.[1]

There is an asylum for the clock and watch makers at Colney Hatch. It was instituted in November, 1853, to provide habitations, light, fuel, and pensions for aged and infirm members of

[1] In Rosoman-street, by Bowling-green-lane, are the premises of Mr. Moore, an extensive clock maker, who has issued many church bells. He sent a tower to Geelong. Mr. Moore (formerly Adams), of St. John's-square, is well known for his watches. And another Mr. Moore, also of this family, has invented a kind of glass blind ventilator, which has a good repute.

the trade and their widows. The first stone of this institution was laid in the month of June, 1857, by Thomas S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.; its situation is close to the Colney Hatch Station of the Great Northern Railway. The freehold of the site (two acres) was purchased for £700; and the asylum, consisting of thirteen houses, neatly built of red bricks, cost £2502 9s. 11d.; the total cost of land, asylum, &c., being £3578 17s. 4d. The accommodation provided is for eleven males and four widows, who enjoy all the benefits of the institution—residence, fuel, light, and an annuity of £20 to males, and of £13 to widows. The office of this institution is at No. 51, Perceval-street, Clerkenwell.

At No. 35, Northampton-square, Clerkenwell, is held the British Horological Institute, which was founded in the year 1858. The design of the institute is to promote the cultivation of the science of horology, and to foster the various branches of arts and manufactures arising out of it. Its views are directed to the following objects:—1. The formation of a library, reading-room, and a collection of tools, models, and machines. 2. The delivery of lectures, and the reading of original papers connected with the art of horology. 3. The formation of classes for the study of the various branches



CLOCK AND WATCHMAKERS' ASYLUM, COLNEY HATCH.

of knowledge connected with the theory and literature of horology. 4. The encouragement of merit, either in invention or workmanship, by suitable rewards and marks of distinction. The premises first taken by the institute were in St. John's-square, but the offices have since been removed to Northampton-square. The first chairman was Mr. W. Hislop, and the first secretary (at that time a paid one) was Mr. C. Breen, senior. The present management, which is somewhat different from the original one, consists of a president (Valentine Knight, Esq.), three vice-presidents, three trustees, a council of twenty-eight members, a treasurer, and an honorary secretary. The members consist of founders, who are so constituted by giving a donation of ten guineas; life members by a donation of five guineas; town members by paying twelve shillings yearly; and country members by paying eight shillings yearly. The members are distributed over England, and several distinguished horologists of France and Switzerland have enrolled themselves amongst them; but the work of maintaining the institute is difficult, owing to the apathy which prevails on the subject of it amongst the men of this wealthy and scientific branch of commerce. By special permission of the Astronomer Royal a time-current is conveyed by telegraphic wire into the building in Northampton-square, where apparatus is arranged and signals are received twice a day direct from Greenwich Observatory, thus affording to members who reside in the neighbourhood the great advantage of obtaining mean Greenwich time with perfect accuracy. A monthly periodical, entitled the "Horological Journal," is published by

this institution, a copy of which periodical is furnished to each member, and which has reached the sixth volume. Since the establishment of the institute kindred societies have been established at Coventry and Edinburgh, both of which are working together with it. Similar associations have done much for horology in France and Switzerland, in which latter country they have been recognised and assisted by the government.

At No. 18, St. John's-square is the office of the Goldsmiths and Jewellers' Annuity Association, which was established in April, 1827, to relieve the decayed members of the goldsmith and jewellery business: including under this denomination, traders, workmen, shopmen, and clerks, who have been employed as such during a continued period of seven years. The benefits of this institution are also extended to their widows, and the object is effected by the granting of annuities. As a branch of this excellent association, a separate committee, called the Asylum Committee, was formed, and empowered by the general body of the subscribers, since 1840, to collect contributions for the erection of an asylum, which was built in 1853, at Manor-road, South Hackney, at a cost of upwards of

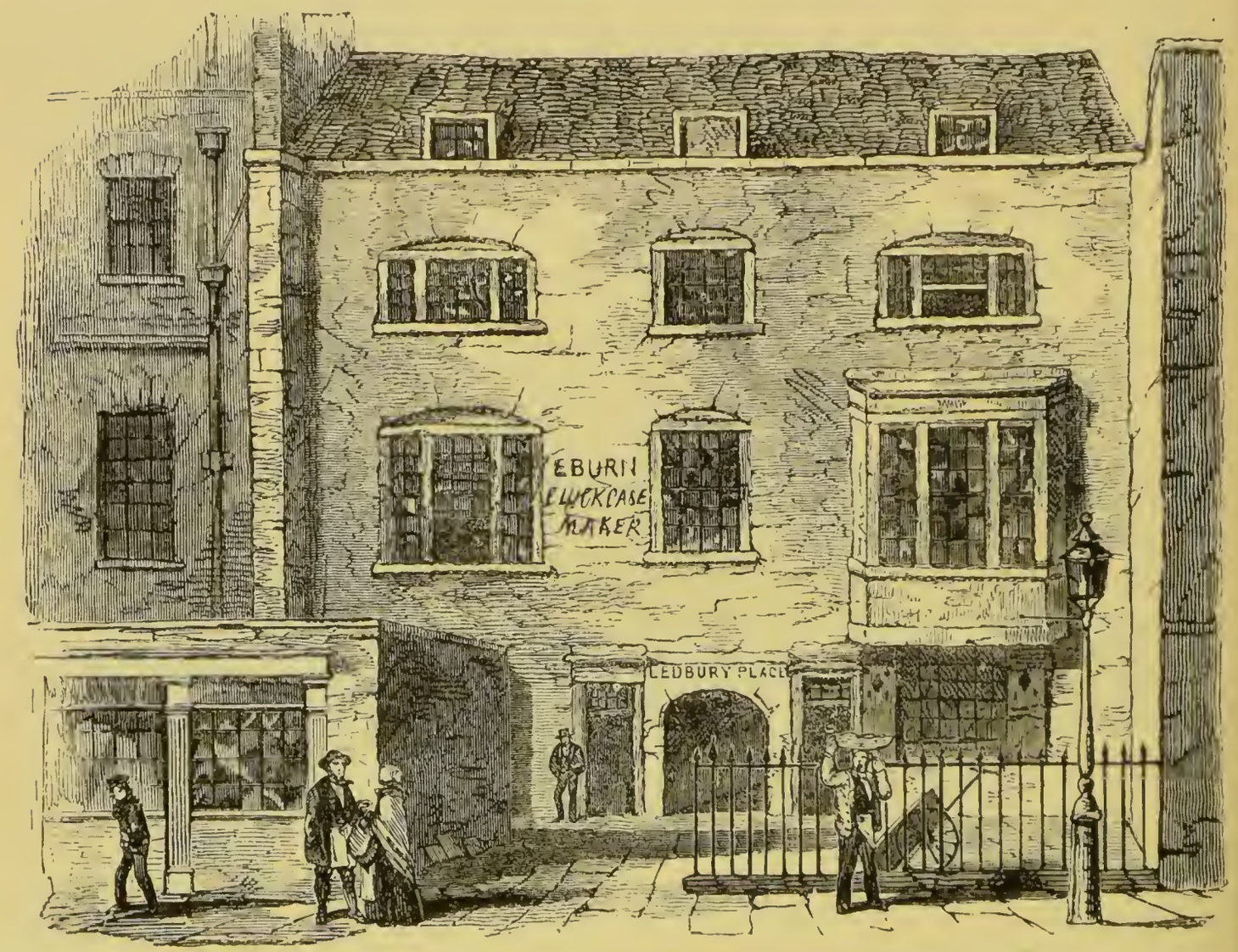


GOLDSMITHS AND JEWELLERS' ANNUITY INSTITUTION ASYLUM, MANOR ROAD, SOUTH HACKNEY.

£2000, the whole of the expense of which has been discharged. It is completely tenanted by eight male and eight female inmates. The architect of the neat pile of building forming the asylum was W. P. Griffith, Esq.; and the first stone was laid by John Bennett, Esq., of Cheapside. The institution is under the patronage of the most noble the Marquis of Northampton, and the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths.

"Burnet House," No. 44 (formerly No. 36), on the west side of St. John's-square, was, early in the last century, the town residence of that eminent prelate, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. The house has undergone many changes since the good bishop and his family were its occupants. It was then a noble mansion, consisting of two storeys, lighted in front by fourteen square-headed windows. The forecourt, upon which shops were built in 1859, was adorned with trees and shrubs. The grand entrance, now a bricked passage through the house leading to Ledbury-place (a double row of small tenements built upon what was the bishop's garden), was approached by several steps, and embellished with a portico formed by two Tuscan columns supporting a moulded entablature. In after years the front of the house was stuccoed as at present, and bay windows placed on the first floor, which have since been taken down. In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for June, 1817, is an

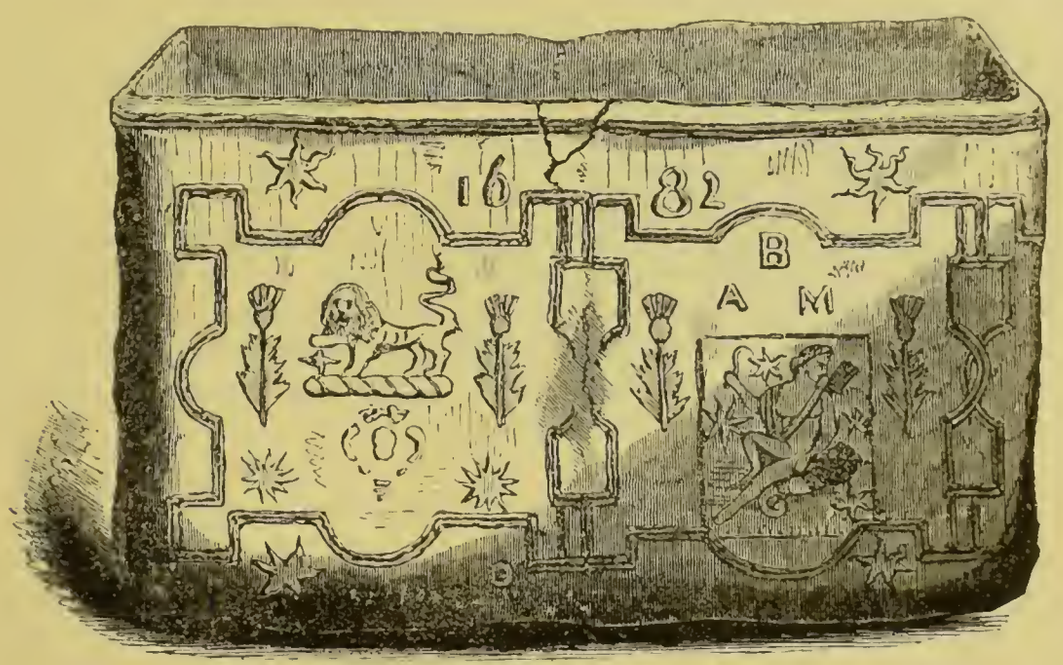
engraving of Burnet House, which then was divided into two tenements, each of which had on the first floor a bay window as before mentioned. Between the two front doors was the arched passage leading to the back. In front of the southern portion of the house was a tall tree, and the other, or northern portion, was numbered 36, and had over the door a board, which was inscribed, "J. Penry, Parish Clerk & Undertaker." Over the ground floor window was written "Hearth Rug Manufactory." The lofty and well-proportioned rooms of this noble residence have been partitioned off in every conceivable way, and at present, exclusive of the underground kitchens, there are no less than



BISHOP BURNET'S HOUSE, ST. JOHN'S SQUARE, AS IT APPEARED IN 1858.

twenty-three apartments, occupied by numerous families, many of whom are manufacturers in a small way, and busily pursue the trades of shoe-making, box-making, picture-frame-making, stay-making, &c., in the very rooms set apart by the prelate for the reception of his distinguished guests. The old staircases have all been removed, and replaced by less substantial ones of modern construction. On the basement floor, the compartments of which are without doors or windows, are the original wine-cellars and kitchens. In one of these may be noticed an old range, and the vestiges of two brick-built ovens. In several of the rooms are very handsome mantelpieces, different in design, the ornaments in relief upon them consisting of flowers and leaves, in festoonings, medallions, interlacing lines, and groups of female figures. The chimney jambs are of white marble, as are also the hearths. The old stoves have been all removed, and replaced by smaller ones of more recent date. There was formerly a very curious back to one of the grates in this mansion; it was a bas-relief in iron of Charles I., with the date of 1644 upon it, and represented that monarch triumphantly riding over a prostrate female figure, the Spirit of Faction; on each side were pillars encircled with bay leaves, and

a scroll of palm branches. On the top were the regal crown, and the initials, "C. R."; and below, the effigies of two women seated on low stools, having baskets of fruit before them. Nothing is known of this device by the present inmates, and it was probably either burnt out or removed. In the north-east corner of the yard of the right wing of the house, raised about eighteen inches from the ground, on two piers of brickwork, is an old leaden cistern, the dimensions of which are four feet two inches in length, twenty and a half inches in width, and two feet six and a half inches in depth, with a mean thickness of half an inch. This cistern, which is a massive piece of cast work, is ornamented with several devices in low relief. On the front and at either end, is a figure of the Goddess of Plenty, recumbent, by the side of a cornucopia overflowing with flowers and fruits, and behind her is a sheaf of full-eared wheat. Within a panel there is also a shield, quite plain, and over



CISTERN IN BACK YARD OF BISHOP BURNET'S HOUSE.

this, as a crest, is a lion passant, the dexter paw resting on a blazing star. Near the upper edge of the cistern is the date of its casting, 1682, and the initials "A. B. M," doubtless those of an occupier antecedent to Burnet's tenancy of the premises.

There was, until recently, another cistern on the premises, similar to the above, bearing the date of 1721, and the initial "G.," for Gilbert, surmounted by a mitre. This may have been recast by one of Burnet's successors, as a memorial of him. Recently, it having fallen from its position, it was removed altogether off the premises, and sold for old metal, and it is said to have weighed 4 cwt. We cannot but regret the spoliation of this relic of the past. There cannot be the slightest doubt of Burnet having resided in this house. "There is a respectable gentleman in this parish," says a writer to the "Gentleman's Magazine," in 1817, "upward of seventy, whose mother used to visit the bishop's family at this house; and the late Mr. Garth, for forty years clerk of Clerkenwell, knew the bishop lived here."[1]

The latter state of this house was described in an article which recently appeared in the "Builder." The writer says:—

"Three children have died within a week of scarlatina, in a house which stands over Ledbury-place, on the west side of St. John's-square. On reaching this place, we find it to be the dwelling in which the famous Bishop Burnet long resided, and in which he wrote several of the works which have rendered his name eminent. The front of the house has been much changed since Dr. Johnson may have often passed this way to or from the old gate, or when the small coalman gave his musical entertainments to the quality of Clerkenwell. The gardens that are shown in the old prints to have been in front have been covered by shops. It is satisfactory, however, to

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxvii., 1817, p. 497.

see that the name of the bishop has been printed in bold letters on the building. Passing through the archway of Ledbury-place, there may be seen several small cottages which have been built on what was formerly a garden; the place is clean, but an untrapped gully should be altered. The cottages are not of the best kind; but care seems to have been taken by the gentleman to whom the property belongs, and matters will be much improved when the deep cutting of the Main Drainage Sewer passes close to the premises. Additional closets have been provided, and water supplied. It was, however, in one of the back rooms in the basement of this large house that the three children died. A cellar below contained, we are told, no offensive matters. The windows, however, looked towards one or two closets, which were at a few yards' distance. The room was large, and ought to have afforded fair facilities of ventilation. The house of Bishop Burnet is of large size, the staircases very wide and old fashioned; and it is satisfactory to find that good provision has been made for ventilating them from top to bottom. Unlike the staircases to which we have referred, there was no tainted air—the stairs, &c., were scrupulously clean—and in certain of the rooms various openings had been made. There are some back apartments, leading from the principal room, and which in certain instances seemed to be used as sleeping places; these might be improved by ventilation of the staircase. Most of the rooms were comfortably, and in some cases elegantly furnished. The old wood panelling is said, if kept well painted and washed, not to produce many troublesome visitors. Nearly all the windows were open, and a glance at the whole of the premises shows what improved conditions, even in tenemented houses, may be created by decent persons combining with their landlords to produce them."

The premises have improved since 1858, for in that year the water supply was barely sufficient, and the receptacles for it were inconvenient in the extreme, being without any coverings or taps by which the water might be drawn, so that the poor inhabitants, upwards of fifty in number, were obliged to dip it. There was no dust bin, and the ashes and other refuse were strewn over the yard. One of the kitchens was then flooded with stagnant water. The chimneys were without exception smoky, and the rooms were in the utmost dilapidation.

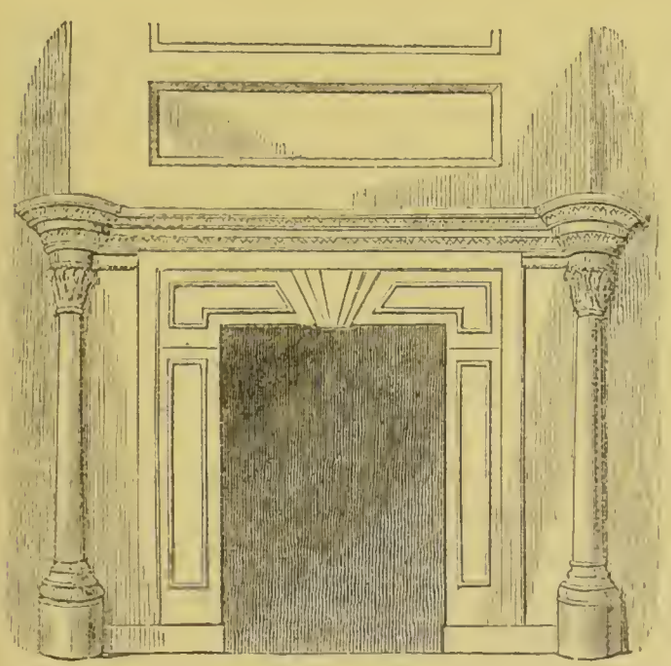
Some particulars of the life of the eminent prelate, Burnet, and more particularly of the manner in which his declining years were spent, when he was living in retirement in Clerkenwell, cannot fail to interest. He was born at Edinburgh, the 18th of September, 1643. His father was a lawyer, and at the Restoration was elevated to the bench as one of the judges of the Court of Session. Under his parent's skilful tuition, Gilbert, when but ten years of age, was a good Latinist, and was accordingly sent to college at Aberdeen, where, having obtained his degree of M.A. when only eighteen years of age, he was put on trial as a probationer or expectant preacher; and was offered a benefice by his cousin-germane, Sir Alexander Burnet, which with modesty he declined, thinking himself too young to have a cure of souls. At the age of twenty he set out upon his travels, visiting Cambridge, Oxford, and London in succession; and afterwards he made a tour through Holland, the Netherlands, and part of France; and on his return he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In his own country he obtained great notoriety as an extempore preacher, and by the presentation of his friend, Sir R. Fletcher, was appointed minister of the parish of Saltown, in East Lothian, having been ordained by the Bishop of Edinburgh. Here, during a period of five years, he won the affection and esteem of his parishioners, not excepting the Presbyterians, although he was the only clergyman in Scotland who then made use of the Church of England liturgy. Whilst here he first began to meddle with the affairs of Church and State, and in 1666 circulated in manuscript a strong remonstrance against certain abuses of authority by the Scottish bishops. Under the administration of Scotland by Sir Robert Murray, Burnet was much consulted by those at the head of affairs. In 1669 he was made Professor of Divinity at Glasgow, and about the same time was offered a Scottish bishopric, which he respectfully declined, pleading that he was too young, being then only twenty-six years of age. During the same year he published his maiden work, entitled, "A modest and free Conference between a Conformist and a Non-conformist;" and in the year following he married a lady many years his senior—Margaret Kennedy, daughter of John, Sixth Earl of Cassilis.

In 1674, owing to some political disagreements, he resigned his professorship, and came to London, where, after declining the living of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, he was made preacher at the Rolls Chapel, by Harbottle Grimstone, then Master of the Rolls; soon after he was chosen lecturer at St. Clement Danes, but was deprived of the honorary office of chaplain in ordinary to the king, to which he had been appointed some years before.

About the year 1676, a period when the public mind was greatly excited and alarmed at the increase of Popery, Burnet undertook to write the "History of the Reformation in England;" and in the year 1679 appeared the first folio volume of a work upon which Burnet's merit as an author chiefly rests; its publication was opportune, it was well received by the public, and obtained for its author the highest honour it was possible to convey—an unanimous vote of thanks from both Houses of Parliament. In 1680 appeared one of the most carefully written productions of his pen—a tract, entitled "Some passages in the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester;" being an account of his conversation with him in his last illness, which resulted in the ex-profligate nobleman becoming converted to a belief in Christianity. Of this *brochure* Dr. Johnson said, "The critic ought to read it for its elegance the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety." In 1681 appeared the second folio volume of the "History of the Reformation;" and in 1682 Burnet presented the reading public with a life of good Sir Matthew Hale. About this time he had again an invitation to court, and was offered the bishopric of Chichester by the king if he would only espouse his interests. This Burnet was too firm in principle to do, and soon after wrote a letter to Charles, in which he strongly animadverted upon his public misconduct, and upon the shameful vices of his private life. The king read the letter over twice, and then committed it to the flames. At the execution of Lord William Russell, Burnet attended him on the scaffold. This was a dire offence to the reigning power, and immediately afterwards he was dismissed from his preachership at the Rolls, and the lectureship of St. Clement's.



FIRE PLACE IN BISHOP BURNET'S HOUSE.



FIRE PLACE IN BISHOP BURNET'S HOUSE.

On the accession of James II. to power Burnet prudently retired to the Continent, and travelled through the south of France, Italy, Switzerland, and the north of Germany to Utrecht, and afterwards published an account of his journey. On his arrival in Holland he was introduced at the court of the Prince of Orange, with whom he became a great favourite; and upon that prince coming to England, in 1688, and by universal consent ascending the throne by the title of William III., Burnet, who, as his chaplain, was conspicuous in the "Glorious Revolution of 1688," which restored Protestantism in England, was rewarded for his zeal in the royal cause with the bishopric of Salisbury, for which

office he was consecrated on the 31st of March, 1689. How he discharged the responsible duties attaching to this honourable position in the church is best related by the graphic pen of the eloquent historian, Lord Macaulay, who thus writes :—

"His jurisdiction extended over Wiltshire and Berkshire ; these counties he divided into districts, which he sedulously visited. About two months every summer he passed in preaching, catechising, and confirming daily from church to church. When he did this there was no corner of his diocese in which the people had not seven or eight opportunities of receiving his instructions, and of asking his advice. The worst weather, the worst roads did not prevent him from discharging these duties. On one occasion when the floods were out he exposed his life to imminent risk rather than disappoint a rural congregation, which was in expectation of a discourse from the bishop. The poverty of the inferior clergy was a constant source of uneasiness to his kind and generous heart. He was indefatigable and at length was successful in his attempts to obtain for them from the crown that grant which is known by the name of Queen Anne's Bounty. He was especially careful when he travelled through his diocese to lay no burden on them to entertain him ; he entertained them. He always fixed his head-quarters at a market town, kept a table there, and by his decent hospitality and munificent charities tried to conciliate those who were prejudiced against his doctrines. When he bestowed a poor benefice, and he had many such to bestow, his practice was to add out of his own purse twenty pounds to the income. Ten promising young men, to each of whom he allowed thirty pounds a year, studied divinity under his own eye in the close of Salisbury."[1]

Burnet's famous pastoral letter, which was censured by the House of Commons in January, 1692, was burned by the common hangman. The offence contained in it was the ascribing the title of William III. to the crown of England to a right of conquest.

About the year 1698 Burnet lost, by the small-pox, his second wife, Mrs. Mary Scott, a lady of ample fortune and nobly descended, whom he had married in Holland. He soon after contracted a third marriage with Mrs. Berkeley, a widow lady of good fortune and exemplary piety, and the writer of a little work, once popular, entitled "A Method of Devotion."

In 1699 there issued from the press another of Burnet's famous works, entitled "An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England," which as a flaming brand fired the controversial spirit of the High Church party, and the book was stigmatized as heterodox by the lower House of Convocation. Dr. Henry Bagshaw, canon of Durham, coming to London, said to his fellow collegiate, South, "Robin, what is the character of Burnet on the Articles ?" "Why, Harry, he has served the Church of England just as the Jews did St. Paul—given her forty stripes save one."[2]

Five or six years before his death, about the year 1708, Burnet, tired of the political strife of opposing factions, wearied of the society of court, and desiring to live more abstracted from the world, as well as to avoid those formal visits from a host of sycophants, to which a man in his high position was particularly subject, sought retirement by settling in St. John's Court, or Square, Clerkenwell. Here, on the west side, he lived in domestic tranquillity, maintaining intercourse with only his most intimate friends. Of these were the great Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Newcastle, Earls Godolphin, Cowper, and Halifax, Lord Somers, Lord Townshend, Lord King, Lord Chief Justice Eyre, and the Master of the Rolls, Sir Joseph Jeykyll—truly noble associates for a man of genius and refinement. On Sunday evenings he had a lecture in his house in St. John's-square, to which many persons of distinction resorted, though at first it was intended only for the spiritual good of his own family.

Early in the year 1710 his peace was disturbed by a riotous mob, the deluded partizans of Dr. Sacheverell,[3] "a bold, insolent man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, or good sense," who made himself popular with the rabble by his railings at Dissenters and Low Churchmen. The word upon which all shouted, says Burnet, in the "History of his Own Times," was the "Church and Sacheverell, and such as joined not in the shout were insulted and knocked down before my own door; one with a spade cleft the skull of another who would not shout as he did. There happened to be a meeting house near me, out of which they drew everything that was in it, and burned it

[1] Macaulay's *History of England.*

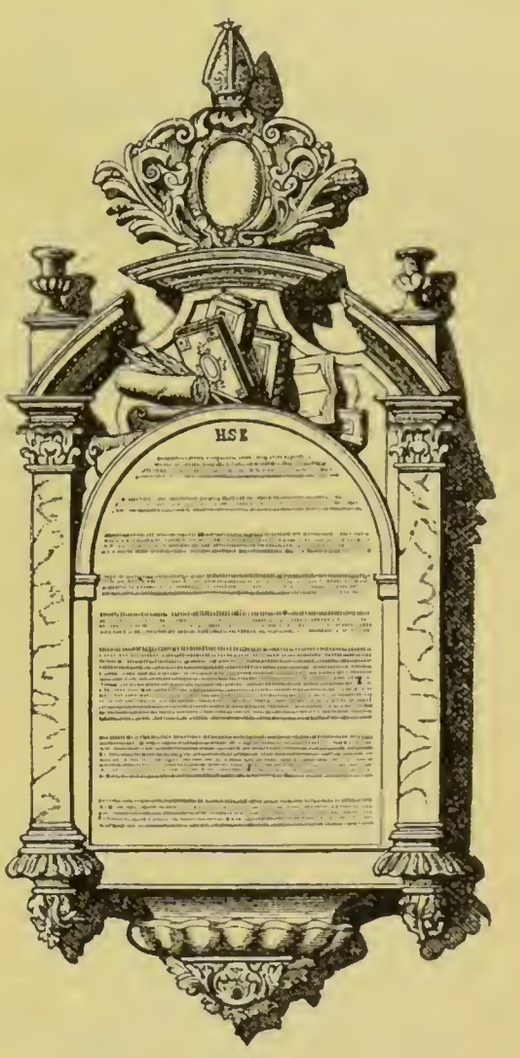
[2] Noble's *Bio. Hist. of Eng.*, p. 182.

[3] *Vide* pages 163 and 225. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1828, vol. xcviii., part 1, page 17, is a copy of a medal struck in commemoration of Dr. Sacheverell's passage through the kingdom.

before the door of the house. They threatened to do the like execution on my house, but the noise of the riot coming to court, orders were sent to the guards to go about and disperse the multitudes and secure the public peace, and as the guards advanced the people ran away."

In 1712 Burnet was visited in his retirement by old Ralph Thoresby, the topographer, who thus notes it in his diary: "June 4th, 1712, walked to St. John's beyond Smithfield to visit the learned and pious Bishop of Sarum, who entertained me agreeably and affectionately, but had a melancholy prospect of public affairs."

Whilst residing in Clerkenwell, Burnet still continued to labour with his pen, and in 1710 appeared "An Exposition of the Church Catechism;" in 1713, "Sermons on several occasions, with an Essay towards a new Book of Homilies;" and in 1714 he published the third volume of his "History of the Reformation." Dr. Richard Rawlinson, in his "Catalogue of Chief Historians," page 485, says that Burnet's "History of the Reformation" appeared as follows, but the doctor's dates slightly differ from those given by other writers:—Volume I., London, 1679, 1681; volume II. in 1683; and a Supplement, III., in 1712, in folio. The two former volumes were translated into Latin, in folio, at Geneva, in 1686 and 1689; into French by Rosemond, in 4to, London, 1683 and 1685, in two volumes; at Amsterdam in 12mo., 1689, four volumes; reprinted in 8vo., and abridged by the author, London, 1682; translated into High Dutch in 1691, 8vo. According to Kippis, this work was translated into Latin by Melchior Mittelhorzer.



BISHOP BURNET'S MONUMENT.

In the spring of the year 1715 the venerable prelate lay stretched upon a bed of sickness. His friend, Dr. Cheyne, attended upon him, and in the last extremity Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead were sent for; but their skilful efforts to avert his destiny were unavailing, he succumbed to the malady from which he was suffering—a pleuritic fever—and expired on the 17th of March, 1715, in the seventy-third year of his age. On the night of the 22nd his remains were buried near the communion table of St. James's, Clerkenwell,[1] to which, says a journal of the period,[2] he was carried in a hearse, attended by mourning coaches, from his house in St. John's-square. As the corpse was being conveyed to the church, the rabble, which never shows any distinction to men of great parts and learning when once it conceives an ill opinion of them, flung dirt and stones at the hearse, and broke the glasses of the coach that immediately followed it.

At the time of his decease Burnet's personal estate consisted of an account with Mr. Warner, his banker, household furniture, books and pictures, MSS. unsold, and some debts. By his will he appointed his eldest son, William, his executor, to whom he bequeathed two shares of his personal estate, and to each of his other four children an equal share of the residue.[3] At a meeting of the Archæological Institute, held June 3rd, 1853, Mr. C. Desborough Bedford exhibited a ring, set with a rose diamond, which had been worn by Bishop Burnet. In a codicil to his will occurs a

[1] *Vide* page 47 for entries of the baptisms of Burnet's children; page 49 for the entry of his burial; page 59 for the description of his monument, &c.; and page 60 for an engraving of the arms from his tomb. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1817, vol. lxxxvii., part 1, page 113, is an engraving of Bishop Burnet's monument in St. James's Church. [2] *The Old Whig*. [3] *Burnet Papers*, Add. MSS., No. 11401.

long list of legacies to his children; some of these were afterwards erased, and amongst them the bequest of "my pointed diamond" to Gilbert, his second son. The ring was given to the late Sir John Sewell, of Doctors'-commons, by a descendant from the bishop.[1]

Burnet is described by a contemporary as being a large, strong, bold-looking man, and one of the greatest orators of the age. We have before us a small engraving by G. Vertue, representing Burnet in his gown, band, and wig. He has an intellectual, confident face, and long features. Below the oval portrait is the prelate's coat of arms. In conversation he is described as disagreeable through a singular want of consideration. One day, during Marlborough's disgrace and voluntary exile, dining with his duchess, who was a reputed termagant, Burnet compared the duke to Belisarius. "How do you account for so great a man having been so miserable and deserted?" asked the duchess. "Oh, Madam," replied the bishop, "he had, as you know, such a brimstone of a wife."

Burnet was opposed to the clergy enjoying a plurality of livings. A clergyman of his diocese once asked him if, on the authority of St. Bernard, he might hold two livings. "How will you be able to serve them both?" inquired Burnet. "I intend to officiate by deputy in one," was the reply. "Will your deputy," said Burnet, "be damned for you too? Believe me, you may serve your cure by proxy, but you must be damned in person."

Burnet usually preached at St. James's Chapel; here he perceived, or fancied he perceived, that the ladies of Princess Anne's establishment did not look at him while he was preaching his sermons—"his thundering long sermons," as Queen Mary called them. He therefore prevailed upon the princess to order all the pews in St. James's Chapel to be raised high, that the fair delinquents could see nothing but himself in the pulpit. Hence the origin of the high pews that yet remain in some of the metropolitan churches, and are so general in country ones.[2]

Burnet was extravagantly fond of tobacco and writing, and to enjoy both at the same time, he perforated the brim of his large hat, and putting his long pipe through it, puffed and wrote, and wrote and puffed again.[3] The following was a satirical

EPITAPH ON YE BISHOP OF SARUM.

1.

Here Sarum lyes,
Of late as wise
As learned Tom Aquinas;
Lawn sleeves he wore,
Yet was no more
A christian than Socinias.

2.

Oaths pro and con
He swallowed down,
Lov'd gold like any layman;
Wrote, preached and prayed,
But yet betray'd
God's holy church to mammon.

3.

Of every vice
He had a spice,
Altho' a reverend prelate;
Yet liv'd and dy'd,
If not bely'd,
A true dissenting zealot.

4.

If such a soul
To heaven has stole,
And 'scap'd old Satan's clutches,
We'd then presume
There may be room
For M——— and his D———s.[4]

The following MS. epigram appears in an old folio copy of Burnet's History:—

If Heaven is pleas'd when sinners cease to sin,
If Hell is pleas'd when sinners enter in,
If men are pleas'd at parting with a knave,
Then all are pleas'd—for Burnet's in his grave.[5]

A great diversity of opinion exists among historical writers upon the truth of Burnet's facts, and the correctness of his statements. We have selected extracts from the works of the most note-worthy

[1] *Archæological Journal*, vol. x., p. 263.
[2] STRICKLAND, vol. viii., p. 85.
[3] NOBLE'S *Bio. Hist. of England.*
[4] Marlborough and his Duchess.
[5] *Notes and Queries*, 1st S., vol. v. p. 58; but see *State Poems*, vol. iii., 1704, in which is the same epigram on Coleman, slightly altered.

of his commentators, which show much dissimilarity. Sir J. Dalrymple says :—"It is a piece of justice I owe to historical truth to say, that I have never tried Burnet's facts by the tests of dates and original papers without finding them wrong." Dr. King, in his "Anecdotes," says :—"I knew Burnet : he was a furious party-man, and easily imposed on by any lying spirit of his own faction : but he was a better pastor than any man who is now seated on the bishop's bench." Dryden's chastisement of Burnet—"The noble Buzzard"—in his "Hind and Panther," was given as "adequate retaliation" for the bishop's censure of the immorality of Dryden's plays. Applied to Burnet's "Sketches of Characters," Dryden says :—

> His praise of foes is venomously nice,
> So touch'd, it turns a virtue to a vice.

Scott's note on this passage well merits perusal. Elijah Waring, a correspondent of "Notes and Queries," vol. i., first series, p. 493, thus writes :—"Dr. Joseph Wharton told my father that 'Old Lord Bathurst,' Pope's friend, had cautioned him against relying implicitly on all Burnet's statements; observing that the good bishop was so given to gossiping and anecdote hunting, that the wags about court used often to tell him idle tales, for the mischievous pleasure of seeing him make notes of them. Lord Bathurst did not, I believe, charge Burnet with deliberate misrepresentation, but considered some of his presumed facts questionable, for the reasons stated." Swift, in reference to Burnet's writings, says they are "rarely polished, I never read so ill a style." Hampton, in his "Reflections on Ancient and Modern History," 4to, Oxford, 1746, says :—"His personal resentments put him upon writing history. He relates the actions of a persecutor and benefactor; and it is easy to believe that a man in such circumstances must violate the laws of truth. The remembrance of his injuries is always present, and gives venom to his pen. Let us add to this, that intemperate and malicious curiosity which penetrates into the most private recesses of vice. The greatest of his triumphs is to draw the veil of secret infamy, and expose to view transactions that were before concealed from the world; though they serve not in the least either to embellish the style or connect the series of his history, and will never obtain more credit than, perhaps, to suspend the judgment of the reader, since they are supported only by one single *suspected* testimony." Bishop Nicholson, in his "English Historical Library," 2nd edition, p. 119, says :—"In the months of December and January in the year following (1680), the historian (Burnet) had the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for what he had already done; and was desired to proceed to the finishing of the whole work, which was done accordingly. This historian gives a punctual account of all the affairs of the Reformation, from its first beginning in the reign of Henry VIII., till it was finally completed and settled by Queen Elizabeth, A.D., 1559. And the whole is penned in such a masculine style as becomes an historian, and such as is this author's property in all his writings. The collection of records which he gives in the conclusion of each volume are good vouchers of the truth of all he delivers (as such) in the body of his history; and are much more perfect than could be reasonably expected, after the pains taken in Queen Mary's days to suppress everything that carried the marks of the Reformation upon it. The work has had so much justice done it, as to meet with a general acceptance abroad, and to be translated into most of the European languages; insomuch that even the most piquant of the author's enemies allow it to have a reputation firmly and deservedly established. Indeed, some of the French writers have cavilled at it; but the most eminent of them (M. Varillas and M. Le Grand) have received due correction from the author himself." In his admirable speech at Bristol, previous to the election in 1780, Burke says :—"Look in the History of Bishop Burnet; he is a witness without exception." Dr. Johnson says :—"Burnet is very entertaining. The style, indeed, is mere chit-chat. I do not believe that he intentionally lied; but he was so much prejudiced, that he took no pains to find out the truth." The reader may refer to Dr. Hickes's criticism (Atterbury's Correspondence, i., 492). Calamy's expression is a significant, if not a very complimentary one, as regards Burnet's candour. (Life and Times, i., 59). Lord Brougham says Burnet was "a good historian and an honest man." Lord John Russell says :—"The 'History of his Own Times,' which Burnet left behind him, is a work of great instruction and amusement. His ignorance of parliamentary forms has

led him into some errors, it would be absurd to deny, but these faults do not detract from the general usefulness of his work." Lord Dartmouth, in a note in Dr. Routh's edition, says:—"The most partial and malicious heap of scandal and misrepresentation, that was ever collected for the laudable design of giving a false impression of persons and things to all future ages." Macaulay, in his "Essay on Sir William Temple," says Burnet was "a rash and impartial writer;" but this historian in his summary of the character of Burnet, in his "History of England," ii., 175, 2nd edition, gives a very different and far juster estimate of it. Smyth, in his "Lectures on Modern History," says:—"Burnet had all the merits and all the faults of an ardent, impetuous, head-strong man, whose mind was honest, and whose objects were noble. Whatever he reports himself to have heard or seen, the reader may be assured he really did hear and see. But he must receive his representations and conclusions with that caution which must ever be observed when we listen to the relation of a warm and busy partizan, whatever be his natural integrity and good sense." The "Quarterly Review," says:—"His History is one which the present editor (Dr. Routh) truly says will never lose its importance, but will continue to furnish materials for other historians, and to be read by those who wish to derive their knowledge of facts from the first sources of information. The accuracy of his narrative has often been attacked with vehemence, and often, it must be confessed, with success, but not so often as to overthrow the general credit of his work." Charles Lamb, in his "Letters," says in reference to Burnet's "Own Times":—"Did you ever read that garrulous, pleasant history? He tells his story like an old man past political service, bragging to his sons on winter evenings of the part he took in public transactions when his 'old cap was new.' Full of scandal, which all true history is. So palliative; but all the stark wickedness that actually gives the *momentum* to national actors. Quite the prattle of age and outlived importance. Truth and sincerity staring out upon you perpetually *in alto relievo*. Himself a party-man, he makes you a party-man. None of the cursed philosophical Humeian indifference, 'so cold and unnatural and inhuman.' None of the cursed Gibbonian fine writing, so fine and composite. None of Dr. Robertson's periods with three members. None of Mr. Roscoe's sage remarks, all so apposite and coming in so clever lest the reader should have had the trouble of drawing an inference. Burnet's good old prattle I can bring present to my mind; I can make the revolution present to me." In the Napier charter-chest was discovered a letter in the handwriting of Burnet. It was written in great fear, on a Sunday morning, during the crisis of the Rye House plot, and while Lord Russell was on the eve of his execution. Addressed to Lord Halifax, it was intended to meet the eye of the king. It seems to show the writer's want of veracity in divers subsequent statements in his history. The future bishop also protests that he will never accept of any preferment, promises never more to oppose the Court, and intimates an intention to display the king in the fairest light—"If I ever live to finish what I am about;" that was the "History of his Own Time," in which the severe portrait of Charles afterwards appeared. Mark Napier, in his "Montrose and the Covenanters," vol. i., pp. 13-21, says:—"Here then is Burnet *Redivivus;* and now the bishop may call Montrose a coward or what he likes, and persuade the world of his own super-eminent moral courage, if he can. For our own part, after reading the above letter, we do not believe one malicious word of what Burnet has uttered in the 'History of his Own Time' against Charles I. and Montrose; and he has therein said nothing about them that is not malicious. So much for Bishop Burnet, whose authority must henceforth always be received *cum nota*."

In the house in St. John's-square which had been occupied by Bishop Burnet, lived, near the close of last century, the then celebrated Dr. Towers, a man who, by his indomitable energy and unflagging perseverance, had raised himself from the humble ranks of life to become the intimate friend and associate of some of the most distinguished nobility and men of genius who flourished in the Georgian era.

Joseph Towers was born in Southwark on the 13th of March, 1737, and was the son of a very humble bookseller. His early education was limited; but having a fondness for books, his mind became well stored with miscellaneous knowledge. His father apprenticed him to a printer, at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire. He returned to London in 1764, and for some time earned a living as a journeyman printer. He next contracted marriage with a lady of property, and for a time kept a

bookseller's shop in Fore-street. Not succeeding, he relinquished it in 1774; but during this period he was actively engaged in literature, and compiled the first seven volumes of "British Biography." His theological studies had qualified him to accept at this time the ministerial charge of a dissenting congregation at Highgate. His religious opinions were Arian; and though he associated with many zealous Unitarians, having been chosen in 1778 forenoon preacher at Newington-green Chapel, he expressed no doubts of Christ's pre-existence. About this time he was engaged to write several lives for a new edition of the "Biographia Britannica," edited by Dr. Kippis. For this elaborate work he compiled upwards of fifty articles, to which his initial "T." is appended. In 1779 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the honorary title of LL.D. In early life he became sincerely attached to the principles of liberty, both in respect to Church and State. When a political club was formed, entitled "A Society for Constitutional Information," Dr. Towers was balloted for and appointed secretary. Whilst fulfilling this function he was laid under arrest in 1794, and the books and papers of the society were seized by order of the Government. On the 13th of July he was summoned before a Privy Council, and examined relative to the proceedings of the club, which included amongst its members the Dukes of Norfolk and Richmond, the Earls of Effingham and Derby, Sir William Jones, Sheridan, Drs. Price and Kippis, Mr. Jebb, and Erskine. At this council, Towers, though visibly depressed by yellow jaundice, evinced great firmness, and was dismissed, on the intercession of the primate, without a trial.

His manners were pleasing, and recommended him to the best society; and his conversation—easy, good-humoured, and instructive—was enlivened by anecdotes and remarks which rendered him everywhere a welcome guest. He died at his house in St. John's-square, on the 20th of May, 1799, in the 63rd year of his age. During his lifetime many theological tracts and political pamphlets were the productions of his pen; these were collected in 1796, and published in three vols. 8vo.

At No. 45, in St. John's-square, that eminent and pious divine, Dr. Adam Clarke, lodged during his occasional visits to London—a suitably-furnished room in the house being reserved for his especial use by his sons, who in partnership carried on a printing business on the third floor of these premises. At this establishment were printed most of Dr. Clarke's writings, particularly his chief one, "The Holy Scriptures, &c., with marginal readings, a collection of parallel texts, and copious summaries to each chapter; with a Commentary and critical notes, designed as a help to the better understanding of the Scriptures," eight vols. 4to., 1810-26. To this great work, which does honour to his name, and will bequeath it to a late posterity, he devoted such leisure moments as he could abstract from the ordinary duties of his profession, which were very severe; and in this arduous labour he tells us he had no assistant—not even a single week's help—from an amanuensis. "I have laboured alone," says he, "for nearly twenty-five years previously to the work being sent to press, and fifteen years have been employed in bringing it through the press; and thus about forty years of my life have been consumed." Just before his decease, Dr. Clarke paid a visit to his sons in St. John's-square, and, returning to the house of a friend at Bayswater, he was seized with cholera, of which he died on Sunday, August 26th, 1832, and was buried a few days after in the rear of the Wesleyan Chapel in the City-road, near the mortal remains of his great exemplar, John Wesley. Dr. Clarke published "A Narrative of the Last Illness and Death of Richard Porson, A.M., Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, and Principal Librarian of the London Institution, with a Fac-simile of an Ancient Greek Inscription, which was the chief subject of his last Literary Conversation. By Adam Clarke, LL.D., Principal Librarian of the Surrey Institution, London, 1808." 8vo. A catalogue of Dr. Clarke's MSS. was published by his son after his decease.

The Wesleyan Chapel which adjoins the house—a structure in the Early Decorated style of architecture—was erected from the designs of Mr. James Wilson, architect, Bath, in the year 1849, at a cost of £3800, by the congregation of Wilderness-row Chapel, from whence they removed on its completion. There are sittings in this place for 1300 persons. The front, which is relieved by a central gable and two turrets, has a large central window divided into four lights. The interior is in harmony with the same style of architecture, having an open roof, the trusses of which, as far as

they are open, being filled with flowing tracery. The spandrels spring from stone corbels. The chapel is constructed of brick with Bath stone dressings.

Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington's Printing Office.—On the west side of St. John's-square is the old established printing office of Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington. It was first formed by Mr. James Emonson, a relation and once partner of the celebrated printer, William Bowyer. Emonson was the original proprietor, printer, and publisher of "Lloyd's Evening Post," the first number of which issued from this office, in the month of August, 1757.[1] After carrying on business with reputation for upwards of twenty years, he retired with a competency, still continuing to reside in St. John's-square, where he died on the 6th of June, 1780. "Other persons connected with this printing office have been Mr. John Rivington, one of the sons of Mr. Charles Rivington, of St. Paul's Churchyard, who died June 28th, 1785; Mr. Deodatus Bye, a very worthy and amiable man, who died February 12th, 1826; Mr. Henry Law, second son of Mr. Bedwell Law, and brother of Mr. Charles Law, wholesale bookseller, and partner with Mr. G. B. Whittaker, in Ave Maria-lane. The present head of the printing office in St. John's-square is Mr. William Rivington, youngest son of Mr. Charles Rivington, the late highly respected bookseller, of Waterloo-place."[2] The firms which followed Messrs. Bye and Law in succession were Messrs. Law and Gilbert, and Messrs. Robert and Richard Gilbert. After the early death of his brother Robert, Mr. Richard Gilbert continued to carry on the business alone until 1830, when he was joined by Mr. William Rivington. Mr. Richard Gilbert was the author of the "Liber Scholasticus," a useful publication, which passed through more than one edition. He was also the compiler and editor of at least three editions, in 1818, 1822, and 1836, of "The Clerical Guide, or Ecclesiastical Directory," a list of benefices in England and Wales, and their incumbents, since superseded by the annual publication of the "Clergy List," which was commenced in 1840; and he was the projector and for many years editor of the "Clergyman's Almanack," which first appeared in 1819, published by the Company of Stationers. In 1841 he was elected one of the stockkeepers of the company. He was an active governor of Christ's and St. Bartholomew's Hospital; and was for many years one of the general committee, and finally one of the auditors of the "Royal Literary Fund for the Relief of Authors." He was, we believe, mainly instrumental in procuring the erection of two churches in the parish, viz., those of St. Mark and St. Philip. He died in Euston-square, February 26th, 1852, aged 58, and was buried on March 4th, in the vaults of St. John's Church, Clerkenwell, in which parish he was born, and with which he had been connected throughout his life.

Mr. William Rivington continued to carry on the business, as sole partner, until July, 1863, when his nephew, Mr. Alexander Rivington, became a member of the firm.

The present printing offices of Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington in St. John's-place were erected under the superintendence of Mr. Griffith, who has been architect to the establishment since 1845. In 1849 St. John's-place was called St. John's-mews.

[1] Timperly.

[2] Nicholls's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii., p. 484.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, CLERKENWELL—CONTINUED.

ST. JOHN'S-LANE :—The former noble Residents there—Notices of Lord Chief Justice Keeling, Matthew Poole the Annotator, and Sir Thomas Forster, Residents in this Throughfare—The Old Baptist's Head—A Halting Place for Prisoners on their way to Newgate—Old Painting and Chimney-piece in the House—Smith's Mug House—Mug House Clubs—The Old Queen's Head. SUTTON-STREET, formerly called Swan-alley :—Defoe's Story of one who died of the Plague there. LITTLE SUTTON-STREET. TURNMILL-STREET :—Its early Notorious Character—Mention thereof by the early Poets—The Harbour of Thieves and Burglars until a recent period—The White Hart—"Jack Ketch's Warren"—The Refuge of Sir John Oldcastle—Dr. Worthington, one of the Translators of the Douay Bible, a Resident in this Street—Also Giles Russell and Thomas Crosse—Tradesmen's Tokens—Assault on Sir Arthur Hesilrigge—The Great Plague—St. John's Priory Account—Petition Relating to Houses in this Street—Rose-alley—The Gifts of Constantius Bennett, Henry Stokes, Thomas Herbert, Nicholas Row, Lady Weston, Sir Michael Stanhope, William Sanderson, John Smith, Leonard Wigglesworth, John Poole, and John Barker. VICTORIA-STREET, now Farringdon-road :—Its Formation projected a Century ago—Various Acts of Parliament authorising its construction—The Road made by Contract in 1855—Cost of the Work—Discovery of Spade Guineas in the Rubbish—Price of Land in this Thoroughfare. WEST-STREET, formerly Chick-lane :—Red Lion Tavern—Jones, the Sweep, hidden there—The Name of Victoria-street changed to Farringdon-road—The Metropolitan Railway—An old Scheme—Nature of the Locality through which it passes—An Act of Parliament for the Railway obtained—Subsequent Acts—Proposed Route of Line—Estimates of Cost—Assumed Capabilities and Advantages—Commencement of the Line—Engineering Difficulties—Accidents attending the Works—Bursting of the Fleet Sewer—Consequences thereof—Restoration of the Damaged Works—Line Finished—Opening thereof—Results—Contest with the Great Western Railway Company—Description of the Line and the Stations—Relics and Antiquities found during the Excavation of the Line. WILDERNESS-ROW :—Why so called—The Ground on which it stands called "No Man's Land"—A Burial Place for those who died of the Plague in 1348—Pardon Chapel and Churchyard—Discoveries on the Site—Ministers formerly living in the Row—The Fleet River—Origin of the Name—Its Source—Once called Holeborne—The early Contamination of its Waters—Complaint of the Earl of Lincoln, in 1307, that Ships were impeded by the Filth thrown into it—Cleansed several times, but with little avail—Its Four Bridges—The Fleet-street Bridge Conduit—The Ditch bricked over—Articles found in the Bed of the Fleet—Destructive Overflows of the Stream after heavy Rains and Thaws—The Fleet Sewer—Its Capacity and Dimensions—The Sewer vested in the Metropolitan Board of Works.

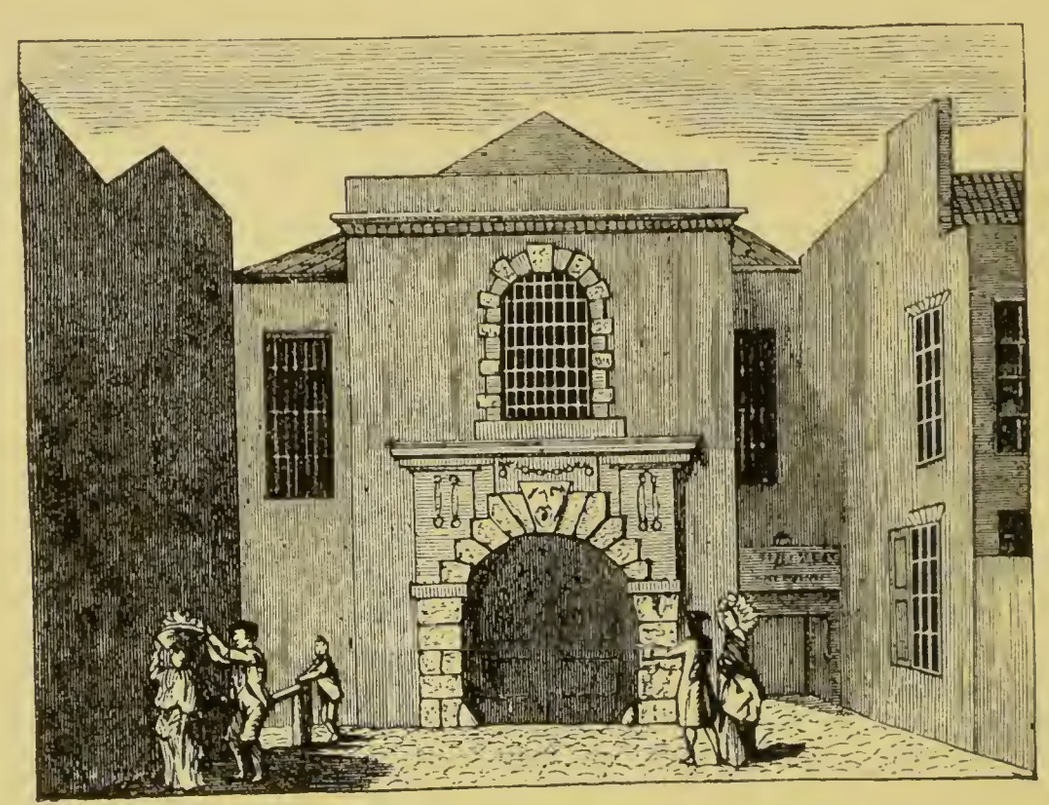
ST. JOHN'S LANE.

ST. JOHN'S-LANE was in olden time the principal approach from the City to the magnificent Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the palatial abode of the Lord Prior and of many valiant knights hospitallers, who fared sumptuously every day at their master's table. What a glorious picture does imagination, aided by the indubitable facts of history, present of the splendid pageants which, in the days of chivalry, passed along this highway, their pomp and splendour ofttimes swelled by the gorgeous retinue of some kingly potentate or prince of royal blood! What an array have we of glittering lances, blazoned shields, and fluttering pennons—heralds in their gaudy tabards—knights, the flower of England's nobility, mounted on stately chargers, richly caparisoned! Obsequious esquires, and the fair dames and daughters of nobles, grace by their presence the magnificent cortege, pleased to follow their lords and lovers to the tournament in the neighbouring Smithfield; for their

Bright eyes
Reign influence, and adjudge the Prize!

But we must turn, though with reluctance, from the beautiful romance of chivalry and all its bright associations, to the consideration of more sober things.

Early in the seventeenth century, about the year 1619, when Clerkenwell was a *beau quartier*—the Belgravia of the East, from the numerous residences of the aristocracy within its boundaries—many noble personages resided in St. John's-lane. Of these were—My Lord Berkeley, Sir James Arthurlong, the Lady Cheteley, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Anthony Barker, and Lord Chief Justice Keeling, or Kelynge, who, lacking in an eminent degree that quality which is "mightiest in the mighty"—mercy—in pursuance of a rigid statute, sentenced the poor Bedfordshire tinker, Bunyan,



VIEW OF THE NEW PRISON, CLERKENWELL, EARLY IN THE PRESENT CENTURY.[1]

to three months' imprisonment for being, to use the words of his indictment, "a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles," wherein the pure gospel of Christ was then preached. Keeling, in 1661, as we gather from an old rate book, abode in St. John's-lane, in the house next to the mansion of Lord Berkeley, which stood at the south-west corner of Berkeley-street, and paid 2s. 6d. per month towards the support of the poor, the amount which he would pay having been "referred to his honour's pleasure."[2] Here Sir John Keeling had two, if not more, children borne him by his wife, as the following extract from the parish register of baptisms serves plainly to show:—

"1662.—Mary, daughter of Sir John Keeling and Lady Mary. 1666, May 14th.—Alice, daughter of Sir John Keeling, Knt., Lord Chief Justice of England, and Dame Mary, his wife."[3]

Lord Campbell, in his "Lives of the Lord Chief Justices of England," makes no mention of Keeling's place of residence, nor does he give any particulars of his domestic history. We gather from Campbell's "Life of Lord Chief Justice Kelynge" that he was elevated to the bench soon after the Restoration. The appointment was considered a bad one. He was concerned in the trial of the regicides. "The new Chief Justice," writes Campbell, "even exceeded public expectation by the violent, fantastical, and ludicrous manner in which he comported himself. He was unspeakably proud of the collar which he wore as Chief Justice; this alone distinguished him externally from the puisnes." In his report of the resolution of the judges, prior to the trial of Lord Morley for murder,

[1] *Vide* page 184.

[2] *Vide* page 10, note.

[3] *Vide* page 47.

he considers the following important:—"We did all resolve, *una voce*, that we were to attend at the trial in our scarlet robes, and the Chief Judges in their collars of S.S., which I did accordingly." His contempt of the law was notorious:—

"Some persons were indicted before him for attending a conventicle; and although it was proved that they had assembled on the Lord's-day with Bibles in their hands, without Prayer-books, they were acquitted. He thereupon fined the jury 100 marks apiece, and imprisoned them till the fines were paid. Again, on the trial of a man for murder, who was suspected of being a Dissenter, and whom he had a great desire to hang, he fined and imprisoned all the jury, because, contrary to his directions, they brought in a verdict of manslaughter. Upon another occasion, when he was committing a man in a very arbitrary manner, the famous declaration in Magna Charta being cited to him, that 'no freeman shall be imprisoned except by judgment of his peers or the law of the land,' the only answer given by my Lord Chief Justice of England was to repeat with a loud voice Cromwell's rhyme—'Magna Charta—Magna—A!!!'"[1]

The grand Committee of Justice appointed by the House of Commons, in 1667, preferred a charge against him, "that he hath undervalued, vilified, and condemned the Magna Charta, the great preserver of our lives, freedom, and property." The haughty judge was cited to the bar of the House, and, in his turn, was a suppliant for that mercy which he had often denied to others. He humbly petitioned the House to stay proceedings. His prayer was granted. He was abundantly tame for the rest of his days, but fell into utter contempt, and, after languishing for some time, died on the 9th of May, 1671.

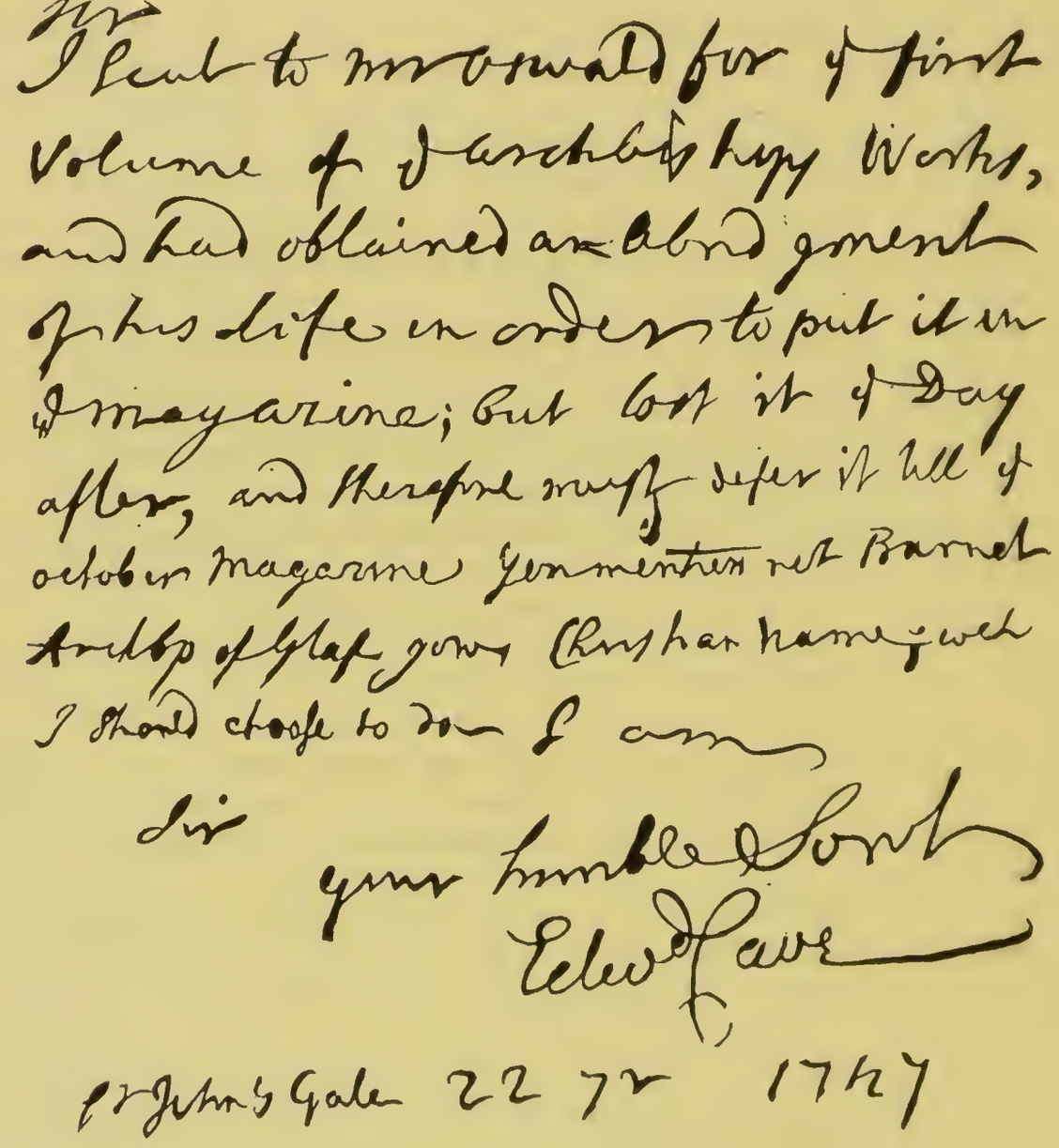
After his shameful fall, it is highly probable, if not certain, that Keeling retired to his house in St. John's-lane, and, whilst here living in seclusion, compiled a small folio volume of cases, which are, in Lord Campbell's estimation, "of no value whatever, except to make us laugh at some of the silly egotisms with which they abound." The MS. of these came into the possession of his grandson and heir at his decease, and some years afterwards they were approved by several eminent lawyers, and published. The following is a transcript of the title page of a copy in the King's Library at the British Museum:—"A Report of Divers Cases in Pleas of the Crown, adjudged and determined in the reign of the late King Charles II., with directions for the Justices of the Peace and others. Collected by Sir John Kelyng, Knt., late Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench. From the original MS. under his own hand." This edition was published in 1708.

In St. John's-lane, in 1677, resided Matthew Poole, an eminent Nonconformist divine, a diligent preacher, and a hard student. After ten years' indefatigable study, he completed his "Synopsis Criticorum Biblicorum," in five vols. folio. He is, however, better known by his "Annotations on the Bible." While he was drawing up this work, it was his usual custom to rise at three or four o'clock a.m., and take a raw egg about nine, and another about twelve, then continue his studies until the afternoon was far advanced, when he went abroad, and spent the evening at the house of some friend in cheerful conversation. He testified his zeal against Popery in a treatise concerning the infallibility of the church, printed in 1666, and in the following year by the publication of a volume entitled "Dialogues between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant, wherein the principal Points and Arguments of both Religions are truly proposed and examined"—a work of which there have been numerous reprints. His former work on the infallibility of the church, entitled the "Nullity of the Romish Faith, &c.," was reprinted in 1679. This kindled the ire of the Roman Catholics against him, and in the vicinity of his own residence he was well nigh becoming a victim to their malice. When the depositions made by Titus Oates concerning the "Meal Tub Plot" were printed, Poole observed his own name in the list of persons who were to be got rid of for their hostility to Catholicism. This did not alarm him, "till one night, having passed a merry evening with his friend Mr. Alderman Ashurst, on leaving, he invited a friend to accompany him. When they came to a narrow passage (Jerusalem-passage) which leads from Clerkenwell into St. John's-court—*i. e.* Square—there were two men standing at the entrance, one of whom, as Poole came along, cried out, 'Here he is;' upon which the other replied, 'Let him alone, for there is somebody with him.' As soon as they passed, Poole asked his friend whether he heard what those men said, adding, 'I had been murdered

[1] *Campbell's Lives*, vol. i., p. 509.

to night had you not been with me.'" This *rencontre* so intimidated him that he immediately retired to Holland, where he died, it is supposed of poison, at Amsterdam, in October, 1679, aged 56.[1]

The Old Baptist's Head, in St. John's-lane, was formerly distinguished by a painted sign of John the Baptist's head in a charger. This house, which has been shorn down and stuccoed to the unmeaning aspect of a place that might have been erected any time within the last fifty years, was originally part of a large mansion of the Elizabethan age, and early in the sixteenth century was the residence of Sir Thomas Forster, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, who died here May 18th, 1612, aged 63, and was removed from hence to Hunsden, in Northamptonshire, that his remains might be buried in the "tomb of his fathers."



EDWARD CAVE'S AUTOGRAPH.[2]

This mansion had in former times the usual characteristics of the Elizabethan style, and its bay windows were embellished with painted glass. There still remains in the present taproom a curiously carved stone mantelpiece, which is supposed to have been executed during the lifetime of Judge Forster, as the blazon of the shield carved in the centre is presumed to be that of the Forster family. In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for November, 1813, p. 425, is an engraving of this mantelpiece. It

[1] *The Nonconformists' Memorial*, ed. by PALMER, 1802, vol. i., p. 169.

[2] *Vide* page 252.

is said to be in the parlour, and we read that "the arms in the centre, the first quarter, a chevron between three bugle horns, apply to the name of Duncan, but no trace is to be found who was the possessor at the time the above was placed there. The rooms are lofty and spacious, with panelled wainscot, as made use of in the time of Elizabeth, and, in the taproom, on the wall, is the representation of a Dutch wake." This old painting is ascribed to Hemskerke. Egbert Hemskerke was born at Haerlem, in 1645. He studied under Peter Grebber, but imitated the manner of Brauwer. He quitted his own country to settle in London, where, for a long time, his pictures were highly esteemed. He had a great humour, with a lively imagination, which caused him to delight in wild, fanciful, and uncommon subjects, as the nocturnal intercourse of witches, devils, and spectres, and the temptations of St. Anthony. He also painted drunken scenes and rural sports, which he represented in a very spirited manner. It was customary with Hemskerke to introduce his own portrait among the droll scenes and conversations which he designed, and, for that purpose, he had always a small looking-glass placed near his easel, though his countenance was far from being handsome. He died in London in 1704.[1]

More than a century since, when the Old Baptist's Head retained much of its original appearance, though converted to the purposes of an inn, it was doubtless resorted to by some of the *literati*, who did honour to, and received substantial favour from, Cave, the enterprising printer and publisher of the "Gentleman's Magazine," at St. John's-gate. That Colossus of literature, Dr. Johnson, his companion in misfortune, Garrick, the dissolute Savage, and the amiable Goldsmith, there can be little doubt, from their connection with the press at St. John's-gate, were occasional frequenters of the house. In later years it became a house of refreshment for prisoners on their way to Newgate from the New Prison, Clerkenwell. The halt of a gang of prisoners at the Baptist's Head was made the subject of an engraving in the "Malefactors' Register." It is both curious and interesting, as showing the former character of the exterior of the house, and the indulgence suffered to criminals in a past age.

Early in the last century, at a time of great political excitement, one of those unions known as the "Mug House Clubs," held its meetings at a house of public entertainment in this thoroughfare; it was a loyal association of gentlemen and respectable tradesmen mutually pledged to support the Protestant succession of the House of Hanover, who met of an evening to discuss politics over sundry mugs of ale, or to listen to a song.

It was customary to open these establishments with a festive entertainment, when the proprietor made a speech, and vaunted of what he had done against the Jacobite party—the Jacks as they were called. The following is an advertisement of one of these festive meetings to be held in St. John's-lane:—"This is to give notice to all gentlemen who are well affected to the present establishment, and lovers of home-brewed ale, that this present Thursday, being the 12th of April, Mr. Smyth's Mug House, in St. John's-lane, near Smithfield, will be opened." A prologue, spoken by Mr. Smyth at the opening of his Mug House, is a curiosity in its way, and may serve to amuse, inasmuch as to certain passages histrionic effect was to be given.

THE PROLOGUE SPOKE BY MR. SMYTH AT THE OPENING OF HIS MUG HOUSE IN ST. JOHN'S LANE.

GENTLEMEN,

Since nothing can procure your custom quicker
Than to be loyal and to have good liquor,
I humbly hope to see this room each night
As full as now with company as bright.
As for my ale (*a*)—I am sure its right—for t'other
Why I don't love to talk or make a pother.
But oft I've been with Jacks (*b*) engaged,
And oft for speaking truth the fools enraged;
Yet always had success whene'er they railed,
For if that (*c*) chanced to miss—this (*d*) never failed.

(*a*) Tastes it. (*b*) Jacobites. (*c*) Pointing at his head. (*d*) His oaken towel.

[1] PILKINGTON'S *Dictionary of Painters.*

But now you'll say, because I'm grandpapa,
He's old, and to a tory must give way.
Hold—not so fast, give me of this (*a*) plenty,
I'll yet do thus (*b*), or thus (*c*), with one of twenty,
But banging several of these paltry men,
It costs me many scores of pounds—what then ?
Your visits soon will make it up again.
.
Our only trust's in Whiggish friends,
Let's have their favour, and we gain our ends,
A Mug House Club has lent Long Acre fame,
And swiftly spread throughout the realm its name ;
So you, kind Sirs, can with the greatest ease
Make St. John's Lane as famous as you please.[1]

(*a*) Takes up the mug. (*b*) Mimicking to box. (*c*) Mimicking to fence.

We read in the "Weekly Journal" for Saturday, August 11th, 1716, that "Adams, the tory, a surgeon's apprentice, in Loathbury, came to Mr. Smith's mug house in St. John's Lane, and damned and cursed Queen Anne, thinking to decoy honest gentlemen into the same snare."

The following description of the Mug House Club in Long-acre, by a contemporary—the renowned Daniel Defoe—will serve to show the constitution and character of these political associations, which met for the reformation of Toryism, and the propagation of loyalty to the happy government of King George I. :—

"The Mughouse club in Long Acre, where every Wednesday and Saturday a mixture of gentlemen, lawyers, and tradesmen meet in a great room, and are seldom under a hundred ; they have a grave old gentleman in his own grey hairs, now within a few months of ninety years old, who is their president, and sits in an armchair some steps higher than the rest of the company, to keep the whole room in order. A harp always plays all the time at the lower end of the room, and every now and then one or other of the company rises and entertains the rest with a song. Here is nothing drank but ale, and every gentleman hath his separate mug, which he chalks on the table where he sits as it is brought in ; and everyone retires when he pleases as from a coffee house. The room is always so diverted with songs and drinking from one table to another to one another's healths, that there is no room for politics or anything that can sour conversation. It was not always so. One must be up by seven to get room, and after ten the company are for the most part gone. This is a winter's amusement that is agreeable enough to a stranger for once or twice, and he is well diverted with the different humours when the mugs overflow. On King George's accession to the throne the Tories had so much the better of their friends to the Protestant succession that they gained the mobs on all public days to their side. This induced a set of gentlemen to establish Mug houses in all the corners of this great city, for well-affected tradesmen to meet and keep up the spirit of loyalty to the Protestant succession, and to be ready on all tumults to join their forces for the suppression of the Tory mobs."[2]

For the purpose of suppressing riots the tradesmen "were provided with a great number of ashen cudgels, not unlike quarter staves, with which, upon the advice of any tumultuous proceedings in the streets, they sallied out, and frequently after a sharp engagement dispersed the mob."[3]

At the south-west corner of St. John's-lane, just beyond the boundary mark of the parish in this direction, is a house of public entertainment, known as the Queen's Head—an ancient structure with a comparatively new face upon it. From an engraving of the Old Queen's Head, in the "European Magazine," of May, 1787, the house appears originally to have consisted of three projecting stories, the uppermost one of which had two gables, and was covered by a weather-boarding. At the period we have indicated there was legibly written on the shop facia, "Dealer in Foreign Spirituous Liquors;" above this, painted on panel, were the royal arms of England, bearing the date of 1595 ; and on the storey above, placed within a niche, was a bust of Queen Elizabeth, carved in stone. A tablet affixed at present to the south wall of the house, facing into St. John-street, records that "Opposite this place Hicks's Hall formerly stood," &c.[4]

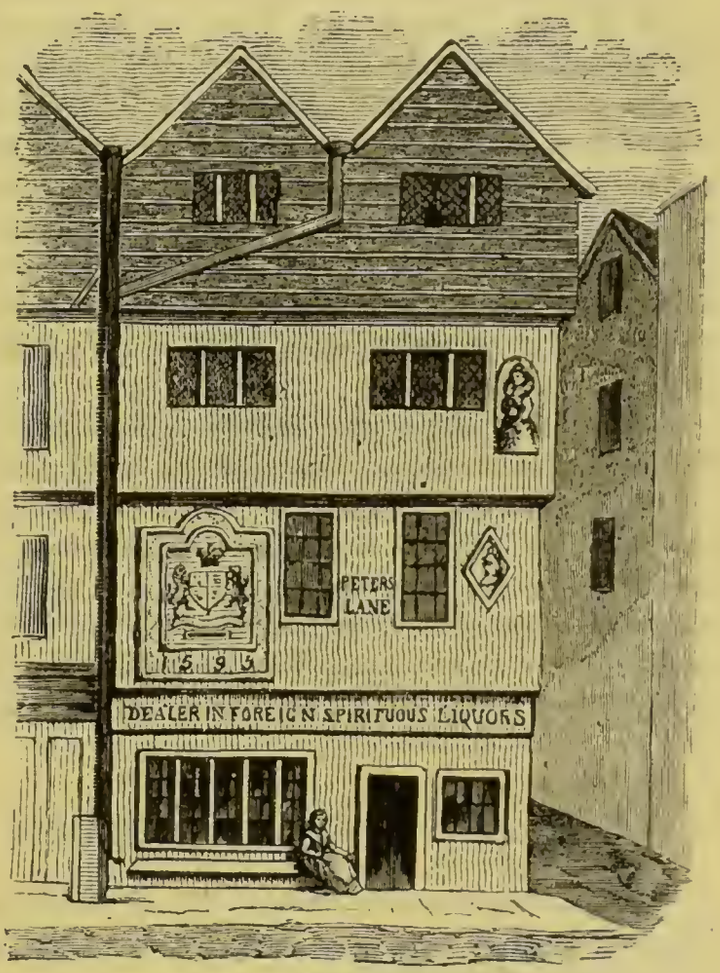
In 1666 there were forty-one houses in St. John's-lane assessed to the poor's-rate.

[1] *Flying Post*, No. 3791, 1716.
[2] Defoe's *Journey through England*, 1722.
[3] Allen's *London*, vol. ii. p. 11.
[4] *Vide* page 296 for the remainder of the inscription.



ST. MARK'S CHURCH, MYDDELTON SQUARE.

Appended to Old Moore's Almanack, for the year of human redemption 1705, is a curious advertisement of a maker of glass eyes, then a resident in this thoroughfare :—"Mr. James Smith, the famous operator in glass, son-in-law of the late famous Mr. William Boyce, now liveth at the Golden Griffin, in St. John's-lane, near Clerkenwell, London, and performeth the same operation in glass, especially in making all sorts of artificial eyes so exactly like the natural, having the very motion too so very exactly, that they may be worn by any persons for many years and not known to their relations."



THE QUEEN'S HEAD, ST. JOHN STREET, IN 1787.

In a complete and private list of all the printing houses in and about the cities of London and Westminster, together with the printers' names, compiled in 1724, we find the names of Burton, Downing, Holt, and Staples, in St. John's-lane; Parker, in Goswell-street; and Palmer, in Great Swan-alley: all of whom were described as well affected to King George. Dalton, also of St. John's-lane, who was a non-juror; and Lee, of the same place, who was said to be a "High flyer."

From St. John's-lane westward to the Metropolitan Railway, bounded on the south by Cowcross-street, and on the north by the houses which face Clerkenwell-green, there is a thick population. Throughout a considerable part of this district, there are many men who work at various branches of watchmaking, lapidaries, engravers, and others, in the midst of their own families, in parts of houses in which there are several other families. In many of the houses here the closets and dust-bins are within the passage at the bottom of the staircase; the closets are in several instances ill-constructed—some untrapped, or badly supplied with water; and the staircases are without ventilation. Here is much need for sanitary reform.

SUTTON STREET.

This street is built upon a portion of the valuable estate left by the "Good Thomas Sutton, that truly worthy and never-to-be-forgotten gentleman, the Phœnix of charity," for the endowment of that excellent but abused institution, Sutton's Hospital, better known as the Charterhouse, of which he was the munificent founder. It will be observed that the Sutton Arms[1] are attached to most of the houses in this street, to certify the ownership of the property.

Originally, only the western portion of this thoroughfare (about one-third of the whole) was known as Sutton-street; the remainder was called Swan-alley, and by this name it is referred to by Defoe in his terrible history of the Great Plague of 1666. "They told us a story," writes he, "of a house in a place called Swan-alley, passing from Goswell-street, near the end of Old-street, into St. John-street, that a family was infected therein in so terrible a manner, that every one in the house died. The last person lay dead on the floor, and, as is supposed, had laid herself along to die

[1] *Or*, on a chevron between three annulets, *gules* as many crescents of the field.

just before the fire. The fire, it seems, had fallen from its place, being of wood, and had taken hold of the boards and joists, and burnt as far as the dead body, but had not taken hold of the dead body, though she had little more than a shift on, and had gone out of itself, not hurting the rest of the house, though it was a slight timber house. How true this might be I do not determine."

In 1666 there were 43 houses in Swan-alley assessed to the poor's-rate.

It is very probable that it is to Sutton-street, *alias* Swan-alley—being on the confines of Clerkenwell nearest the Charterhouse—that Mr. Charles Dickens alludes in his story of "Barnaby Rudge ; and his humorous and not untruthful description of the house of Varden, the locksmith—what it was, and what it was not—may aid us to a right conception of the aspect of this thoroughfare in ancient days:—"It was a modest building, not over newly-fashioned, not very straight, not large, not tall, not bold-faced, with great staring windows ; but a shy, blinking house, with a conical roof going up into a peak over its garret window of four small panes of glass. It was not built of brick or lofty stone, but of wood and plaster; it was not planned with a dull and wearisome regard to regularity, for no one window matched the other, or seemed to have the slightest reference to anything besides itself."

Little Sutton-street was formerly called Little Swan-alley ; and between Allen-street and Great Sutton-street there was a market, known as Swan-alley Market.

We read in the "Flying Post," No. 783, 1700, as follows:—"This is to give notice that there is a good parcel of neats of all sizes well cleaned and dryed to be sold by Thomas Lunt, in Swan-alley, near St. John St., at reasonable rates, also sheep's trotter bones." In "The Public Advertizement" for 5th October, 1775, is the following:—"On Thursday night some villains broke into the house of Mrs. Austin, the Man and Still, in Great Sutton Street, and carried off all the moneys and strong liquors except a cask of Geneva, which they left running on the floor."

TURNMILL STREET.

This thoroughfare, the western side of which was pulled down in 1856-7, for the Clerkenwell improvements, is one of great antiquity, and of peculiar interest, from its disreputable associations, it having been infamous for centuries past.

Early in the fourteenth century, in the reign of Henry IV., it is mentioned in an old document empowering certain persons to repair a stone bridge over the Fleet, near Trylmyl-streate, as this highway was then called. The line of this street is also to be traced, and is distinctly named in one of the earliest maps of London—Aggas's "Civitas Londinum," issued in the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1560. At a later period it is referred to in a letter addressed by Mr. Recorder Fleetwood to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, dated "the vj of Julie, 1585," containing some curious revelations concerning the thieves of London, and their school for the practice of thievery, and having appended to it a list of "Harboringe howses for maisterless men, and for such as lyve by thiefte and other such lyke sheefts." In this list, which is somewhat quaintly rendered, "Baker's howse, Turnmyll Streate," is mentioned as one of the proscribed places of resort. Stow, writing about this time, explains that Turnmill-street was so called from its proximity to the Fleet, or Turnmill or Tremill Brook, because divers mills were erected upon it. It was long vulgarly called Turnbull-street. In Hatton's "New View of London," 1708, we read, "Turnmill Street by some tho' falsely called Turnbull and Trunball Street." So familiar does this street's depraved character appear once to have been, that frequent references are to be found in the works of our early dramatists and their contemporaries to Turnbull-street and its profligate inhabitants. A few quotations from the works of old playwrights and others, strung together in chronological order, will serve to illustrate this. Nash, in "Pierce Penniles, his supplication to the Dieul," published in 1595, addressing that potentate, says, "I commend our uncleane sisters in Shoreditch, the Spittle, Southwarke, Westminster, and Turnbull Street, to the protection of your portership, hoping that you will speedily carry them to hell, there to keep open house for all you devils that come, and not to let our ayre be contaminated with their

sixpenny damnation any longer. Your dieulships bounden excerator, Pierce Penniles." Shakspeare, in the "Second Part of Henry IV.," written about the year 1598, makes allusion to this highway. Falstaff, reflecting upon what Justice Shallow has been saying, remarks, "This same starved justice hath done nothing but prate to me of the wildness of his youth and the feats he hath done in Turnbull-street, and every third word a lie, duer paid to the hearer than the Turk's tribute."

In Beaumont and Fletcher's "Scornful Ladie," act 3, scene 1, Saville, describing to Lovelace the doings of his brother in his absence, remarks, "Here has been such a hurry, such a din, such dismal drinking, swearing, and whoreing, that almost made me mad; we have lived in a continual Turnebull-street." In Beaumont and Fletcher's "Knight of the Burning Pestle," reference is made to a lady who was "stolen from her friends in Turnbull-street." Taffeta, the rich widow, in Lodowick Barry's "Ram Alley, or merrie trickes," a comedy printed in 1611, offended at the impudence of her would-be suitor, Captain Puff, a hectoring bully, bids him begone with this dismissal:—"You swaggering, cheating, Turnebull-streate rogue." In Ben Jonson's "Bartholomew Fair," 1614, act 2, Ursula is indignant at being charged with frequenting Turnbull-street. Again, in "The Chaste Maid of Cheapside," by Thomas Middleton, 1624, "Virgo passing for a maid was sued to by Sagittarus, there a gallant shooter, but here old, crabbed uncle Cancer here dwelling in Crooked Lane still crost the marriage, minding to bestow her upon Scorpious, a rich usurer. The girl, loathing the match, fell into folly with one Taurus, a gentleman, in Townbull-street, by whom she had twins, those Gemini there." In another comedy, by the same writer, reference is made to a particular house of ill fame. In "Anything for a Quiet Life," a French *abandon* is made to say, "J'ay une fille qui parle un peu François; elle conversa avec vous à la Fleur de Lys, en Turnbull Street." "Of Turnbull-street," says Lupton, 1632, "it is an ill name, and therefore half hanged. Here may be some probability of honesty, little or no demonstration, especially *a priori* I wish all in this street to take heed of their cellars, lest they fire first, and to lay their trading down, or else it will lay them down."[1] In Randolph's "Muses Looking Glass," 1638, act 4, scene 3, we read: "The yearly value of my fair manor of Clerkenwell is pounds so many, besides new year's capons—lordship of Turnbal so—which, with my Pickhatch, Grange and Shoreditch Farm, &c." This locality, eminently a vicious one, appears so at a still later period, as in "A Cure for Cuckolds," a pleasant comedy, by Thomas Webster, 1661, Pettifog says, "This informer comes to Turnbull Street to a victualling house, and there falls in league with a wench; now, Sir, this fellow in revenge of this informs against the bawd that kept the house, that she used cannes in her house, but the cunning jade comes into court and deposes she gave him true Winchester measure."

"The Merry Man's Resolution," in the "Roxburghe Ballads," contains a singular enumeration of the questionable localities of London, not long before the Restoration.

Now farewell to St. Giles
That standeth in the fields,
And farewell to Turnbal Street,
For that no comfort yields.
In White Crosse Street and Golden Lane
Do straping lasses dwell,
And so there do in every street
'Twixt that and Clerkenwell.
At Cow Crosse and Smithfield
I have much pleasure found,
Where weenches like to fayres
Did often trace the round.

In Marston's "Dutch Courtezan," act 1, scene 2, a comedy which was presented before the prince, on December 12th, 1613, as appears from an entry in the Revels account, one of the characters, in describing the life of a common prostitute, says:—"So much for her vocation, trade and life. As for her death, how can it be bad, since their wickednesse is alwayes before their eyes, and a deathe's head

[1] *London and the Countrey Carbanadoed, and quartred into several characters*, by D. Lupton, 1632, 12mo., Harl. Mis., vol. ix., p. 113.

most commonly on their middle finger? To conclude, 'tis most certaine they must needs both live well, and dye well, since most commonly they live in Clearkenwell and dye in Bridewell."

Vice of every kind long continued rampant in this locality, no measures being effectual for its suppression; the appointed officers of the law were both defied and terrified. At the close of the last century a reward of £300 was offered by proclamation for the apprehension of one Bunworth, the leader of a desperate gang of thieves; yet none dared to attempt his capture, such was the weak state of the law. Once, with daring effrontery, "On the approach of evening, he and his gang ventured towards London, and having got as far as Turnmill Street, the keeper of the Clerkenwell Bridewell happening to see Bunworth, called to Bunworth and said he wanted to speak with him. Bunworth hesitated, but the other assuring him that he intended no injury, and the thief being confident that his associates would not desert him, swore he did not regard the keeper, whom he advanced to meet with a pistol in his hand, the other miscreants walking on the opposite side of the street, armed with cutlasses and pistols. This singular spectacle attracted the attention of the populace; a considerable crowd soon gathered round them, on which Bunworth joined his companions, who thought their safest plan would be to retreat towards the fields; wherefore they kept together, and facing the people, retired in a body presenting their pistols, and swearing they would fire on any who should offer to molest them."[1]

This same Bunworth gave another proof of his audacity: sitting down at the door of a public-house in Holborn, where he was well known, he called for a pint of beer and drank it, holding the pistol in his hand by way of protection; he then went off with the greatest apparent unconcern.

The White Hart, in Turnmill-street, opposite Cock-court, was formerly a noted house of call for footpads and highwaymen. It was long since pulled down.

Formerly a large portion of this district was called "Jack Ketch's Warren," from the fact that a large number of the persons who were hung at Newgate came from the courts and alleys here, especially at the period when £1 notes were in circulation and forgeries were common. The disturbances which occurred in this neighbourhood were of so desperate a character that from thirty to forty constables would be marched down with cutlasses, it being frequently impossible for officers to act in less numbers, or unarmed.[2]

In "Poor Robin's Almanack" for 1709, we read the following announcement:—"Catalogus Librorum. The eighth liberal science, or the art of Scholding in a new and plainer method than hath formerly been practised at Billingsgate, Turnmill Street, and Ratcliff Highway, by Mrs. Abigail Tattlewell, professor of that science."

"The viii. day of October, 1416," says Stow, "was a parchment maker, of Trillmelle Street, drawn, hanged, and headed for that he had harboured Sir John Oldcastle." His head was afterwards set up on London-bridge for "tratory."[3] In "The Chronicle of London," edited by Sir N. H. Nicholas, p. 104, we read, "1415, the viij. day of October, was a p'chemyn' maker of Trillemille strete drawen and hanged and his head smyten of and set upon London brigge for tretory." This parchment maker was William, whom we have before referred to in our account of Sir John Oldcastle, "the good Lord Cobham."[4]

Among the issue rolls of the first year of Henry V. is an entry of money paid to certain constables of Smithfield, for having kept a careful watch in the night time to take Sir John Oldcastle, and for having seized certain books of the Lollards in the house of William, the parchment maker.[5]

In 1624, Dr. Thomas Worthington, one of the translators of the Douay Bible, and the author of "The Anker of Christian Doctrine," lived in Turnbull-street. The Douay Bible he sold for forty shillings, and "The Anker of Christian Doctrine," in four parts, was "sold by him at his lodgings in Turnbull Street," for fourteen shillings.[6]

[1] *Newgate Calendar.*

[2] *Notes and Narratives of a Six Years' Mission, principally among the Dens of London*, by J. Vanderkiste.

[3] Stow's *Annales*, p. 352.

[4] *Vide* page 120. And *vide* appendix.

[5] Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 330-332.

[6] Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare*, in Lord Somers' *Tracts*, vol. iii., p. 86.

In Faithorne's rare view or map of London, dated 1658, the houses on the western side of Turnmill-street are represented as having gardens leading down to the Fleet, which stream appears from the map to have been fenced on both sides.

On the west side of Turnmill-street, at the sign of the Swan, in 1661,[1] lived Giles Russell, an eminent brewer, who is entitled to our gratitude for having by his will, dated 29th August, 1664, and proved 15th March, 1670, bequeathed in trust an estate in Hertfordshire, for the education of three poor children of this parish, in Christ's Hospital, until they shall have reached sixteen years of age. Mr. Pascall, in his "Clerkenwell Charity Estates," 1851, informs us that Russell "gave his lands, &c., for the maintenance of nine poor children in Christ's Hospital—three for the town of Sherborne, three for St. Ann, Blackfriars, and three for Clerkenwell. A question arises on this bequest whether the parishes are not entitled to know what the estate produces; for if in the year 1669 it was sufficient for the support of nine children, it is not unreasonable to suppose at the present time the rental is five or six times what it then was. And the will directs that the said children shall be kept at school until sixteen years of age, and be then apprenticed by the school, if the funds are sufficient for that purpose. Now, I believe, it is a general rule at the school not to keep a boy over fourteen years of age, and only to allow the sum of £5 as a premium for apprenticing. But if the funds derived from this estate produce a sum more than equal to the ordinary keep of nine boys, surely the governors ought to carry out the full wish of the donor, whose property they hold for that purpose, and the acceptance of which places them under a moral obligation to perform it to the very letter. And it appears doubtful whether each child accepted in that school under this will is not legally entitled to be kept there and educated until sixteen years of age, and then to be apprenticed with a premium equal to what the estate produces as a surplus over the keep in the first instance; or, if the funds will allow it, whether a greater number of children ought not to be admitted under this gift." Mr. Pascall adds:—"The full particulars of this estate were given a few years ago before the Commissioners for Inquiry into School Charities, and printed in their Report. It is also stated in Hatton's 'New View of London,' published in 1708, under the head 'Christ's Hospital,' that Mr. Giles Russell, a brewer of Clerkenwell, gave estates to the value of £140 per annum, and £2000 in money, to the hospital, for the maintenance of nine children therein. As the will says nothing about the £2000 in money, it is presumed to be a mistake." A copy of Russell's will is given in Hutchins's "History of Dorsetshire" ("History of Sherborne," folio 114). The following is an extract therefrom:—

"Moreover, I give and devise to my trusty and well-beloved friends Thomas Geuge, of the parish of Saint Sepulchre, London, clerke; and William Jenkins, of the parish of Christchurch, London, clerke; Thomas Paul, of Saint Anne, Blackfryers, citizen and haberdasher, of London; Andrew Daeres, citizen and paper-stainer, of London; John Charles, of London, brewer; and John Fisher, of London, gentleman, all and singular my messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as well copyhold (which I have surrendered to the use of my last will) as freehold or charterhold, situate in the county of Hertford or elsewhere in England, wherein I have any estate of inheritance, to have and to hold unto the said Thomas Geuge, William Jenkins, Thomas Paul, Andrew Daeres, John Charles, and John Fisher, and their heirs and assigns, upon special trust and confidence, and to the intent and purpose, that they the said Thomas Geuge, William Jenkins, Thomas Paul, Andrew Daeres, John Charles, and John Fisher, their heirs and assigns, shall permit and suffer my dear and loving wife Mileah Russell, during her life, to have and receive the rents and profits of the said lands and hereditaments, so as she keep and maintain the same in good and tenantable reparations from time to time, with power to my said trustees, or the survivor of them (if they think fit), to demise or let the same unto the said Mileah for 99 years if she so long live, at the yearly rent of a peppercorn, and under such other covenants and conditions to restrain her and her assigns from waste, and for keeping the premises in good reparations and conditions, as the said trustees, or the survivor of them, or their heirs, shall think meet; and after her decease, then upon trust and confidence that they the said trustees and their heirs shall from time to time, and at all times, for ever permit and suffer the President, Treasurer, and Governors of Christ's Hospital, in London, commonly known by the name of the mayor and commonalty and citizens of the City of London, Governors of the possessions, revenues, and goods of the Hospital of Edward King of England the Sixth, of Christ, Bridewell, and Saint Thomas the Apostle, and their successors for ever, governors aforesaid, to have, receive, take, and enjoy the rents and profits of all and

[1] *Poor's Rate Book*, 1661.

singular the said messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments for the use of Christ's Hospital aforesaid, and not otherwise, to the intent and purpose that the said President, Treasurer, and Governors, and their successors for ever, shall, out of and with the same rents, issues, and profits of the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments, educate, bring up, and maintain, in Christ's Hospital aforesaid, Nine Poor Children, to be taken out of the town of Sherborne aforesaid, and the parishes of Anne, Blackfryers aforesaid, and Saint James, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, that is to say, Three out of the said town, and three out of the said parishes, until the same children shall accomplish the several ages of sixteen years, and then others to be taken out of the said respective town and parishes in their steads, or in the stead of any of them which shall happen to die or depart this mortal life before the accomplishment of such age, and so from time to time to continue and maintain the education of such children for ever as my gift, and also to place out the same children apprentices, if the rents, issues, and profits aforesaid shall be sufficient so to do; and the overplus of the said rents and profits (if any be) to go and be for the use of the said Hospital of Christ for ever. Provided always, and I do hereby further declare, limit, appoint, and enjoin, that the said Nine Poor Children above-mentioned to be taken out of the said town and parishes shall be from time to time so taken out at the election, nomination, and approbation of my said trustees, or any two of them, wherein I appoint that they shall in the first place regard and prefer such poor children of my kindred in the said town and parishes as they the said trustees, or any two of them, shall find or judge to stand in need thereof; and after the decease of any five of the said trustees, then I will and ordaine that the said poor children shall from time to time, for ever, be taken out of the said town and parishes by the election, nomination, and approbation of the churchwardens and overseers for the poor of the said respective town and parishes for the time being, or of the major part of them, wherein I appoint that they shall in the first place have respect to and prefer such poor children of my kindred in the said town and parishes as they the said churchwardens and overseers, or the major part of them, shall find or judge to stand in need thereof as aforesaid."

Amongst Akerman's "Tradesmen's Tokens," is one bearing "Giles Russell in (a Swan) Clerkenwell, 1657. G. M. R."

At the sign of the "Laber in Vane," in Turnmill-street, lived at the commencement of the last century, one Thomas Crosse, a chandler, whose copper farthing tokens bore the effigies of two women engaged in the vain task of scrubbing a blackamoor white.

The copper tokens of tradesmen carrying on business in this thoroughfare during some part of the seventeenth century, when, owing to a general scarcity of the small coin of the realm, every tradesman of any pretensions was a petty coiner, and struck off at pleasure in his own rude dies as many half-pence and farthings as the nature of his transactions required, are to be found in the cabinets of the curious. In the Beaufoy Collection, preserved at the Guildhall Library, are tokens, the mintage of the following traders, each bearing a characteristic device:—John Atkinson, in a green man, club on shoulder, *Rev.* Turnemill Streete; Simon Cooke in Turn, a game cock, in the field, *Rev.* Mill Streete, 1651, in the field, S. R. C.; At the Tunn in Turn, a tun in the field, *Rev.* Mill Streete, 1652, in the field, J. E. Gant.; Black Spred Eagel, spread eagle in the field, *Rev.* In Turnmill Streete.

In the year 1666 there were in this street 112 houses assessed to the poor.[1]

The incident referred to in the following extract from the "Journal of the House of Commons," May 21st, 1664, seems to refer to this locality:—"Sir Arthur Hesilrigge by command of the House related the circumstance of an assault made on him by the Earl of Stamford, and Henry Polton and Matthew Patsall, his servants, in the highway leading from Perpoole Lane to Clerkenwell, as he was peaceably riding from the House of Commons to his house in Islington, by striking him with a drawn sword and other offensive instruments, and was enjoined to keep the peace and not to send or receive any challenge."

In the year 1665 the out-parish of Clerkenwell was visited by the great plague, and the mortality occasioned by it was dreadful. "The infection," writes Defoe, "kept chiefly in the out-parishes, which being very populous, and fuller also of poor, the distemper found more to prey upon than in the city." The inhabitants of Clerkenwell, many of whom at that time were of noble birth and high station, could not have been very numerous, as there were not as yet five hundred houses in the entire parish; more than a fifth of these dwellings were in the purlieus of Turnmill-street, which thus early had acquired a name of infamy, and in which were as many courts and alleys as it had at any time

[1] Rate Book.

within memory. In an old ballad, written during the year of the plague, the filthy condition of the south-west portion of the parish is especially alluded to :—

> Noysome alleys and the stink
> Of stifled buildings, whose unsavoury breath,
> With soultry venom, cloyes the jaws of death,
> For next to sin, what doth the pest advance
> So much as slutt'ry and intemperanee ? [1]

The deadly visitation began in Clerkenwell early in the month of July ; from the 18th to the 25th 121 persons died of this pest ; from the 1st of August to the 8th, 136 perished ; and at the close of the month the mortality from plague had amounted to 576 ; from the 29th of August to the 3rd of October, 365 died ; from this time the virulence of this fearful epidemic continued to abate, so that the deaths from it in November did not average more than three a week, and in the following month it wholly disappeared.[2]

We have just referred to the many courts and alleys which were in Turnmill-street. The following is a list of the chief ones which are now existing, or have disappeared in the carrying out of the Clerkenwell improvements in 1856-7 :—Back-yard, Bell-alley, which was on the east side ; Bitt-alley, Black Spread Eagle-alley, which was on the west side ; Block-alley, which was on the east side near Clerkenwell-green ; Bowling-alley, which was on the east side ; Brewer's-yard, which was on the west side near the Green ; Broad-court, which is a nest of squalid human kennels and fever dens, with reeking dust-heaps before the doors, yards overflowing with filth, privies without water, doors, or seats, and sleeping places without light or ventilation ; Bull-alley, Cinnamon-alley, which was on the west side ; Cock-alley, which was near the middle of the street on the east side ; Frying Pan-alley, the entrance to which was exactly two feet six inches wide, and the length of which was about twenty feet, there not being room in it to get a full-sized coffin out without turning it on edge ;[3] George-alley, Jack-alley, Parker's-alley, Roebuck-alley, Rose-alley, Sand-yard, which was on the west side ; Stewart's-alley, Swan's-rents, Whitefoot-alley, Whitehart-alley, Whitehorse-alley, which was on the west side of the street near the middle ; and Windmill-alley.

We read in Donne's "Polydoron," 1631, as follows :—"Things proffered and easie come by diminish themselves in reputation and price ; for how full of pangs and dotage is a wayling lover for it may be some browne Bessie? But let a beautie fall weeping overpressed with the sick passions, she savours in our thoughts of Turnbull."

We find the following reference to Turnmill-street, in an account of St. John's Priory :—"Prior Sancti Johanais Jerlm. in Anglia pro reddit' exeunt' de ten't in Turmyl-strete, vj. xj ob'."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1629-1631, *temp* Charles I., mention is made of a petition, dated January 26th, 1630, of Percy Church, to the king. "Has discovered that certain houses in Turnmill-street, in St. James's, Clerkenwell, purchased by Thomas Gray, have escheated to the Crown, prays for a grant of the same, at the yearly rent of 40s." Underwritten is, "1. Reference to the Lord Treasurer, and, if he think fit, he is to grant a warrant to the Attorney-General for drawing up a bill. Whitehall, 1630, Jan. 26. 2. Opinion of the Attorney-General that the case stated is not that of a concealment, but, if proved, it is an escheat. 3. Lord Treasurer to the Attorney-general. To prepare a grant of the premises to the petitioner. 1660, May 25th."

Rose-alley, a narrow, dirty avenue in the purlieu of Turnmill-street, although an insignificant thoroughfare, appears to be of some antiquity, as it was most probably named from a public house, incidentally referred to in a Vestry minute of the 23rd March, 1642, relating to the conveyance of certain houses in Turnmill-street, which are therein described as "abutting on the highway, westward, upon the house of Hugh Trapps, called The Rose, northward." This tavern, says Mr. Daniel, in his "Merrie England in the olden time," was the scene, under the rose, of Falstaff's early gallantries, and was kept at one time by John Sleep, or Sleepe, a wide-awake man in mirth and pastime, famous for

[1] *Falsehood Chastized, &c.*, 1663.

[2] *Journal of the Plague Year.*

[3] *Builder*, vol. xi., p. 160.

his mummeries, and of a locomotive turn, who emulated the zodiac in the number of his signs. He kept the Gun, in Salisbury-court; the King William and Queen Mary, in Bartholomew Fair; and the Whelp and Bacon, in Smithfield Pounds. Rose-alley is laid down in Ogilby's Map of London, 1677. It is also referred to by Hatton, in 1708, as being on the "easterly side of Turnmill-street;" and is included by Maitland, in 1737, in a list of streets, lanes, courts, &c., in the metropolis, with thirteen other Rose-alleys.

Constantius Bennett, a Greek born, left by will, which was proved on the 18th February, 1577, freehold houses, 15, St. John-street, and four or five others in Red Lion-alley, adjoining, let on lease at the annual rent of £22 15s., which lease will expire Lady-day, 1869—to be applied in coals to the poor at Christmas. The following is an extract from his will :—

"Item.—I give and bequeath to my executors all that my house in Turnmill-street, which one William Houghton, of London, saddler, holdeth of me by lease, with my houses in St. John-street, wherein one —— Arnold, widow, now or late dwelleth, to have the same, to them and their heirs for ever; and yet nevertheless with this hope, trust, and confidence, that they or some of them shall and will yearly, for ever, after the death of Elizabeth Ashe, my servant, near about Christmas, give, bestow, and distribute in alms four cart-loads of coals to and amongst the poor people of Clerkenwell parish aforesaid, such as by their discretion shall be thought most needy, for their better relief and comfort: And nevertheless I will that Elizabeth Ashe, my servant, shall have the said house wherein the said —— Arnold, widow, now or lately dwelled, during her life, paying 3s. 4d. a-year during her life to the churchwardens of Clerkenwell, towards the maintenance of the church there, and the keeping the reparation of the same house: And I further will that my executors, and other persons aforenamed, to whom I have bequeathed my houses last aforesaid, and their heirs, during the life of the said Elizabeth Ashe, shall yearly, about Christmas, give, bestow, and distribute in alms so much coals as may be bought with the rents and profits of the other house, which is not hereby given to the said Elizabeth Ashe, to and amongst the poor people of Clerkenwell parish aforesaid, such as by their discretion shall be thought most needy, for their relief and comfort."

Mr. Pascall, in his "Account of the Clerkenwell Charity Estates," 1851, says :—"The premises in Turnmill-street (now called Jack-alley) are lost. Those in St. John-street are let on lease (expiring Lady-day, 1869), at £22 15s. per annum, to George Mitchell, now paid by Mr. Fiddler. This bequest is generally described 'to the parish;' and on the board of donations in the church, as the gift of *Constance* Bennett (a woman's name); but both Stow and Seymour, in their Surveys of London, in describing this gift, give the name of Constantius Bennett, a Greek born." In reference to the premises in Jack-alley, Mr. Pascall says :—"This was frequently under the cognizance of various vestries." We find several vestry minutes relating to them during the years 1642, 1679, 1701-2, 1710, and 1721, as follows :—

23rd March, 1642.—"Richard Clarke and John Preston, heirs of the two surviving devisees, convey the said two houses by this Indenture of Feoffment unto George Long (and fourteen others), in fee, upon the trusts of the said will." The said houses are therein thus described :—"All that messuage with the appurtenances in Turnmill-street, abutting on the highway westward, upon the house of Hugh Trapps, called the Rose, northward, on the house of William Jones, southward, and upon Butt's-close,[1] eastward; and all that messuage and appurtenances in St. John-street, in the tenure of William Griffins or Elizabeth Nichols" (and thirteen others named).

1st September, 1679.—"The said George Clark and Edward Faweett and other trustees demised to Thomas Little, for forty-one years from Christmas, 1679, at £16 per annum, payable quarterly, all those six messuages and two sheds, and the ground and yard thereto belonging, in the several tenures of (ten persons named), situated in or near Turnmill-street, abutting between the houses and ground in Block-alley on the south, two of them abutting on the east side of Turnmill-street, and the other six in Jack-alley, with a piece of ground or yard in common behind the same, and two sheds and a house of office, all described in a ground plan annexed, and containing from north to south in front to Turnmill-street, twenty-one feet eight inches, and at the east end abutting on a house in the tenure of John Harding, nineteen feet five inches, and in length from east to west on the north side one hundred and seventy-nine feet, and on the south side one hundred and seventy-three feet."

2nd September, 1679.—"And whereas Mr. Thomas Little hath taken a lease of the house, &c., lately held by Thomas Jennedy, in Jack-alley, and he complaining that the same is very much out of repair, so that he desires

[1] *Vide* page 288.

some further allowance towards the charge thereof: Ordered, That Mr. Mulford and some other ancient inhabitants and workmen do often view that the said Thomas Little do sufficiently repair the said several tenements forthwith; and if he do so sufficiently repair the same, then Mr. Richard Weeks, churchwarden, is desired to abate him the first quarter of a year's rent."

18th March, 1701-2.—"Lease of tenements in Jack-alley was surrendered up on the petition of Thomas Little:—Ordered, That his request be complied with, and he be excused all rent due from Christmas."

1st August, 1710.—Ordered, That the churchwardens do repair the houses in Jack-alley, Turnmill-street, belonging to the parish."

4th May, 1721.—"At a vestry held in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, concerning an estate in Jack-alley, in parish aforesaid, being the gift of Const. Bennett, and the estate being at this time very much out of repair, It is mutually agreed by the inhabitants now met in vestry, to rebuild the estate, and make a workhouse there for the poor, the pensioners and orphans of the said parish:—We do appoint the following persons to agree with proper persons to build the same," &c.

8th May, 1721.—"The committee report, that, having reviewed the ground in Jack-alley, they are of opinion, that it is not convenient to build a workhouse."

Mr Pascall says:—"After these reports I am led to suppose the estate was left to ruin, and forgotten by all succeeding Vestries; for it is nearly one hundred years before it is again noticed in the Minutes: the subject was then brought forward by the late Mr. Wm. Clare in Vestry."

10th February, 1818.—"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire whether any, and what, steps should be taken for the recovery of the estate in Jack-alley; and that the committee consist of the churchwardens of St. James's and St. John's,—Mr. Clare, Mr. Dorset, and Mr. T. Carpenter."

27th May, 1818.—"It appears to the committee, on examination of the documents relating to the estate in Jack-alley, and by the information they have received, that the premises now occupied by Mr. Bray[1] are the property of the parish, and that the person under whom he holds the same has not any title thereto: the committee therefore recommend proceedings to be forthwith taken for recovery thereof."

The property was, however, lost to the poor of the parish, as strangers were allowed to take possession and retain it so long that the law sanctioned their right; for we find the following Vestry Minute of

21st June, 1820.—"The Clerk reported, that the committee appointed to superintend proceedings for the recovery of the Jack-alley Estate, after investigating the pleadings in the suit commenced against Mr. Cheslyn and others, and the opinion of counsel thereon, were satisfied that the estate could not be recovered, and they therefore recommended that the suit be discontinued:—Resolved, That the recommendation of the committee be adopted, and that the Clerk get the suit dismissed forthwith."

The following is a copy of the will of Henry Stokes, of Turnmill-street, dated December 23rd, 1586:—

"In the name of God, Amen. The 23d day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1586, and in the 29th yeare of the raigne of our Sovreigne Ladye Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, Defender of the Faythe, etc., I, Henrye Stokes, of Turnmylle-streete, in the parishe of St. Jeames at Clerkenwell, in the countie of Middlesex, yeoman, beinge whole and perfecte of mynde and memory, laud and praise be given to Allmightye God therefore, do ordeyne and make this my last will and testamente in manner and forme followinge: that is to say—Imprimis, I bequeathe my sowle unto Allmightie God my maker, and to his deare and well-beloved Sonne Jesus Christe, my only Savyour and Redeemer, by whose moste precious deathe and promise I hope to be saved and have remission of all my sinnes: And as for the disposinge, willinge, and bequeathinge of such lands, tenementes, goodes and chattles, as yt hathe pleased Allmightye God to lend me and bestowe one me in this mortall worlde. Firste, I give and bequeathe towards the reparacion of the parishe churche of St. Jeames at Clerkenwell aforesaid, whereof I am now a parishioner, so long as the same shall remayne as a parishe churche, for ever, one annuyetye, or yearlye somme of twentye shillings, of lawfull money of Englande, to be yearlye perceived and taken by the churchwardens of the same parishe for the tyme being, oute of all my lands, tenementes, and hereditamentes within the parishes of St. Jeames aforesaide, and St. Sepulchre wythoute Newgate, of London. Item, I give and bequeathe to and amongste the poore of the sayde Parryshe of St. Jeames Fortye shillings, to be distributed by my executors hereafter named wythin one monthe nexte after my decease. Item, I give to the poore prisoners remayning in the King's Bench Twentye shillings, and to the poore prisoners in the Marshallsey Twentye shillings, and to the poore prisoners in the Gate-House at Westminster Tenne shillings. Item, I give and bequeathe to my mann Patricke Twentye shillings, and to

[1] Mr. Bray's house was No. 68, on the left side of Turnmill-street from the Sessions House.

Agnes, my mayd, Twentye shillings, and to Katheryne Stokes, Fortye shillings. Item, I give to Robert Wood Fortye shillings, to be bestowed amongste the freeholders of the countye of Middlesex, for a drynekinge or breakfast; and I give to the name of Stokes, aboute London, for a drynekinge Twentye shillings. All which legaeyes I will shall be paide within one month after my deeeasse. Item, I give to my cosen John Stokes of Westmynster, my best gowne; and I forgive him the three pounds he owethe me. Item, I give to my cosen Robert Stokes my greate signette of goulde. Item, I give and bequeathe to my sister Jone Stokes, one annuitye or yearlye somme of three pounds of lawfull moneye of Englande, to be yssueing and payable oute of my sayde lands, tenementes, and heredytaments within the Parryshes of Sainte Jeames at Clerkenwell and Saynte Sepulchre aforesaide, to have, holde, pereeyve, and reeeive, and enjoye the sayde annuetye of three pounds unto the said Jone Stokes and her assignes for and duringe her naturall lyffe, at the two usuall feastes or termes in the yeare, that is to saye, at the feaste of St. Myehael the Archanngell, and the Annuneiatione of our Ladye, by even porcions; and yf yt happen the saide yearlye somme of Three pounds be behinde unpayde in parte or in all, by the spaee of twentye dayes next after either of the feast dayes aforesaide, in which yt oughte to be payed, that then it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sayde Jone, and her assignes into the sayde landes and tenementes to enter and distreyne, and the distresse and distresses there so hadd and taken to leade, dryve, earrye wythe, or them to keepe and detayne untyll that she be or they be of the sayde annuetye or yearlye somme wythe charrages thereof, yf anye, fullye satisfyed, contented, and payde. Item, I give and bequeathe to John Stokes and Thomas Stokes, my sonnes, all and singular my landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes, called Flapsende, within the parishe of Sainte Sepulchre aforesaid, and the signe of the Cocke in Turnmill-street, and the landes called Browne's lands, wythe all and singular theyre appurtenances in the Paryshe of Clerkenwell aforesayde, to have and to holde the same unto the saide John Stokes and Thomas Stokes, and theyres of theire bodies, lawfully begotten, and for defaulte of suche issue to my cosen Robert Stokes, vintner, and to theires of his bodye lawfullye begotten, and for defaulte of suche issue to my cosen George Stokes, of Knocking, within the countye of Dublyne, in the realme of Englande, and unto the heyres of his body lawfullye begotten, and for defaulte of suche issue, to my righte heires for ever. Provyded allwayes, and my will, intente, and meaninge is, that yf the same my lands shalle eome or deseende unto the sayde George Stokes and his heires, then he the said George and his heires shall for ever keep and maynetayne one meete and eonvenyente persone of goode eapaeyte, and of the house and name of Stokes, to be resiedente studyente in one of the foure Innes of the Courte in and nere to the eyttee of London. And further my mynde and will is, that yf either of my sayde sonnes shall dyreetlye or indyreetlye go about to mortgage, sell, or otherwayes to doe awaye the saide landes and heredytamentes, or anye parte or pareell thereof, to anye personne or personnes, withoute the eonsente of the other of them, then that he that shall soe goe aboute to doe the same shall lose the whole benefytte of this my present will, and shall be utterly debarred of all legaeyes, giftes, and bequeathes to him by me herein bequeathed. Provided alsoe, and my will is, that the tenemente wherein Elizabeth Eireth, widdowe, now dwellethe, shall for evermore be employed to the like use as now yt is, viz., for one poor personne to be dwellinge therein, and upon the deeease of every of them another to be therein placed at the diseretyon of the churchwardens of the sayde paryshe there for the tyme beinge, wythoute payinge anye rente for the same; and that suehe personne and personnes as shall have my landes aforesayde shall at their own charges mayntaynne and repaire the saide tenementes when and as often as neede shall require. Provyded further, and my will is, and meanynge is, that Constanee, my well-beloved wyfe, shall duringe her naturall lyfe have all and every my saide landes, tenementes, and heredytamentes aforesaid, soe that she doe provyde for and finde my sayde sonnes, John and Thomas, meate, drynke, elothes, seholing, and all other neeessaries as to personnes of like birthe and calling shall appertayne, vntyll they shall aeeomplyshe the full age of sixteene years, then my saide wyfe shall yearlye paye vnto either of my saide sonnes beinge of the age of sixteene years the somme of twentye markes of good and lawfull Englishe [money] at the foure usual feaste dayes of the yeare by even and equal portions. Item, I give and bequeathe vnto Thomas my sonne the somme of one hundred pounds, of good and lawfull English moneye, to be payde when he comes to the age of tenne yeares. Item, I give to either of my saide childrenn two feather beddes and tenne payer of sheetes; and I will, that my saide wyfe shall have the use and manuell occupation of all and singular my goodes, plate, brass, pewter implements, and stuffe of householde whatsoever, duringe her naturall lyfe, yf she keepe herself a wyddowe; and the same goods, plate, brass, pewter ymplements, and stuffe of houscholde, and all other my leases, chattels, and thinges whatsoever, my debtes payed, and funerall charges discharged, I wholly give and bequeathe unto my saide sonnes John and Thomas Stokes, to be equally devyded between them, part and poreyon alike. And I make my saide wyfe Constanee, and my saide sonne John, whole exeeutors of this my laste will and testamente; and I hereby praye my lovinge friendes, Clement Rigges, James Tute, James Goodeole, and John Hyneks, to be aydinge and assistinge of my saide exeeutors herein; and I give to every of them for theire paynes to be taken twentye shillinges a-piece, to be payed wythin one month next after my deeeasse. Thus revoking all other willes, I finishe this my presente laste will and testamente. In witness whereof I have hereunto to every leafe sette my marke, the daye and yeare first above wrytten. Furthermore, I give and bequeathe to Roberte Stokes my beste cloeke, and my beste hatte, and also a feather bedde, wythe the furniture thereto belonginge, and one bedsteade of wainscotte. Item, I will, that the rente of the yeare before lymitted and appointed towards the reparacion of

the saide parryshe church of St. Jeames, Clerkenwell, shall be bestowed upon fower sermons to be made the fyrst yeare after my deceasse. Signed and published by the saide Henrye Stokes as his laste will and testamente, in the presence of the personnes whose names are underwrytten :—William Weston, Henricum Fletcher, Robert Stokes, Roger Weston."

Mr. Pascall, in his "Account of the Clerkenwell Charity Estates," 1851, says, "About the year 1586, Henry Stokes, by his will, left the sum of £1 per annum for repair of the Church, out of a house in Turnmill-street. On examining the churchwardens' accounts for more than one hundred years, I found the same had been regularly paid until about the year 1833, from which date nine years was allowed to run in arrear; and in 1842, on our endeavouring to trace the party liable, every difficulty was thrown in the way, and the claim nearly lost. By the will the same is to be paid out of a house called 'The Cock,' in Turnmill-street; and I believe it is the house at the corner of Cock-court, the property of Sir Harry Inglefield. By perseverance, payment was at last obtained from his agent."

Thomas Herbert left by will, dated 24th July, 1593, a rent-charge of £2 12s. per annum, for ever, on a house and garden in Turnmill-street, the amount to be applied in the distribution of bread on Sundays amongst the poor of Clerkenwell. This sum is paid by the Girdlers' Company. No particulars are known of the bequest, more than that the amount is regularly paid by the company.

On October 16th, 1592, 34th Elizabeth, by indenture enrolled in Chancery, Hugh Trapps, in consideration of £125, conveyed to the use of Francis Clements and his heirs, two messuages in Turnmill-street, in the tenure of Nicholas Holbeam or John Bullock, called the "Blue Axe." By indenture dated June 7th, 1595, 37th Elizabeth, and enrolled in Chancery, Francis Clements conveyed the fee of the said premises to William Dormer. By indenture dated February 4th, 1612, 10th James I., and enrolled in Chancery, William Dormer conveyed the fee of the said premises to George Trapps. By feoffment dated February 27th, 1617, 15th James I., George Trapps, in consideration of £70, granted to Sir William Fortescue and many others, a rent of £4 per annum for the life of the said George Trapps, and of £5 for ever after, to be issuing out of the said two messuages at Lady-day and Michaelmas, with power of distress and a *nomine pœnæ*,[1] "in trust to dispose of fifty-two shillings yearly in bread to the poor, according to the will of Nicholas Rowe, Esquire, deceased, of Clerkenwell, at such days and times and in such manner as is appointed by the said will; and also to dispose of some other yearly sum of said annuity in some provisions towards the relief of the poor, according to the will of Dame Elizabeth Weston,[2] widow, deceased, late of Clerkenwell; and also to bestow and dispose of the residue of the said annuity towards the relief of the poor of the same parish, or to such other charitable uses as to the churchwardens for the time being shall seem meet." By indenture dated December 14th, 1620, George Trapps, in consideration of £80, conveyed the two messuages to the use of John Lee and his heirs, subject to the said annuity. On the same day a defeazance was executed, to be reconveyed on payment of £80 in fine. By indenture dated March 26th, 1621, Lee reconveyed to Trapps. By indenture dated March 28th, 1621, George Trapps, in consideration of £120, conveyed the said two messuages to Sir Michael Stanhope in fee, subject to the said annuity. By indenture dated July 1st, 1621-2, the said estate was conveyed to the parish of Clerkenwell by Sir Michael Stanhope. We have no copy of the will of Nicholas Row or Elizabeth Weston. It appears by the following Vestry Minute that £20 was brought into the Vestry; and it is not improbable that it was lent to Trapps at interest :—

November, 1616.—"At a Vestry holden this present day, there was brought in by Nicholas Say, churchwarden, £20, given by the Lady Weston, deceased, to be put forth by the vestry and churchwardens, for forty shillings a year to be paid yearly to the poor of the parish upon the day of her burial. The words of her will are as follows, viz. :—'Item, I give to the use of the poor of the said parish of Clerkenwell £20, to be put out to use by the Preacher, churchwardens, overseers of the poor, and them of the vestry for the time being, so that the poor may yearly receive forty shillings to the end of the world, and be distributed amongst the poor people by the hands before mentioned upon the day of my burial.'"

[1] A penalty incurred for not paying rent, &c., at the day appointed in the instrument reserving it.
[2] *Vide* page 48.

Mr. Pascall says in reference to this bequest :—"As far as regards this distribution being continued to the end of the world, it would appear as if the world had been at an end many years, no payment to the poor having been made, nor anything known now of the gift, but the above extract. Doubtless the parish had the money." In the Sixteenth Report of the Commissioners on Charitable Bequests, is the following remark :—"It seems probable, however, that the houses were given by him (Sir M. Stanhope) to this parish, from circumstances mentioned by Stow in his Survey, that upon a Table of Benefactions in the church (but which is not now in existence) there was the following inscription :—'Sir Michael Stanhope, Lady Weston, and Mr. Row, by the year, £13.'" Mr. Pascall adds :—"This estate is now only one house in Silver-street (formerly called Turnmill-street), and lately occupied by Mr. Chappell, who held it from the parish, through Potts, at £50 per annum, but which lease the trustees agreed should be cancelled at Michaelmas, 1846, or the same would not have expired before 1852. It is now let to Mr. G. Bailey at £45, on lease. Why there should be only one house now, when it is so particularly described as two in the preceding account, I cannot explain, but think the subject should be inquired into, and particulars ascertained if possible. Nor does it appear to me that Trapps gave anything to the parish, although his name is set forth; but that the donors were William Row, Lady Weston, and Sir Michael Stanhope." The property was taken by the City under the Clerkenwell Improvement Act, and the purchase money has been invested in Consols, which produces £40 10s. per annum.

William Sanderson by his will, dated May 17th, 1659, devised a messuage No. 59, Turnmill-street, and two small houses, Nos. 1 and 2, in Lamb-square, which latterly produced an annual rental of £15, the profits to be applied to the relief of the poor of Clerkenwell and Wendover in equal moieties. By indenture dated December 28th, 1672, 24th Charles II., made between Houlton and Milburn of the first part, George Riley and John Cowett, churchwardens, of the second part, and George Clerk and five other parishioners of the third part, it is recited that William Sanderson, by his will, dated May 17th, 1659, devised to Nicholas Houlton and John Milburn and their heirs, in trust for the parishes of Wendover and St. James, Clerkenwell (the latter wherein the testator then dwelt), a messuage or tenement known by the sign of "The Bitt," then in the tenure of Benjamin Beman, in Turnmill-street, in the parish of Clerkenwell, together with one half part of the yard, which the said Benjamin Beman then enjoyed with the said house, to hold the same to the use of testator for his life, afterwards to his wife, Sarah, for her life, with remainder to the poor people of the said parishes of Wendover and Clerkenwell, equally betwixt them for ever, with the intent that the said trustees and their heirs upon the request and at the cost of the churchwardens, should convey the said premises to them and such other of the said parishes as they should appoint for the use and relief of the poor. And after reciting the death of the testator's wife, the indenture witnessed, that the said Houlton and Milburn, at the request and appointment of the said Riley and Cowett, enfeoffed and confirmed to the said Clerk and others, their heirs and assigns, one moiety or half part of the said messuage or tenement and garden with their appurtenances, as by the will of William Sanderson was given for the use of the poor of the parish of Clerkenwell, to hold the same upon trust to employ and dispose of the rents and profits of the said moiety or half part of the premises to the use and relief of the poor people of the said parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, according to the true intent of the will of William Sanderson, with a covenant for the appointment of new trustees when the original ones should be reduced to two. By indenture of lease made July 20th, 1727, between three persons of Wendover, mentioned to be the surviving trustees for the poor of that parish, of the first part, Thomas Hide and Edward Rose, of Clerkenwell, of the second part, and John Coxall, of the third part; the parties of the first and second parts, in consideration of Coxall repairing and new fronting the premises, demised to him a messuage or tenement on the east side of Turnmill-street, containing from north to south twelve feet, and from east to west sixteen feet, situate between a messuage in the tenure of William Hinton on the north, and Michael Houches on the south, and the yard or plot of ground lying backwards in Bitt-alley, as then lately possessed with the said old messuage late in the tenure of William Norton, containing from north to south thirteen feet, and from east to west twenty-four feet, at £2 10s. per annum, payable to the parish of Wendover, and £2 10s.

to Hide and Rose, their heirs, &c., at Lady-day and Michaelmas, from Michaelmas, 1727. On reading the description of this property as first recited as occupied by Benjamin Beman, any one would be induced to suppose that there was a garden or yard attached to the house. But there does not appear to be any yard to the house; and the piece of ground is at the further end of Bitt-alley, on which two small houses have been built. The premises are now let on lease.

John Smith, by his will, dated September 21st, 1668, gave to the poor of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, £2 12s., to be paid yearly for ever out of the rent of the house where Mr. Parker then lately lived, in the possession of one Wigglesworth, and situate in Turnmill-street; the amount to be distributed by the churchwardens of the said parish according to their discretion. This property having been taken by the City, under the Clerkenwell Improvement Act, the rent-charge has since been paid annually by the City Comptroller.

Leonard Wigglesworth left by deed, dated in 1672, three houses, since made into two houses, and now being a house at the corner of Turnmill-street, and one adjoining, No. 28, Clerkenwell-green; the profits of which were to be applied in the apprenticing of poor children. By indenture of release, dated November 26th, 1672, made between Leonard Wigglesworth and Susanna his wife, of the one part, and George Clerke and six others of the other part, it was witnessed, that the said Leonard Wigglesworth and Susanna, his wife, did thereby grant, release, and convey unto the said parties of the second part, and their heirs, a messuage or tenement, containing in the front on the north part thereof from east to west fifteen feet eight inches, and in front next Turnmill-street on the west part from north to south ten feet eleven inches; and two messuages or tenements then in the tenure of John Scott, lying eastward of the said messuages, containing in front on the north part thereof from east to west thirty feet of assize; also the yard used in common with the said three messuages or tenements, the admeasurements of which and of the other side of the said messuages are therein respectively set forth, which said messuages were situate in or near Turnmill-street and Clerkenwell-green, south on Clerkenwell-green, and east on Turnmill-street. To hold to the said parties of the second part, and their heirs, in trust, after the decease of the said Leonard Wigglesworth and Susanna, his wife, yearly for ever, to bestow and employ the rents and profits of the said premises to place out so many male children, born of honest parents within the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, apprentices to trades or arts of the City of London, as far as at £3 a-piece the same rents and profits should amount to; such children to be nominated and recommended by the churchwardens and overseers of the said parish for the time being; and if there should not every year be found so many male children born in the said parish to be placed out apprentice as the rents and profits of the premises at £3 a-piece would put out, the trustees might put out one or two female children, and no more, born of honest parents within the said parish, apprentices to trades or arts of the City of London, and might give with one or two of such female children only £3 a-piece. And if in any year there should not be found children sufficient according to the foregoing provisions, in such case the trustees might keep all or part of the said rents in their hands until there should be such children found fit to be put out. And after such yearly apprenticing, the trustees were to pay to the churchwardens the surplus of the said rents, being under £3, if any such, to be by them distributed yearly on Christmas-day among the poor of the said parish as they should think meet. By resolution of the Vestry, May 6th, 1696, the houses were ordered to be pulled down, and two others built, on lease for fifty-one years, at £4 a year rent, and a fine of £28.

May 6th, 1696.—"Ordered and unanimously agreed, as to the three houses by the Turnpike, Clerkenwell-green, the gift of Leonard Wigglesworth, that the trustees do grant a lease for fifty-one years, in consideration of a fine of £28 paid in hand, at the yearly rent of £4 for the last forty-eight years, and for the three first a peppercorn; that Robert Bellson demolish the said old decayed tenements, and rebuild two substantial tenements on the ground, and expend £150 at the least in building the same."

Mr. Pascall says:—"These houses were afterwards let on lease to Harvey, Combe, and Co., brewers, at £52 10s. per annum, when the corner house was a public-house; but the licence was lost before the lease expired, which reduced the value considerably. One house (No. 28) was let on lease to Mr. Jones, for 21 years, at £20 per annum; which lease expired at Michaelmas, 1848, and is now let

at £30 per annum. The other is let to Mr. Goodson, tenant at will, for the like sum of £30 per annum." Respecting this gift Mr. Pascall also says:—"From the estate he left for this purpose there was received in the space of thirteen years from 1827, the sum of £475 5s. 6d.; and only £123 12s. 9d. of the same was applied as directed. The difference, £351 12s. 9d., went into the general account of the churchwardens for the benefit of the parish; and for the first six years, ... although £209 15s. 9d. was received for that purpose, not a single child was apprenticed." It had been said that there was great difficulty in finding sufficient children to apprentice. But on Mr. Pascall, when churchwarden, making known to the inhabitants, in October, 1847, that such a gift was to be had, he had more applicants than means.

The first year ten children were apprenticed with £3 premium for each, as ordered, amounting to £30; the second, fourteen, amounting to £41 2s.; and by his successor, Mr. Parker, the year after, eleven, costing £33 16s.; which was about the annual income of the estate. By an order of the Master of the Rolls, dated in June, 1859, this charity is now appropriated to educational purposes, being divided among the schools of the several districts of the parish. The property having become very dilapidated, has been let on a building lease for ninety-nine years, at £35 ground rent, and the new building is in course of erection.

In Seymour's "Survey of London," we find in a list of donors to the parish of Clerkenwell, the following:—"John Poole, yearly, £2 12s.—paid by Thomas Christie." This was a rent charge created by will, dated in 1636, and issuing out of a house in Brewer's *alias* Draper's-alley, Turnmill-street. The money was to be appropriated to the payment of 1s. for bread for the poor every Sunday. The bequest has long since been lost.

It would seem that John Barker gave three houses in Turnmill-street to the parish, but the property is now lost, and the particulars of it are not known.

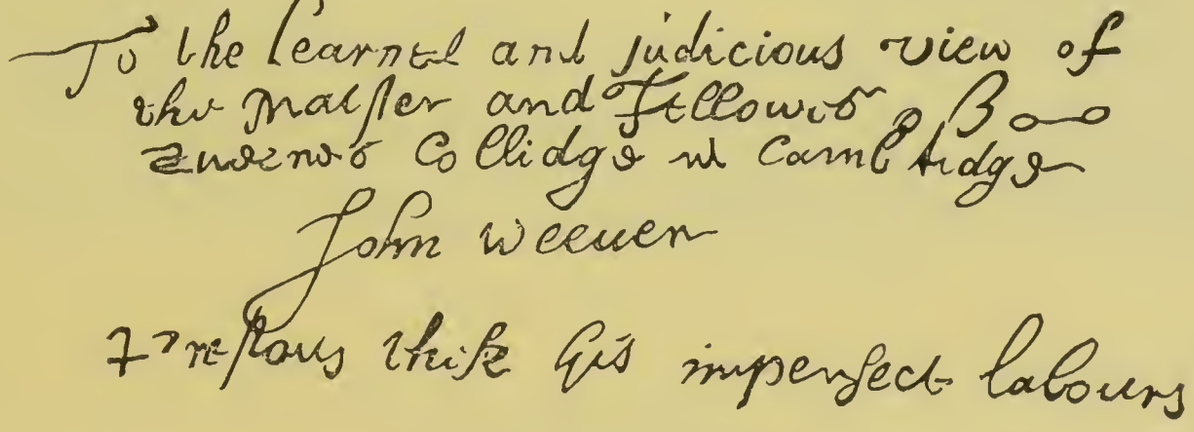
VICTORIA STREET (NOW FARRINGDON ROAD).

This street was appropriately named in honour of the reigning Sovereign. Connected roads to form an extended line of communication between the northern and southern districts of the metropolis were for a long period very much wanted. The formation of this one was suggested more than a century ago, by the author of a very practical work, entitled "London Improved," published in 1760; in which, after anticipating the completion of Blackfriars Bridge, which was then building, and the improvement of its approaches by the removal of Fleet Market, Mr. Gwynne, the author, remarks that "It is to be wished that a street equal in width to the market, now standing, should be opened and continued from Holborn Bridge, in a direct line to Clerkenwell or further, and then divide into two openings, one to Islington, and the other to the Hampstead (Bagnigge Wells) road," which was at this period distinguished as the "road to Hampstead." Mr. Gwynne further urged, that "private property will be amazingly improved by this means, nor will the public be less benefited, as a free, noble, and useful communication will be opened between the counties of Surrey and Middlesex."

So strong at this time was the impression on the public mind that the formation of a new street between Farringdon-street and Coppice-row would be at once effected, that it appears from the Minutes of the Vestry of the Liberty of Saffron-hill that, in the year 1765, the workhouse being about to be rebuilt, the Liberty wished to rent three houses, in which to place the poor people while the new building was in progress of erection; but the owner of the houses refused to let them for so long a period, but only "until the property was required for making the new street from Fleet Market to Islington;" and as the Vestry was under the impression that the property would be required for the purpose of the improvement before the new workhouse was completed, the negotiation fell through. In the Vestry Minutes of May 9th, 1805, the subject is again referred to:—"It appearing that a new street is in contemplation to be made from Fleet Market towards Islington, which would go through great part of the Liberty, it is considered necessary, and will be highly beneficial, to obtain a plan of

this Liberty, with its boundaries, previous to making any alteration therein. Whereupon, resolved, 'That Mr. Wright, surveyor, of Hatton-garden, be desired to make such plan.'"

Sir Christopher Wren, in his admirable plan for the rebuilding of London, after the great fire of 1666, appears to have contemplated a direct communication between Clerkenwell and the City, a little westward of the present route, by a thoroughfare sixty feet wide, from about the middle of Fleet-street, taking the line of Hatton-garden, into Clerkenwell. A plan of the City, according to Wren's design, is now before us, and it shows a broad thoroughfare direct from the wide quay by the river side, between Bridewell Dock, or the mouth of the Fleet, and the Temple-gardens, to Fleet-street, midway between Fleet-bridge and Temple-bar, at which intersecting spot is a circular space, which is described as a piazza. Thence the thoroughfare proceeds to Holborn, midway between Holborn-bridge and Fetter-lane; and from Holborn it takes the name of Hatton-street. This street has a slight angle towards the north-west, and then a more acute angle towards the north-east. It joins the road by the side of the Fleet opposite Clerkenwell. The plan shows other direct communications between Clerkenwell and the Thames, being broad roads on the east and west sides of the Fleet from the quay by Bridewell Dock past Bridewell-bridge, Wood Market-bridge, Fleet-bridge, Holborn-bridge, and Chick-lane-bridge. The distance along the first-mentioned thoroughfare from the quay's edge to the south point of the first named angle in Hatton-street is a little more than half a mile; the length of the angle about one hundred and twenty yards; the length of the second angle to the Fleet side opposite Clerkenwell, about three hundred and forty yards. Wren's magnificent scheme was never carried out, owing to the strenuous opposition which it met with from many of the citizens, who were unwilling to lose the privilege of rebuilding the City on its old foundations.



AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN WEEVER.[1]

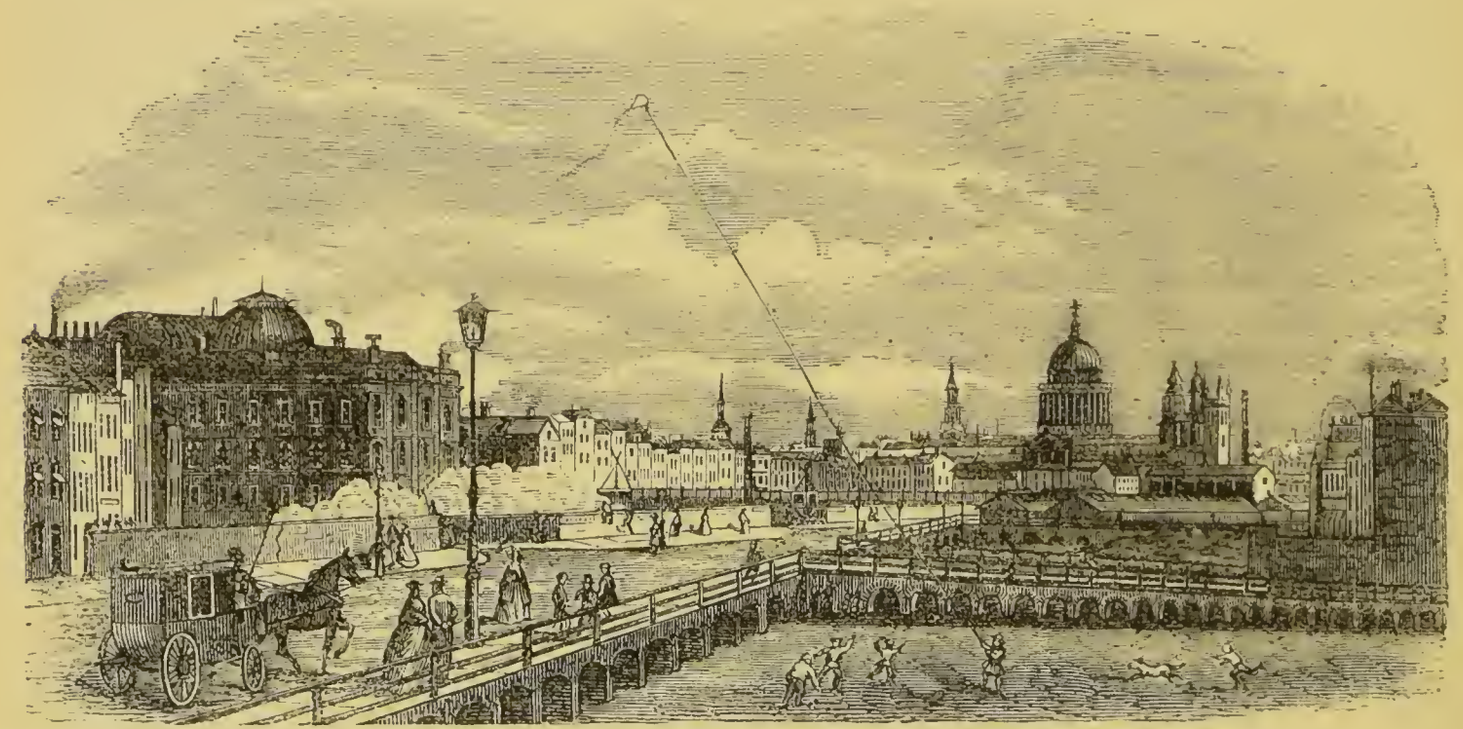
From the "Morning Herald" of July 12th, 1832, we learn that "the inhabitants of Clerkenwell assembled yesterday in Vestry to consider about granting £3000 towards making the proposed new street from Farringdon-street to the New-road at Islington; Mr. Turner, jun., churchwarden, in the chair. Mr. Bartholomew, a surveyor, produced a plan and survey of the new street. A committee of twenty-one was appointed to consider it, and report."

In 1838, Mr. Mosely was examined before a Select Committee of the House of Commons upon his plan of a new street in continuation of Farringdon-street to Clerkenwell, which he proposed eventually to extend to Rodney-street, Pentonville, and thence to the Holloway New-road, which had been previously (1833) approved of by the Middlesex magistrates.

By virtue of an Act 1 & 2 Victoria, c. 83, anno 1838, the Corporation of London were empowered to make a new street from Holborn-bridge towards Clerkenwell-green.

[1] *Vide* page 90. This fac-simile is taken from a tracing of Weever's autograph (which is scarce) in a copy of his *Funeral Monuments*, in the library of Queen's College, Cambridge, as follows:—"To the learned and judicious view of the Maister and Fellowes of Queenes Collidge in Cambridge John Weever presents these his imperfect labours." The Editor is indebted to Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, of Friday-street, London, for the tracing above mentioned, which the reverend gentleman with much courtesy supplied in duplicate.

On the 23rd July, 1840, an Act[1] for opening a street to Clerkenwell-green, in continuation of the new street from Farringdon-street, in the City of London, received the royal assent. In the preamble it is stated that "the streets, lanes, passages, and places between the northern extremity of the said new street and Clerkenwell-green are extremely narrow, and almost impassable for carriages, and many of the houses and tenements therein are in a very ruinous and dilapidated condition." Also it is stated that "the district is densely populated, and inhabited and resorted to by many persons of a vicious and immoral character, and is also intersected by a very long common sewer, called Fleet Ditch, at many parts uncovered, and thereby causing malaria, productive of fever and epidemics, and prejudicial to the general health of the neighbourhood." In continuation, it is further stated that it would be of great advantage to the owners and occupiers of property in the parishes through which



FARRINGDON ROAD, AND REAR VIEW OF THE MIDDLESEX SESSIONS HOUSE.

it passed and others adjacent thereto, by the improvement in the health and morals of the inhabitants, and by the increased traffic which would necessarily result therefrom, and would also be of great public utility by opening a direct communication between Holborn, Fleet-street, Blackfriars-bridge, and the Metropolitan district south of the Thames, and Islington, the Great North-road, and the northern part of London. By virtue of this Act, Commissioners were appointed to carry out its provisions, under the style of the "Clerkenwell Improvement Commission."

An Act,[2] passed in 1842, amended and enlarged certain provisions of the former Act. The difficulties which beset the Clerkenwell Commissioners in the prosecution of the great public work entrusted to them, rendered necessary an "Act for granting further powers to the Clerkenwell Improvement Commissioners for the purpose of enabling them to complete the new street and the improvements connected therewith;"[3] which Act received the royal assent on the 31st August, 1848. In the preamble of this statute, it is stated that the Commissioners had spent the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds, which had been paid to them by the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, and had also borrowed the further sum of twenty-seven thousand pounds or thereabouts, by mortgage of the property purchased by them, and had expended the same; and that difficulties had arisen in raising sufficient money for the completion of the street; it was, therefore, prayed that provision should be made to enable them to accept subscriptions from persons willing to advance money for the purpose.

[1] 3 & 4 Victoria, cap. cxii. [2] 5 Victoria, cap. xlvii. [3] 11 & 12 Victoria, cap. clxii.

The Commissioners being greatly in debt, and unable to proceed with the new street for want of funds, the Corporation of the City of London offered to complete the same; and an Act[1] for enabling them to complete the improvements authorised by the Acts already recited, received the royal assent on the 1st August, 1851; by which statute they were empowered to borrow, upon the credit of the London-bridge Approaches Fund, a sum of money not exceeding £80,000 for the purpose.

A contract was taken by Mr. John Jay, builder and contractor, for the completion of the line of new street from Farringdon-street to Clerkenwell-green. The works, which were little more than six months in progress, commenced in December, 1855, and were completed in August, 1856, at a cost of £12,000. The levels of the ground in this line of thoroughfare being very irregular, the height to which the roadway was raised varied from five to twenty-five feet.[2] When levelling the rubbish to make the roadway some workmen discovered a small square rusty tin box, which, on being opened, was found to contain sixty-four spade guineas, eleven half guineas, and twelve seven shilling pieces.

In excavating the ground at the south-east corner of the new street for building, the soil presented all the indications of an alluvial deposit, as might be expected from the ancient bed of the Fleet. Fragments of Roman amphoræ, urns, Samian ware, &c., were found in considerable quantities. On the same level were numerous bucks' horns, chiefly of small size.[3] It was found necessary to go to a considerable depth for the foundation in consequence of the peculiar character of the soil, which consists of a fine black mud, evidently an alluvial deposit at a period when the ancient inhabitants of London little dreamed that the then navigable River Fleet would, in after ages, degenerate into a filthy ditch. In this stratum were fragments of black urns, bottles, Samian pottery, and animal remains. Among the latter was a piece of a human skull. A portion of a large mortar urn bore the stamp of "SECVNDVS. F" (the first V within the C); those also of "ABIANI," "OF CALVI," and "PATRIS," on three fragments of the Samian ware. These discoveries, coupled with the fact of the Fleet having originally occupied a much lower level, offer the strongest presumptive evidence of the river having been navigable for the ancient vessels of war for a considerable distance up. At a meeting of the British Archæological Association, held on May 14th, 1846, Mr. Smith exhibited a large quantity of knives, spoons, and other domestic implements, found in excavating for the new road from Farringdon-street to Islington. They were of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The knives were of a great variety of form, and bore the maker's initial or mark in brass inlaid in the blades.[4]

The present value of the land now cleared may be judged from the price paid for some by the Metropolitan Railway Company, who, in the month of August, 1860, purchased five acres nineteen perches of ground on the east side of Victoria-street, between West-street and the Middlesex Sessions House, for which they were charged £179,157, being at the rate of about £35,000 an acre, or nearly £7 5s. per yard.[5]

Among the streets and places which were pulled down for the Clerkenwell improvements was the notorious West-street, formerly called Chick-lane. Stow, writing in 1633, refers to "Chicken-lane toward Turnmill Brook, and over that brook by a bridge of timber into the field."[6] This must have been Chick-lane, and the field written of must have been the field which was then at the end of Field-lane. Tenements and a storehouse in Chick-lane, belonging to Thomas Stevens in 1574, were, in 1799, taken down, and the workhouse was rebuilt thereon.

In "Annus Mirabilis," 1661, 4to., occurs the following passage:—

"Upon the 21 May, 1661 (the day before the Covenant was burned), there fel so much rain in London, by reason of a most fierce and sudden showr which lasted not much more than half-an-hour, that most of the streets were like rivers, inasmuch that great Casks, &c., did swim down the streets; and in Coleman street the water was so high, that a great dog could not crosse the way but by swimming, whereof several inhabitants did take

[1] 14 & 15 Victoria, cap. cxx—"An Act for enabling the Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London to complete the Improvements authorised to be made by the Clerkenwell Improvement Commissioners, and for amending the Act relating to such Improvements."

[2] Communication from Mr. John Jay.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1843.

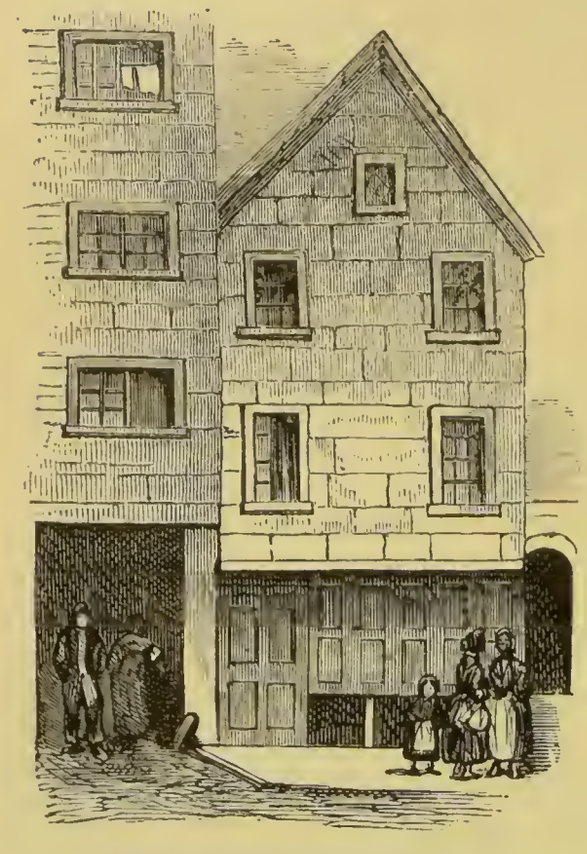
[4] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. i., p. 147.

[5] *Builder*, Aug. 11th, 1860.

[6] Stow's *Survey*, ed. 1633. p. 414.

speciall notice. Near Smithfield, also, the water ran with such violence, that it bore down severall hog-sties in the Castle-Inn yard, and carried the hogs down the common shore to the middle of Check lane, which is near 2 Rood," &c.

In a sensational periodical, entitled "God's Revenge against Murder," No. 9, June 21st, 1833, is an account of the committal and discovery of a murder perpetrated by Sarah Metyard and Sarah M. Metyard upon Anne Naylor, in 1758. The murderesses cut up their victim's body, and Sarah Metyard took bundles of its pieces to the gully-hole in Chick-lane, where she endeavoured to throw them over the wall into the common sewer; but being unable to effect this, she left them among the mud and water which had collected before the grate of the sewer. The women were ten years afterwards convicted of the murder, and they were both executed at Tyburn on July 19th, 1768.[1]

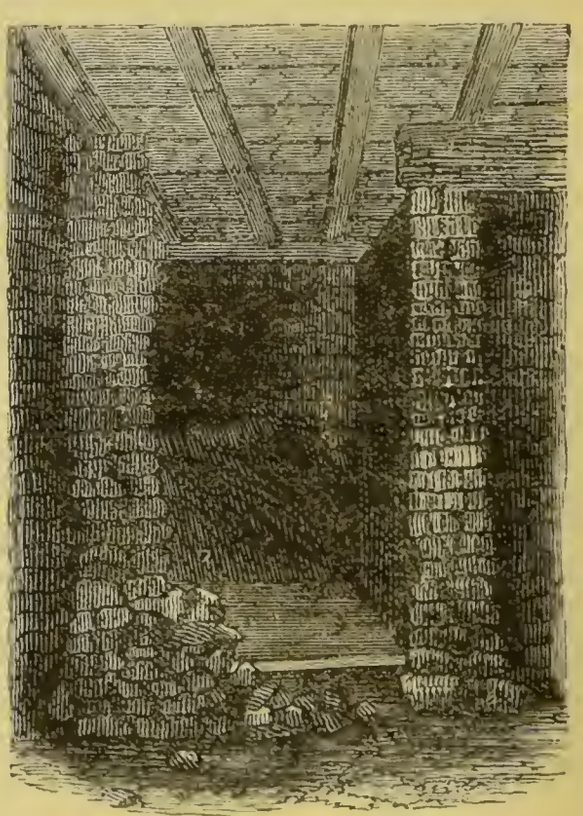


THE OLD HOUSE IN WEST STREET.

Reference is made to the children of this street in "The Gallery of Comicalities," part 6, as follows:—

To note two chickens of Chick-lane,
Their bunch of fives with science handle,
Destined, perhaps, the belt to gain,
And shame the glories of Jack Randall.

We read in the "Morning Herald" of February 11th, 1834, that a day or two previously an inquest was held at the "Horse Shoe and Magpie," Saffron-hill, upon the body of a man who was found dead in a low lodging-house for travellers, in West-street. Upon the inquiry the landlady swore that there were in her house eight beds in one room, and that generally two or three persons slept in each bed.



THE BRICK CELL IN THE OLD HOUSE IN WEST STREET, IN WHICH JONES, THE SWEEP, WAS CONCEALED.

We do not know when the name of Chick-lane was changed to that of West-street; but in 1776, premises in Chick-lane and Durham-yard were leased for sixty-one years.

Amongst the drawings by Mr. Anthony Crosby (from whose unarranged collections and notes the Editor has made some valuable selections), in the City of London Library, are the following:—Old houses on the north-side of West-street; made in 1836. The valley of the River Fleet, taken from the chimney of a house in West-street, looking towards the north; made April 29th, 1841. View from Brewhouse-yard of the back of houses in West-street; made April 27th, 1841. View of the Fleet River, from a bridge in Brewhouse-yard, looking north; made April 28th, 1841. The yard of Mr. Miles, the slaughterer, in Brewhouse-yard; made September 23rd, 1833. The south front of an old house in Old Brewhouse-yard, as seen from under the gateway in West-street; it was formerly a public-house; made April 19th, 1841. Paneling in the first floor of No. 5, West-street; made August 21st, 1844. The old house on the north-west side of the Fleet Ditch in West-street; ground on the south, whereon stood two houses, which were pulled down in 1840 to make room for the new street; and an

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxii., p. 369.

old house also on the south side of West-street; made April 22nd, 1841. Arch over the River Fleet at Peter-street, looking from ground on the south; made January 30th, 1845. Mr. Crosby has left the following memorandum :—"Notices of West-street, 1841, May. Mr. Baldwin, West-street, corner of Brewhouse-yard. Mrs. Davis, No. 3, Brewhouse-yard, aged 58, has been there eight years. Her husband, a carpenter, lately paid no rent. Mr. Miles was the landlord of all. Mr. Good, of Hatton-garden, is the solicitor."



SECRET CLOSET IN THE OLD HOUSE IN WEST STREET.

Among the houses in West-street was one which was, at the time when it was demolished, supposed to have been built about three hundred years. It was once known as the Red Lion Tavern, but for the century preceding its destruction it was used as a lodging-house, and was the resort of thieves and the lowest grade of the frail sisterhood. It was numbered 3 in West-street, and was situate on the north-west side of the Fleet Ditch, a few houses from Saffron-hill, and at the eastern corner of Brewhouse-yard. It was sometimes called Jonathan Wild's house, and "the Old House in West-street." From its remarkable adaptation as a hiding-place, with its various means of escape, it was a curious habitation. Its dark closets, trap-doors, sliding panels, and secret recesses, rendered it one of the most secure places for robbery and murder. It was here that a chimney-sweep, named Jones, who escaped out of Newgate about three years before the destruction of the house, was so securely hidden for about six weeks, that, although it was repeatedly searched by the police, he was never discovered until his lair was divulged by one of its inmates, who, by incautiously observing that he knew whereabouts Jones was concealed, was taken up and remanded from time to time as an accessory to his escape, but who, at last, tired of prison fare and prison discipline, pointed out the place to obtain his own liberty. Jones was concealed by parting off a portion of a cellar with brick-work, well besmeared with soot and dirt to prevent detection. This cell, or, more properly, den, was about four feet wide, by nine in depth; and during Jones's incarceration therein, he had food conveyed to him through a small aperture, by a brick or two being left out next the rafters. It was here that a sailor was robbed, and afterwards flung naked through one of the convenient apertures in the wall into the Fleet, for which crime two men and a woman were transported. A skull, and numerous human bones, were found in the cellars. Numerous parties daily visited the premises, among whom were many of the police and county magistrates. It was said to have been the rendezvous, and often the hiding-place, of Jack Sheppard and Jerry Abershaw; and the place looked as if many a foul deed had been there planned and decided



REMAINS OF A PRIVATE STILL IN THE CELLAR OF THE OLD HOUSE IN WEST STREET.

on, the sewer or ditch receiving and floating away any thing thrown into it. On one occasion the police had surrounded the house to take a thief, whom they knew to be there, but he made his escape in their actual presence. At another time an officer went into one of the rooms to apprehend a man, and saw him in bed; while at the door, calling to another to help him, he turned his head and saw the man getting under the bed; he did not take any notice of it, but when the other man came up, on looking under the bed, the man had vanished; after some search they discovered a trap-door, through which one of them jumped, but he breaking his leg in the fall, the fellow escaped. In this house was a place where a gang of coiners carried on their trade, and had also a private still. This place, like all the rest, had a communication with the sewer. In one of the garrets was a secret door, which led to the roof of the next house, from which any offender could be in Saffron-hill in a few minutes. Amongst Mr. Crosby's drawings are a view of this old house, taken August 10th, 1844; and an inner view of the cellar windows, taken August 19th, 1844. The pulling down of this house was commenced on the first-mentioned date. It appears to have been left standing several years after some of the surrounding buildings had been removed. Mr. Crosby, in his MS. notes, says, "Tuesday, April 21st, 1840, on passing the end of West-street this morning, I found that the old house at the corner was being pulled down. It was down to the first floor." The frontage of the corner house, which had no number, was 20 feet; of No. 1, West-street, 10½ feet; of No. 2, 11 feet; of the archway of Brewhouse-yard, 10 feet; of No. 3, *the* old house, 22½ feet; of No. 4, 18 feet; of No. 5, 14½ feet; of No. 6, 16 feet; of No. 7, 12 feet; of No. 8, 13 feet; of No. 9, 15 feet; and of No. 10, 15 feet, less 4 feet for the width of Black Boy-alley. The height of the shop shutters of No. 4 was 7 feet.

While we are in this neighbourhood we may mention that near this spot stood, in 1598, Cow-bridge, of which Stow says, "Cow-bridge over the River of Wells (north of Oldbourne-bridge), by Cow-bridge-street, or Cow-lane. This bridge being lately decayed, another of timber is made, somewhat more north, by Chick-lane."[1] In the "New View of London," under the date of 1708, we read, in reference to Cow-lane, between Smithfield and Snow-hill, that there was formerly a bridge over the town ditch, and called Cow-bridge. After the ditch was filled up it was called Cow-lane. The name of this thoroughfare was afterwards called King-street[2] and Raven-alley. In the time of Elizabeth the ground from Cow-cross towards the Fleet River, and towards Ely House, was either entirely vacant, or occupied with gardens.

Early in the year 1863 it was proposed in the Clerkenwell Vestry, that Victoria-street, and the thoroughfare northwards to Bagnigge Wells-road, should be renamed. An application for such purpose was accordingly made by the Vestry to the Metropolitan Board of Works, and a committee of that body, by whom the question had been considered, recommended that so much of the thoroughfare in question as extended from Holborn-bridge to Baker-street should be called Farringdon-road, and the remainder to King's-cross, King's Cross-road. This recommendation was considered by the Vestry on the 30th of April, 1863, when the motion that it should approve of the suggestion of the Metropolitan Board was carried by a majority of sixteen votes. On the 15th May following the Metropolitan Board of Works approved the proposal "That the line of thoroughfare from Holborn-bridge to Baker-street, Clerkenwell, be named Farringdon-road; and from Baker-street, to the junction of the Bagnigge Wells-road with Pentonville-road, be named King's Cross-road; and that all subsidiary names be abolished." In February, 1864, the Corporation of London issued the following advertisement for tenders for leases of the vacant ground in and about Victoria-street:—

"Clerkenwell Improvement Act.—Building Leases.—The Improvement Committee of the Corporation of London hereby give notice that they will meet at Guildhall, on Monday, the 29th day of February instant, at one o'clock in the afternoon precisely, to receive Tenders, in writing, agreeably to a form to be obtained at the office of the City's Architect, from parties willing to take Building Leases of sundry Lots of Ground on the east side of Little Saffron-hill, the south side of Ray-street, and the west side of Farringdon-road (formerly called Victoria-street), in the county of Middlesex. Plans can be inspected and conditions seen upon application at the Architect's office, Guildhall.—Guildhall, Feb., 1864. "WOODTHORPE."

[1] STOW'S *Survey*, ed. 1633, p. 20.

[2] Vide 14th *Report of the Commissioners of Charities*, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1811, vol. lxxxi., part 2, p. 238.

THE METROPOLITAN RAILWAY.

The Metropolitan Railway is not altogether a Clerkenwell "institution," but it is of so prominent a character in connection with the parish, that this history would not be complete without a notice of it, which may well, in every sense, be called a great undertaking. The line, as it is at the present time of writing, is a railway connecting the Great Western and Great Northern Railways with the City, but it has not yet fulfilled all that its promoters intended it to do. It is, however, probable that in the few months which will elapse before this book shall be issued complete the great work of connecting, by an iron *via*, the counties of the north and west with those of the east and south, will be *un fait accompli*.

The idea of a Metropolitan Railway, with the objects compassed by the present line, was no hastily carried out scheme. So long ago as 1845, a vast number of the citizens of London petitioned



FARRINGDON ROAD STATION, METROPOLITAN RAILWAY.

the Court of Common Council, praying that it would attentively consider and favour the project of a railway between Battle-bridge and Farringdon-street. But, although the scheme met with many supporters, it was some years before the citizens set seriously to work in the matter. It must be remembered that the locality between the Farringdon Station of the present time and King's-cross (or Battle-bridge, as the place was called) once presented a far different aspect to what it did when the railway was really commenced in 1860. At the period when the railway was first mooted, Lower Calthorpe-street was an open space, the north side being a market and flower-garden, and the other a garden attached to what was known as "Wright's Factory," a place in Upper Gough-street, at which a large number of men were employed in making what is now nearly an obsolete article—the stage coach. The North British Schools then stood alone in what were called "the Fields," and buildings beyond these schools to the bend in the Bagnigge Wells-road were very few and far between. The old Bagnigge Wells Tavern with its tea gardens occupied no small portion of the ground. The site of the present police station, as well as that and the houses beyond it, as far as Vernon Chapel, was also

unoccupied by buildings, and was quite open. Although part of the ground was then clear, it is doubtful, if the railway had been commenced at that period, whether there would have been much saving on the score of properties to be purchased, for it must be remembered that the whole of the ground now occupied by the line from Coppice-row to the late site of Sharp's-alley was at that time covered by houses, as then the improvement works of the City Commissioners had not commenced, and the railway, when it came, found this land clear. The scheme early set on foot died out, and there can be little wonder that it did so. The Great Northern Railway was then scarcely thought of. The districts at the North of London, which now rival many large towns in the numbers of their inhabitants, were still pasture lands, and that immense traffic which now streams from the Northern, North-Western, and Western Counties to and through the metropolis, was either undeveloped or found other channels. In October, 1852, the late City Solicitor, Charles Pearson, circulated twenty thousand copies of an address, wherein he modified and improved the plan, and called it the "Fleet Valley Railway and City Terminus." One of its benefits was to provide a cheap conveyance out of town for the working classes. This project was at once taken up, and petitions were soon signed by thousands of people. Eight thousand citizens, including the most eminent firms, and more than two-thirds of the entire municipal constituency of the City, petitioned in its favour; one thousand barristers and solicitors; one thousand metropolitan butchers, as well as those of Newgate-market; the parishioners of St. Sepulchre and surrounding neighbourhood; and three thousand owners and occupiers of property adjoining the proposed railway in Clerkenwell, sent up petitions advocating the line. This revived project came at a time when railway companies, and especially the Great Western, had found the great disadvantage arising from having their London stations so far removed from each other, and placed so remotely in the suburbs. It was proposed also at a time when the citizens had made a passenger traffic by holding the City merely as a place to trade in, and accordingly leaving it at night for residences a few miles on the outskirts.

An Act was obtained in 1853, giving a company power to construct a line from Paddington to King's-cross. No action was taken with this power; but in 1854 the company obtained liberty to carry a line below the streets from the Great Western Railway, Paddington, to the General Post-office, with a branch, only for Post-office purposes, to the London and North Western Railway. It was intended then to make the line an isolated one, from which it will be seen that the whole of the present "great fact" was arrived at only little by little. The company went to Parliament again and again, and obtained the powers which enabled them to carry out the present work.[1]

The scheme, as first practically proposed, is worth mentioning, if only to contrast with what has since been done. The line was proposed to commence at Paddington, and to be connected with the Great Western Railway. It was then to run under the New (now Euston) Road, and throw off a branch to the Euston Station of the London and North Western Railway (a part of the scheme which has not been carried out). The main line was then to continue down the New-road to King's-cross, and throw a line up Maiden-lane, to connect the Great Northern Railway with the City; the station of the Great Northern Railway at that time being on the other side of the canal bridge, and the Small-pox and Fever Hospital and grounds then occupying the site of the present handsome and commodious

[1] The following are the statutes relating to the Metropolitan Railway:—1855, 18 and 19 Vic., c. 102, local and personal, an act to alter certain portions of the Metropolitan Railway, and to amend the provisions of the Act relating thereto; 1857, 20 and 21 Vic., c. 125, l. and p., an Act to extend the time for the purchase of certain lands required for the Metropolitan Railway, and for other purposes; 1860, 23 and 24 Vic., c. 58, l. and p., an Act for enabling the Metropolitan Railway Company to acquire additional lands for the construction of the railway and for station accommodation; for amending the acts relating to the railway; and for other purposes; 1860, 23 and 24 Vic., c. 197, l. and p., an Act for forming a new street and railway to connect the Metropolitan Railway with the proposed meat market at Smithfield, in the City of London, with a depôt and storehouses, and for other purposes; 1861, 24 and 25 Vic., c. 133, l. and p., an Act to authorize the Metropolitan Railway Company to make certain improvements in their communication with the Great Northern Railway and the metropolitan meat market at Smithfield; to authorize the purchase of additional lands for purposes connected with that railway; to authorize arrangements with the Corporation of London, and with certain railway companies; for amending the Act relating to the company; and for other purposes; 1861, 24 and 25, Vic., c. 233, l. and p., an Act for extending the Metropolitan Railway from Smithfield to Finsbury-circus; to authorize arrangements with other companies; to amend the Acts relating to the Metropolitan Railway, and for other purposes.

station of that company.[1] It was intended that the line should then take a direct course from King's-cross to the Middlesex House of Correction, in Coldbath-square, and that the ground (about eight and a half acres) on which the prison stands, should become the property of the company. This part of the scheme was afterwards abandoned, as was another to run a line to the General Post-office, in St. Martin's-le-Grand. The capital of the company was given at £1,000,000, in shares of £10 each. It was estimated that the works would be covered by an outlay of £1,200,000, but the work was such that a correct estimate could not be given, and the cost must have exceeded the sum named. The company had power to borrow £330,000, and it was estimated that a large portion of this would remain, after all expenses in the construction of the line had been paid, with which to purchase rolling stock. The following extracts from a document published at the time the amended Act was obtained, will give some notion of what was intended :—

"The railway from the Great Western to the Post-office will be a double line of mixed gauge, adapted for carriages on both the narrow and broad gauges, with two additional lines of rails on the



METROPOLITAN RAILWAY, FROM FARRINGDON ROAD STATION.

narrow gauge from the Great Northern Railway to the City, for the accommodation of short trains on that line, and to meet the requirements of the dead meat market in Copenhagen-fields when the contemplated arrangements with the Great Northern Railway Company and the Corporation of London are satisfactorily concluded.

"The arcade through which the railway will be carried will be spacious, dry, well lighted, and ventilated, and, by the mode of working the trains, entirely free of smoke and steam.

"The trains will be approached by wide and easy stairs, not involving more than the ordinary descent from the drawing-room to the dining-room.

"The carriages will be spacious, and adapted for the London traffic; they will be fitted up with every comfort, and mirrors and lights will altogether exclude the idea of under-ground travelling. The trains will be propelled by locomotive engines moved by steam generated from heated water carried with the engines, with an apparatus for condensing the waste steam, by which means all annoyance from smoke, grit, and steam will be avoided.

[1] *Vide* page 123.

"The practicability and advantage of this motive power were fully investigated by the committee on this bill, and conclusively proved by the evidence of Messrs. Brunel, Fowler, and Scott Russell, and by experiments on the Great Western Railway.

"The trains will be run in regular succession, at intervals of five minutes, with additional trains during the busy hours of the morning and afternoon. From their frequency they will be light and of nearly uniform weight; the passengers to take up and set down at each station, from the shortness of the interval between one train and another, will be few; fifteen are taken as the average, and will require but a momentary stoppage. The gradients will be uniformly good, and the rails will not be liable to be rendered slippery and dirty by the weather or other external influences. The trains will therefore be worked with a clock-work regularity, which is all-important for the business traffic of the metropolis, and will more than compensate for the comparatively low speed which will be attained—fifteen miles, including stoppages, is reckoned on.

"As the railway and carriages will always be under cover, they will not be liable to damage from the weather, and will, in other respects, be more economically managed and maintained.

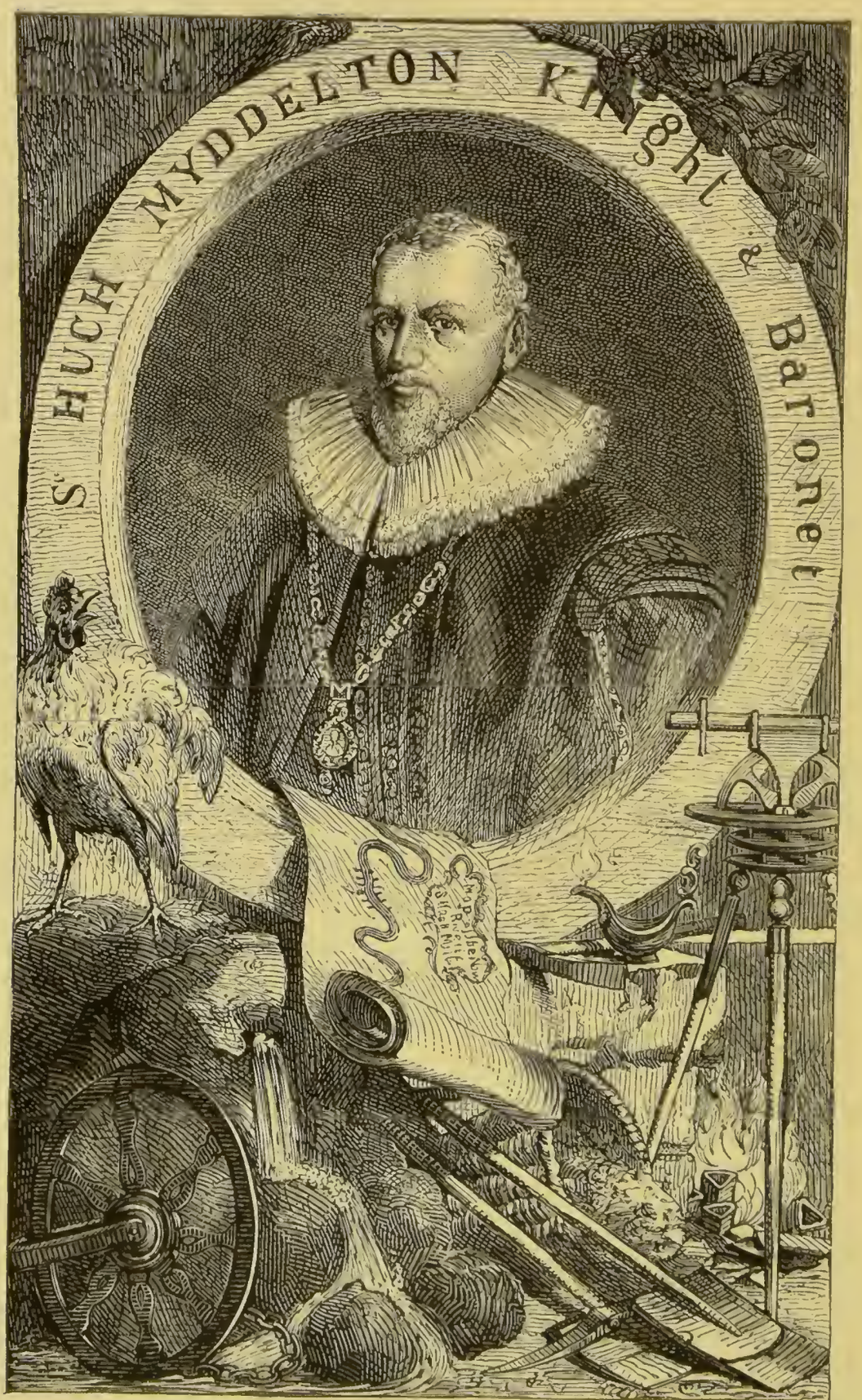
"It is impossible to conceive a system of railway communication better adapted for the accommodation of the London passenger traffic. The regular omnibus traveller, and the ladies and gentlemen who never venture into an omnibus, will at all times, and at each station, be certain to meet a conveyance to their taste, and which will assist them some distance on their journey with speed and comfort, and at a small charge.

"Any estimate based upon the crowds which may be expected to avail themselves of such a convenience, from Paddington, Kilburn, St. John's-wood, Marylebone, Regent's-park, Tottenham-court-road, Euston-square, King's-cross, to and from the City, and from the endless streams of traffic passing throughout the day between the intermediate stations and places to which they lead, would be deemed an exaggeration.

"The experiences of no existing railway can furnish the slightest indication of the numbers which may be expected, but the river steamboats, which touch at points further removed from the great thoroughfares at very uncertain times, which take longer time to perform their journeys, and are less conveniently approached, carry, it is computed, fifteen thousand persons daily."

It was estimated that the earnings of the line would be for passenger traffic alone about £600 per diem on threepence each for 48,384 daily passengers, and the yearly income, with a decreased traffic for Sundays, was estimated at £219,268. A great source of income, in addition, was expected from the goods traffic, to be carried chiefly by night, between the lines connected with the railway and the City, and it was anticipated that the other railway companies would erect large warehouses near the City stations.

The company formed was under the presidency of Arthur Wilkinson, Esq., M.P., and the deputy-chairman, Mr. John Parson, was a gentleman well-known in the railway world, and among the parishes of the metropolis, for he had been the prime mover in the Great Northern Railway, was the manager of the Worcester line, and was the Vestry Clerk of St. Luke's. The many disappointments which there had been acted disadvantageously to the young company, for the shares were taken up very slowly. The Act sanctioning a line was passed in 1854; but owing, it is believed, to the Russian war, no steps were taken for carrying it out until 1859, when the City Corporation, urged by their far-seeing solicitor, Charles Pearson, took up shares to the amount of £200,000, wisely considering that an important work of this character should not stand still for want of funds. At a great public meeting held on December 1st, 1858, at the London Tavern, Charles Pearson fully set forth his plans; and Mr. Alderman Rose moved, and Mr. Thomas Moxon seconded, a resolution that the Metropolitan Railway between Paddington and Farringdon-street, should be at once formed. This resolution was carried, and on January 28th, 1859, the citizens and gentlemen meeting at the Mansion House resolved to issue proposals to allot contractors' shares. The company was incorporated to raise one million sterling in £10 shares. £475,000 was subscribed; and on March 9th, 1859, a meeting at the London Tavern, resulted in another sum of £475,000 being at once raised, or promised. The Corporation of London had prosecuted the bill in Parliament at a cost of £141 8s., and became, as we



Sir Hugh Myddelton, from an Engraving made in 1632.

have stated, shareholders to the extent of £200,000. At the railway boards they were represented by three directors, and a common councilman elected from each ward as shareholders for them. The Corporation kept the shares until they were at a premium, and then, by throwing them into the market, made a good profit. This, however, did some injury to the company by lowering the value of the shares.

The excavation for the line commenced in January, 1860, and it was considered that it would be completed and ready for traffic in May, 1862—the year and season of the second Great Exhibition. This expectation was doomed to have a most bitter disappointment. The line was divided into two contracts; the first, from Paddington to Euston-square, being given to Messrs. Smith and Knight; and the other, from Euston-square to Clerkenwell, to Mr. John Jay. The turning up of the first sod was only the commencement of many engineering troubles. The contractors for the first portion had few of those troubles; but Mr. Jay was particularly unfortunate. The first contract ran nearly all the way through a bed of fine gravel, and in a broad road without houses near, while Mr. Jay's ran partly through the stone-like "London Clay,"[1] and partly through a made-up soil, for much of the land between King's-cross and Clerkenwell had been used as a laystall for the deposit of rubbish.[2] The disadvantage of this made soil was felt when streets had to be excavated, for the houses near cracked, and became uninhabitable. The filthy stream, known as the Fleet Ditch, had to be crossed three times, and this by itself was a stupendous work to accomplish. At the time the excavation was going on in Coppice-row, the thoroughfares were in a most deplorable state. The roadway from Wharton-street to the corner of Exmouth-street was completely shut up from the public, and a high hoarding prevented all inspection of the works which were going on. The same was the case with the roadway from Exmouth-street to beyond Bowling-green-lane. The footways along these thoroughfares, though open to passengers, were in a most inconvenient state for traffic, for "struts" were placed up to most of the houses to keep them from falling in, and the pavement in many places was sunken, making the path dangerously uneven. Nor were these all the troubles, for through the whole line where the tunnel came near to buildings those buildings gave every indication of speedy dissolution, and many houses, having been reported by the police surveyor as unsafe, were vacated by their occupants. The Clerkenwell workhouse was "tied" up in every conceivable way, and escaped without any material damage. Houses at each of the Coppice-row corners of Bath-street, two others at the west corner of Vineyard-walk, the Union Tavern in Bagnigge Wells-road, and some others, were so badly injured that they had to be taken down and rebuilt. The Cobham's Head was so much injured by the undermining that the house was reported as unsafe and had to be vacated. Previous to this, when the shaft was first sunk opposite the house, a New River main burst, flooding the shaft so quickly that the men in it were nearly drowned, and completely inundated the premises of the Cobham's Head, spoiling the stock, and the accident caused such a shock to the wife of the proprietor (Mr. Somers) that she died soon after. Many law-suits were instituted for compensation; but the railway company, in the majority of cases, were the victors, though they did not come off entirely free.

But these troubles were as nothing to that which is now to be recorded—the bursting of the Fleet Sewer into the railway works. To make this thoroughly understood it is necessary to describe the state of the scene of its occurrence. The whole of the ground from the mouth of the tunnel, now just opposite Pear-tree-court, to the site of the station, about eight hundred or nine hundred yards past Clerkenwell-green, was in course of excavation, but had a bridge crossing from the Sessions House. On the west side of the excavation some exceedingly strong brick piers were erected, and others were in course of erection, as was also the peculiarly shaped bridge near the mouth of the tunnel. In the centre of that portion of the excavation on the Coppice-row side stood an immense brick and stone tomb, containing the bones which had been found when the paupers' burial ground in Ray-street was disturbed.[3] Across the excavation numerous scaffolds were built, and these were supported by beams of immense thickness. On the night of Sunday, June 15th, 1862, a sinking of

[1] *Vide* page 21. [2] *Vide page* 82. [3] *Vide* pp. [illegible].

the earth was observed on the west side of the new street, at a very short distance from the curve of the street which leads to Warner-street. This was followed by a rush of sewer water into adjacent cellars. The cause was soon discovered to be from the breaking in of the crown of the arch to the Fleet Sewer—the Black River of North London. Immediate steps were taken by the officers of the railway contractors to prevent their works becoming submerged, and their efforts were seconded by the officers of the Metropolitan Board of Works, the sewers being vested in the hands of that body. The hours of Monday, Monday night, Tuesday, Tuesday night, and part of Wednesday were spent in this endeavour. On Wednesday afternoon the breakage was becoming worse. The pavement was found to be sinking still further, and it needed but little knowledge for one to be aware that if the roadway sank on the sewer and stopped its passage the stream of many thousand gallons a minute would find a vent somewhere, and that vent would be most likely the scarcely completed works of the railway. Mighty dams had been placed against the masonry-like walls of the railway to give them additional strength; but at about four o'clock the earth around the spot of the breakage was felt to shake, as though under the influence of an earthquake. Then was heard a cry of alarm, and men were to be seen hurrying from the point with all speed. The next few moments were moments of terror and horror. Suddenly the net work of scaffolding, composed of the largest and heaviest beams it was possible to obtain, was hurled in the air, and fell to the earth with a crash like thunder, amid the screams and shouts of thousands of spectators, whose excited fancies pictured some helpless workmen in the ruins. There was an intense silence for a moment, and then the immense piers of brickwork, about fifty or sixty feet in height, were to be seen slowly moving from the bottom. The next phase was watched for with breathless anxiety and soon came. There was a gravel path at the bottom of the excavation near the foot of the piers, and this was to be seen, as though an indissoluble mass, slowly moving on one side, and then a dark fœtid liquid covered all, and rolled its way towards the mouth of the tunnel, tearing down, as it went, all obstructions, and snapping like straws the strongest piles of massive timber. The writer was an eye-witness of the whole scene, and at this moment stood at the mouth of the tunnel, by the side of the manager of the works and the engineers, all of whom had been busily striving to prevent this crowning calamity. The sighs which came from those men brought forcibly to the mind the lines—

> The engineer
> Who lays the last stone of his sea-built tower,
> It cost him years and years of toil to raise—
> And, smiling at it, tells the wind and waves
> To roar and whistle now—but in a night,
> Beholds the tempest sporting in its place—
> May look aghast.

No time was spent in useless regrets; the contractors of the company exerted themselves to provide a channel for the water to run off into the Thames, which was done through an old drain, and the officers of the Metropolitan Board of Works worked very hard to make a temporary channel, which, after many difficulties had been overcome, was executed; the old sewer was meanwhile rebuilt, and the injury to the railway was solidly repaired.

Up to the present time neither the Metropolitan Board nor the railway company has been fixed with the expense of the double accident—the breakage of the sewer and the injury to the railway. Each has sent in a claim to the other, and the matter is to be settled by arbitration, under the provisions of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act. The Metropolitan ratepayers would doubtless sooner see the company pay the expenses than have them paid out of the rates. The railway company alleges that the sewer was not sufficient for the purpose to which it was put, and a confirmation of this is found in a remarkable paragraph which was published in the Clerkenwell News so long back as October 13th, 1855—a time when there could not have been half so much for the sewer to carry as at the time of the breakage, for the population was not near so large at that date as it afterwards became. The paragraph in question was as follows :—

"Effects of the late Heavy Rains upon the Fleet Sewer.—The heavy rain and severe

thunderstorm which visited the Metropolis and country, to a considerable extent, on Thursday and the evening of Friday last, have materially injured the works in operation directed by the City Commissioners of Sewers for the formation of the new sewer from Clerkenwell to Farringdon-street. Soon after the storm on Thursday a vast quantity of water accumulated from the neighbourhood of Highgate, Hampstead, and Kentish Town, which flowed into the Fleet river, when, upon reaching the lower part of Saffron-hill (as, on a former occasion, there was not sufficient space in the sewer for the transit of the water), it overflowed into the adjoining street, and carried away a temporary bridge in Castle-street, and also damaged, by the force of the stream, which was very rapid, the foundation of a portion of the sewer. Notwithstanding the new sewer is much larger than the old one, there are fears that in the event of any violent storm, it will not have sufficient diameter to carry off the water that will flow into it from the northern parts of the Metropolis, particularly should there be a flood tide at the time."

It would seem from this that the railway company have a case, for the storm which the above prophetical paragraph anticipated would do this damage actually swept over the Metropolis shortly before the first indication of the weakened state of the sewer.

The effects of the accident were speedily overcome, and the line was finished about October, 1862; but was not opened until some months after. The cause of this was stated to be a difference between the Great Western Railway Company, who had agreed to work the line, and the Metropolitan Company, as to the terms. Another reason for the non-opening was said to be because the Government Inspector would not pass the line until a most intricate system of signals had been invented. The public expectations had been raised very high as to the great conveniences which the line would afford, and the continued delay in the opening caused great discontent. At length, towards the end of 1862, it was definitely announced that the line would open early in the new year. The temporary station in Farringdon-road was fitted up in its whole length (about nine hundred feet) as a dining hall, and tables were arranged for about seven hundred guests. On the 9th of January a very large company, composed of members of the two Houses of Parliament, representatives of the Press, well-known engineers, the highest members of the City Corporation, and most of the local gentry, assembled at the Great Western Station, at Paddington. The company first viewed the Bishop's-road station, and then started, in the first *bona fide* passenger train ever run, amid loud and enthusiastic cheers from people who crowded the unfinished walls. At each station between Paddington and Clerkenwell—viz., Edgware-road, Baker-street, Portland-road, Gower-street, and King's-cross—the passengers alighted and made an inspection, and the greatest delight was expressed at all that was to be seen, and at the great comfort with which the journey was made. The air was very clear, the carriages exceedingly comfortable—all well lighted with gas, cushioned, and carpeted—and everything that could be wished. When the train ran into Farringdon-road Station the visitors were welcomed with every demonstration of joy. Bands of music were playing, flags waving, people cheering, and such like, and then the visitors were ushered into the temporary but handsomely fitted dining hall, in which was spread a most sumptuous banquet. In the speeches made after the banquet full justice was done to the patience and perseverance which had overcome all the difficulties besetting the work, and no small tribute was paid to the genius of Charles Pearson, then lately deceased, in whose mind the idea of the railway first arose, and who certainly did no little towards the carrying out of the great undertaking. The next morning the first public trains ran, and a great rush of people to ride by the new road testified to the pent-up curiosity of the general public.

For weeks the stations were thronged with people desirous of riding, and the traffic was comparatively nothing to what it might have been if the Great Western Company had carried over the rails all who desired to ride; but the accommodation was somewhat scanty, and the dwellers out of town, who desired a quick ride to and from the City, found that they could not depend upon the railway. The consequence was that the number of riders fell off, and other causes besides the uncertainty of obtaining trains also operated injuriously to the traffic. The public had been promised to be carried in handsome and well-lighted carriages through a tunnel free from smell; but very shortly after the line was opened, old dingy carriages, lighted with oil, were no rarity, and, worse

than all, the tunnel was far from being free of sulphuric fumes, and of blended smells from coke and steam. So low did the traffic become, and from nothing but these causes, that instead of clearing £600 a day, as was reasonably estimated in 1856, the traffic returns for a whole week were only £1885 (with Sunday traffic), scarcely half that which had been estimated. Matters were not at all smoothed by a quarrel which now occurred between the two companies, the Great Western as lessees, and the Metropolitan as proprietors. The former company desired some modification of the terms upon which they worked the line. The latter refused to accede to the request, and then the Great Western Company's Directors, on the 18th July, 1863, notified that they would not work the line after the 30th of September. The Metropolitan Company took the responsibilities thus thrown upon them, and made arrangements for continuing the traffic on the 1st of October. The Directors of the Great Western, seemingly desirous of compelling the Metropolitan Company to accede to their terms, published in the August time-table a notification that they would not be responsible for the traffic after the last train on the 10th of that month, thus throwing the Metropolitan Company on their own resources. Within a few days, with the assistance of the Great Northern Company, the Directors of the Metropolitan Company were enabled to make an endeavour to meet their extraordinary position, and they issued a notice to the public detailing the circumstances by which they were surrounded. The notice concluded as follows:—"The Metropolitan Directors are not unmindful of the responsibilities of their position, but they are confident that the Metropolitan line will ere long be worked in a manner and to the extent that was originally intended, which it has not hitherto been, nor, as events have made apparent, was ever likely to be whilst in the hands of the Great Western Company, and whereby alone it can secure its fair share of the enormous local traffic requiring accommodation. It will be the object of the Metropolitan Directors to bring into action such a system of working, so soon as they can obtain the requisite stock, whereby they feel assured that the convenience of the public will be much enhanced, and the receipts of the company greatly increased. The Directors are making all necessary arrangements, and in the meantime have only to ask from the public every reasonable indulgence, and from the shareholders their full confidence."

The public most assuredly wish the company a speedy deliverance from their difficulties, so that the line may fulfil its mission and become a real boon to the Metropolis.

By the report of the Directors of the Metropolitan Railway, published in August, 1863, it appears that the Great Western Railway Company received £53,058 in respect of passengers carried by them over this railway from the 10th January to the 30th June, of that year: and that the total expenditure of the Metropolitan Railway Company to the latter day amounted to £1,473,748 2*s*.

Little more remains to be told. It is anticipated that the Metropolitan Railway will shortly be connected with the London, Dover, and Chatham Railway, and afterwards with the Edgware and Highgate Railway, and which, with the conjunctions it has with the Great Western and Great Northern, must tend to make it, when carried out with proper engines, one of the most convenient, as it certainly is the most peculiar and spirited railway ever undertaken. The progressing extension of the line to Finsbury, the work of which has commenced in and near Clerkenwell, by the demolition of houses in Lime-alley, Round-court, Coweross-street, and Sharp's-alley, will open for the company a still more profitable traffic, and then, it is to be hoped, unconditional success will repay for all the great misfortunes which the company has hitherto experienced.

At the Farringdon-road station of the Metropolitan Railway, which is about one hundred yards from the foot of Holborn-hill, there are three platforms, two for passengers, and one for goods. Two of the lines which run into the station are doubled for the broad or narrow gauge, the other for the narrow gauge only. The railway runs in an open cutting from this station parallel with Farringdon-road, until the mouth of the tunnel is reached near Coppice-row. This tunnel is about six hundred yards long, and terminates at Frederick-street, Bagnigge Wells-road, and is ventilated by an opening in the crown of the arch, about half-way in. There is then an open cutting to the tunnel mouth at King's-cross, where there are two branches connecting with the Midland and Great Northern Railways. The retaining walls are fine specimens of brickwork, carefully finished, and the mouth of the tunnel has considerable architectural decoration. The station at King's-cross is a few feet below the surface

of the road, and is a most elegant piece of work in every respect. There are two wide platforms; and spanning a width of about ninety feet, and sustained by girders of open work, is the station building itself, containing booking-offices, waiting-rooms, parcels-offices, &c., communicating with the platforms by stairs and landings in duplicate, one set serving for arrivals, the other for departures. The station is covered by an elliptical wrought-iron roof, with sufficient glass to preserve an agreeable but not a glaring light, and is considered to be the handsomest station on the line. Passing under the New-road, the next station is at Gower-street. The platforms here are under the footpaths of the road, and with the railway are spanned by a huge arch of forty-five feet opening. The sides of the arch are perforated with openings at intervals of ten feet; these openings are continued into the forecourts or gardens of the houses, where, area like, they emerge, and are covered with glass, the whole having the appearance of windows, with elongated reveals, lined with glazed white earthenware tiles. Thus both direct and reflected rays of light impinge upon each platform, and completely light the whole substructure. Ingress and egress to the stations are effected by means of booking offices placed on the north and south sides of the Euston-road, in the gardens of the houses, and by wide exit and entrance stairs, leading from the booking offices to the platforms. This station, with its numerous intersected and intersecting arches, is novel in its appearance and imposing in its effects. Portland-road station is the next one. It is above ground, and occupies the site of the once verdant oval inclosure near Trinity Church. One booking-office here suffices; and the lighting and ventilation are effected by a pair of domes, and by openings in the crown of the arch. The communication with the platforms is by stairs and galleries across the line, which, sustained by trelliswork, have a light and pleasing effect. The station at Baker-street, which is the next one, is similar in almost all respects to that of the Portland-road. The station at the Edgware-road, though of somewhat smaller dimensions, is not unlike that at King's-cross. It spans over the line and platforms, and is covered by an elliptical arched roof of iron and glass. The brickwork is faced with Ransom's patent stone, and all the ornamental parts of the bridges are formed of that material. At the Great Western Railway the station is very conveniently placed, and is on a level with the Paddington station. Between Paddington and Praed-street the line is not, strictly speaking, a tunnel. After leaving the Great Western the railway gradually inclines till it passes beneath the wharf, and from this spot it is covered for a distance of one hundred and forty feet by iron girders. The arch of the railway is of an elliptical form, and is composed of six half-brick rings, forming a depth of two feet five inches. It curves about, following the direction of the South Wharf-road, till it arrives at the junction with the huge bell mouth, with a branch which is to run westward along Praed-street to the Great Western Hotel. This bell mouth, covered with elliptical wrought iron ribs, two feet six inches deep, cross girders between them, and iron plating over the whole, is a really grand engineering picture. The girders rest on stone tem-plates, projecting forward from, and let into the brickwork, and spring over the two tunnel mouths to the extent of fifty-eight feet six inches. There are fifteen of these girders, seven feet six inches apart. They diminish gradually in width to thirty-five feet, where they are joined with the brick arches, which again are gradually diminished till the ordinary width of the tunnel is attained. A layer of asphalte is laid on the top of the iron plates over the girders, the haunches are filled in with concrete, and on this the road stuff is laid. The whole forms a work of extraordinary strength and solidity.

The distance between the two terminal stations is within a few yards of three miles and a half in length. From west to east the average slope downwards of the whole line is about one in three hundred feet, but there is no steeper gradient throughout than one in one hundred. Its greatest curve is of two hundred yards radius, the greatest depth from the ground above to the rails is fifty-four feet, and there are not more than one thousand two hundred yards of straight line throughout. The span of the arch of the tunnel is twenty-eight and a half feet, its form elliptical, and height seventeen feet, except in the parts where there is great superincumbent pressure, when the form of the arch is slightly altered to give it greater strength, and to admit of taking the crown to a height of nineteen feet. The foundations of the tunnel go from four feet to five feet into the solid ground on each side below the rails, except in some few places where the close vicinity of very heavy building

rendered extra strength necessary; and here the tunnel has been driven like a shaft, and is a ring of brickwork above and below. The lightest parts of the tunnel have six rings of brickwork; railway arches of greater span are seldom built with more than five.

The following is the history of the land in Farringdon-road, which was taken of the Corporation of London for the purposes of the Metropolitan Railway :—By a resolution of the Court of Common Council made September 27th, 1838, was created the Finsbury Estate Surplus Fund; and by another resolution, made October 23rd, 1851, this fund was directed to be applied towards the erection of improved dwellings for the labouring classes, in accordance with an act of Common Council, passed May 29th, 1845. By the Clerkenwell Improvement Act, the Corporation obtained powers to erect such dwellings on the land acquired. The fund then amounted to £42,369 3s. reduced three per cents., and it appears by a report from the Corporation committee, dated November 20th, 1856, that the Corporation having purchased property at various periods, for this purpose, had sold out £30,000, to meet necessary expenditure; and it was not desirable to proceed with the buildings at the then present time. A return made March 19th, 1860, showed that the cost of property thus purchased, including ground, premises, interest, &c., amounted to £34,569 5s. The ground was required by the railway company, and the purchase money for the whole of the land belonging to the Corporation and sold to the company amounted to £179,157, which with an addition of £16,422 14s. 6d. for interest, made a total of £195,579 14s. 6d. Of this sum, the site obtained for the lodging-houses was valued at £34,570. The company has paid £65,193 4s. 10d., and is to pay the remaining amount by instalments in the years 1872, 1882, 1892, and 1900, paying in the meantime £4 10s. per cent. per annum interest. The lodging-houses are to be erected, and it is expected that the north end of Farringdon-road will be the site.

Some interesting relics were found during the excavations for the Metropolitan Railway, in the neighbourhood of the Fleet Ditch, including coins of the reigns of Henry VIII., Mary, Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and James II.; the sovereign, or sceptre unit of James; a coin of tin, struck by James II., for America; also several halfpence and farthings of the same metal, with copper plugs in the centre; numerous leaden pieces impressed with trade devices, merchants' marks, &c.; a number of spoons and keys of various dates, one spoon marked 1598. There were also found articles in leather, comprising jerkins, collars, and shoes, from Henry VIII. to James I., many decorated and slashed according to the then prevailing fashion; likewise sheaths of daggers and girdle-knives, with many notable varieties of the ink-horn. These relics were exhibited to the London, Middlesex, and Surrey Archæological Societies, when Mr. Butterworth, the chairman of the meeting, remarked upon the condition of the articles as evidence of the preservative qualities of the river mud of the Fleet.[1] Since the removal of the houses in Sharp's-alley, and the excavations which have taken place for the extension of the loop line of the Metropolitan Railway to the intended meat and poultry market, Smithfield, the workmen have discovered many relics of antiquity. Several coins, among them six nobles, tradesmen's tokens, &c., have been dug up, and while the workmen were making the extensive excavations towards the Sessions House, to the north of the iron bridge which crosses the railway near the Farringdon-road station, a potter's kiln and some encaustic tiles, of about three hundred and fifty or four hundred years back, were found. This kiln occupied part of the vacant ground which once formed the site of Bowling-street, Peter-street, and a large number of densely-populated courts and alleys, which, with their many intricacies here led down to the Fleet-ditch. The entire demolition of this neighbourhood, and the consequent accumulation of rubbish, rendered measurements uncertain; but the kiln rested on the natural clay of the locality, and its position was some fourteen feet from the surface level of Turnmill-street. There had been a considerable rise of the ground in this part of London during a comparatively recent period; and it is most likely that large quantities of the rubbish collected after the great fire of 1666, which did not extend to this neighbourhood, were deposited here. The excavations showed that to a considerable depth the soil was made ground. Originally this kiln, over which the ground had risen fourteen feet, was no doubt

[1] *Illustrated London News*, 2nd May, 1863.

built on the natural bank of the River Fleet. The kiln was about sixteen feet long and ten feet wide, and consisted of three parallel arches, which averaged two feet wide by one foot high, separated from each other by a pier of about twelve inches in width. These arches constituted the furnaces, and supported a level floor, which was pierced at equal distances, with a series of openings each two feet long by five inches wide. Through these the heat would rise from below for firing the tiles. On the spaces between these apertures the tiles were probably placed, either laid in "saggers," if the nature of the fuel rendered protection from smoke necessary, or what is more likely, simply stacked for burning. There were thirty of these openings remaining, though in some instances the intervening spaces had fallen away. The entire structure was composed of plane tiles, similar to those used for roofing purposes. These, in such exposed situations as the sides and roof of the furnaces, had "run" together and become covered with a highly vitreous glaze, though where protected from the heat, they were of a bright red colour, and as perfect as when first used. They were also made to serve as the paved floor or fireplace of the kiln, the three arches, as even as the intermediate piers, being built upon two rows of such tiles, one overlaying the other and vertically placed. This well-made flooring formed a solid foundation of about fourteen inches thickness. In the furnaces the tiles composing it had been cemented together with concrete, which had been afterwards smoothed over to present a hard and even surface to receive the fuel. This layer was when found as strong as ever it had been, and was apparently a great preventive against the edges of the tiles becoming broken and torn away by the action of the fire. In it was traced a great quantity of burnt wood; so possibly charcoal was the fuel employed, which is the more probable from there having been discovered no sign of flue or aperture for the escape of smoke. The rubbish immediately overlaying the kiln principally consisted of broken tiles and bricks. These, doubtless, formed part of the walls of the kiln, which would be built up to a certain height around the perforated floor. In clearing away the rubbish, a few tiles were discovered; they were of different sizes, but all of familiar types, and appeared to have been refuse tiles, spoilt and blistered in the burning, and consequently thrown on one side as unfit for use; many though glazed were quite plain and devoid of pattern; some had the figure of white clay laid in *cavetto*, but unglazed, while others indicated how both device and glaze had been destroyed by excessive heat. Among the designs may be mentioned, the "Fleur de Lys" in bloom, and the double-headed eagle—devices frequently met with on tiles of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Of such, Gloucester, Oxford, Worcester, and Malvern have numerous examples, and similar specimens are to be met with in many other of our ancient country churches.

Mr. John E. Price, of Coweross-street, carefully examined the kiln, and had a photograph of it taken. At a meeting of the Middlesex and Surrey Archæological Societies recently held, he read a paper upon it; and in his remarks he stated his opinion that this might be considered to be the first instance of the remains of a mediæval kiln for burning encaustic tiles having been found in London; and though with but few characteristics that were new, it added another to the list of kilns which had been brought to light in this country, and afforded corroborative testimony to the fact of decorative tiles having formerly been made in England in considerable quantities. He also referred to the fact that in the year 1843, during the progress of some excavations in Cloth-fair, on the site of part of the ancient Priory of St. Bartholomew, many glazed tiles of early workmanship were found, and ventured to conjecture that this kiln being so short a distance from the priory, and in equal proximity to that of St. John's, Clerkenwell, might centuries since have been employed in the manufacture of encaustic tiles for both these places. About the year 1506, Prior Bolton began extensive repairs at the Priory of St. Bartholomew, and then used encaustic tiles for the pavement there. Whether they were supplied by this kiln or not, it is certain that no longer back than the beginning of the present century, there were potteries along the banks of the Fleet; and some of these were situate near where the Clerkenwell Police-court is now.

At a meeting of the British Archæological Association, held April 23rd, 1862, Mr. Gunston made the following communication relating to a professed discovery of antiquities in the vicinity of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell:—"During the latter part of March last, two men, dressed as navvies, came to me and stated that they belonged to a gang employed in excavating for the

Metropolitan Underground Railway, and that a few days previously, at a depth of twenty feet, was discovered, in apparently an old well, the remains of a wooden chest, in which were a number of leaden medals and figures, some of which they had brought for inspection and for sale. Having communicated with Mr. H. Syer Cuming, they were carefully examined, and the affair was at once regarded as an attempt at deception." Mr. Gunston then describes the medals and figures.[1] The Editor of this History had a like attempt at deception made upon him with the same articles, but he had been prepared against the fraud by the above communication.

WILDERNESS ROW.

This row, which is approached from St. John-street by a narrow avenue, formerly known as Pardon Passage, is built upon ground which was once the property of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

The old houses, to which the name of Wilderness Row has been given, were so called from their facing the "Wilderness," a beautiful plantation of trees on the north side of the Charterhouse grounds, the boundary wall of which determines the extent of the parish of St. James in this direction. This wilderness is described in an old tract of the year 1707, called "A Trip to the Charterhouse, or the Wilderness Intrigue," as "a small yet complete little flower garden, formed of shady walks and complete parterres, and adorned with some very rare trees and shrubs, which we must confess have but a dingy hue, notwithstanding there are not many such gardens in London"

This locality is one of great interest and celebrity, inasmuch as it formed part of Pardon Churchyard, a tract of land which extended from the Charterhouse wall and beyond it to Sutton-street, and which was originally converted into a burial ground under very emergent circumstances.

In 1348 a dreadful pestilence—"Black Death" as it was called—which had its rise in Asia, spread westward over the continent of Europe, decimating its inhabitants by thousands. In its appalling march it reached England, and, visiting the metropolis in November of that year, the foul contagion carried off its inhabitants in such numbers that scarcely were survivors found to bury the dead, and many thousands were interred in the open fields. Ralph de Stratford, then Bishop of London, shocked at the sepulture of so many "unhousel'd, unanointed, unanneled," bought and consecrated a piece of ground by Clerkenwell—three acres in extent—called "No Man's Land," and thereon erected a small chapel, where masses were said for the pardon and repose of the souls of those hapless ones who had quitted the world without receiving the last offices of the Church. This place was afterwards called Pardon Chapel and Churchyard. So devastating were the ravages of this dreadful plague, that it became necessary to enlarge the cemetery. This was accordingly done by the purchase of Spital Croft (an adjacent field) by Sir Walter Manny, of the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which field was also consecrated, and the two being united, the place was afterwards named "New Church Hawe." Stow mentions a stone cross in this cemetery with the following commemorative inscription "engraven on brass":—

"AN. DOM. MCCC.XL.IX.

Regnante magnâ Pestilentiâ consecratum fuit hoc Cæmeterium, in quo et infra septa præsentis Monasterii sepulta fuerunt mortuorum corpora plusquam quinquaginta millia; præter alia multa abhinc usque ad præsens; quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen." Which is thus translated:—

"In the year of our Lord, 1349.

During the great pestilence this cemetery was consecrated; in which and below the site of the monastery lie buried the bodies of more than fifty thousand persons, and many more from that time to the present; on whose souls may the Lord have mercy. Amen."

[1] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1862, vol. xviii, page 371.

The terrible scourge to which we have referred was almost universal in its infliction. Sweeping from China, across the wilds of Tartary, the march of "Black Death" lay through Egypt, the Levant, Greece, Italy, and southern Europe, and by turns it visited Germany, France, and England. In some parts of the world it destroyed a fourth, in others a third of their inhabitants, and sometimes so fatal were its ravages that it left not a tenth part. In Paris from forty to fifty thousand persons fell beneath its stroke. There were sometimes eight hundred burials in a day. Nine-tenths of the population of England were destroyed. In London the mortality was dreadful; one hundred thousand persons are reputed to have perished there of this loathsome disease, and when the plague was at its height there were, it is said, on an average two hundred persons buried daily in Pardon Churchyard. Fifty-one thousand perished by this dreadful visitation in the city of Norwich.

The symptoms of this alarming malady in western Europe were ardent fever, attended with profuse expectorations of blood, and the appearance on the skin of black spots or boils, producing that putrid decomposition which gave to this disease the terrible name of "Black Death." In milder cases it was attended with stupefaction; the throat and tongue usually became black; no beverage could quench the burning thirst; and the intense sufferings of the poor victims continued unmitigated until they were released by death, which usually took place on the third day after the seizure, sometimes earlier; but many, in the desperation of despair, laid violent hands upon themselves. Boccaccio has penned, in the "Decameron," a vivid and appalling picture of the desolation which this plague wrought in Florence:—"When the evil had become universal the hearts of all the inhabitants were closed to feelings of humanity. They fled from the sick and all that belonged to them, hoping by these means to save themselves. Others shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives and children, and household, living on the most costly food, but carefully avoiding all excess. None were allowed access to them; no intelligence of death or sickness was permitted to reach their ears, and they spent their time in singing and music and other pastimes. Others, on the contrary, considered eating and drinking to excess, amusements of all descriptions, the indulgence of every gratification, and indifference to what was passing around them, as the best medicine, and acted accordingly. They wandered day and night from one tavern to another, and feasted without moderation or bounds. In this way they endeavoured to avoid all contact with the sick, and abandoned their houses and property to chance, like men whose death-knell had already tolled. Amid this general lamentation and woe the influence and authority of every law, human and divine, vanished. Propriety and decorum were extinguished among the helpless sick. Females of rank seemed to forget their natural bashfulness, and committed the care of their persons indiscriminately to men and women of the lowest order. Among the middling classes, and especially among the poor, the misery was still greater. Poverty or negligence induced most of these to remain in their dwellings or in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus they fell by thousands, and many ended their lives in the streets by day and by night. The survivors, to preserve themselves from infection, generally had the bodies taken out of their houses and laid before the doors, where early morn found them in heaps exposed to the affrighted gaze of the passing stranger. It was no longer possible to have a bier for every corpse—three or four were generally laid together—husband and wife, father and mother, with two or three children, were frequently borne to the grave on the same bier."

The young and beautiful Princess Joanna, second daughter of Edward III., scarcely fifteen years of age, and just on the eve of marriage, was the first victim slain by this dire malady in the village of Loremo, in France, to which her guardians had carried her for safety.[1]

In the year 1361 Michael de Northburgh, then Bishop of London, died, bequeathing the sum of £2000 for the foundation of a Monastery of the Carthusians in Pardon Churchyard, over the then scarcely half-decayed remains of mortality, which Monastery he endowed with leases, rents, and tenements in perpetuity.

Stow says that "Pardon Churchyard served, after its first purpose, for the burying of such as

[1] Green's *Princesses of England.*

desperately ended their lives, or were executed for felonies; who were fetched thither usually in a close cart, baled, veiled, and covered with black, having a plain white cross upon it, and at the fore end a St. John's cross without, and within a bell ringing (by the shaking of the cart), whereby the same might be heard when it passed; and this was called the Friary cart, which belonged to St. John's, and had the privilege of Sanctuary."

That this churchyard was a burial place of felons and such as died by their own hands there is abundant evidence. In the Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, consort of Henry VII., under date May, 1502, is an item of the payment of eight shillings to the Friary Clerk of St. John's, "for burying of the men that were hanged at Wapping mylne."[1]

From the "Grey Friars' Chronicle of London," printed 1852, by the Camden Society, we learn—"This yere (1537) the XXV. day of March, the Lyncolnechere men that with Bishop Makerell was browte owte of Newgate unto the yeldehalle (Guildhall) in roppys, and there had their jugment to be draune, hongyd and heddyd and qwarterd, and soo was the XXIX. of March, after whych was on Maundy thursdaye, and all ther qwarters with ther heddes was burryd at Pardonne Churchyerde in the frary."

It seems to have been a matter of profane concern in the early ages of the Mother Church that the souls of the unhappy wretches above mentioned should perish or even linger in an uncertain state for want of that which she impiously presumed it was in her power to bestow for a trifling pecuniary consideration. *Written Pardons* drawn up in form by ecclesiastical scriveners and notaries were actually buried with those who paid, or whose friends paid competently for them, while the purchasers were delusively persuaded of their efficacy, and that they would operate beyond the grave. Such was the fact supported by the testimony of Dr. Walter Haddonan, eye witness of some of these interments, who says, that "among a great number of rotten carcases were found caskets full of pardons safely folded up and lapt together at the bottom of their graves."[2]

The parcel of ground upon which Pardon Chapel was founded appertained to the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, for we find Sir Thomas Docwra, Lord Prior, in 1514, granting to one Edmund Travers for services done to that Priory, "as well in parts beyond the see as on this syde the see, the custodye and keepinge of our Chapell, called the Pardon Chapel, scitu' and lying without the Barrys of St. John's Street towards Iseldon, in the countie of Middlesex, and of all the ornamentes and other thyngs belonging to the said chapell; and in lyke wyse shall have the keping of the Chapellyarde of the saide Chapell, and all mane (manner) of oblations; and have also yeven unto the saide Edmond frely, w'out any thyng paying, a cotage next adjoyning to the Utter Gate, att the entring into the lane going towarde the saide Pardon Chapell, on the north syde of the Utter Gate, w^th^ halfe of the chamber bielded on the said Utter Gate, and w^th^ an old kitchen covered with tyle, now being at down falling, and w^th^ a little gardyn thereto adjoyning bownding upon a little close; and have also granted to the said a gowne clothe of thre yerdes of brode clothe yerely ayenst Christmas, for a gowne clothe of the yeoman's livery in o^r^ hous of St. John's, and mete and drynk at the yeoman's table there. Provided alway that the said Edmund shall souffre my ffrary clark of London and Middx to have a key, as well to the said Utter Gate as of the Inner Gate of the said Pardon Chapell, for none other cans but for this cans only, that he and other o^r^ frary clarks may come to and fro the said chapelyerde for to bury in the same chapellyerde there, as ther seme place convenient, the bodies of all dede people, by auctorite of the Pope's pvalege, after the usance and custome of our ffrary, as often as cause shall require in that behalf during the lyffe of the said Edmond." The chapel was afterwards granted on the 18th of September, 1522, to William Cordall, "one of the clerkes syngyng and servyng in our Church of St. John called Clerkenwell."

This chapel, which was no doubt built of stone, had been demolished and replaced by an edifice of brick, also called Pardon Chapel, before the year 1561, when Lord North granted it during pleasure and rent free to one Thomas Cotton, a schoolmaster, "for the good desyre and affecion that

[1] *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, N. H. Nicholas. 8vo. p. 14.
[2] Pegge's *Curialia*, pt. 4, p. 41.

he (Lord North) beareth towards the virtuous educacion and bringing up of yowthe in learning." In this deed it is described as a brick building roofed with tiles, with a door at the west end, another on the south side, separated within by a wainscot partition into a choir, and nave, with three pews on the north and two on the south side of the former, and two pews and twelve seats in the latter. In 1565, by a deed of sale from Roger, Lord North, to the Duke of Norfolk, dated the 7th of June, Pardon Chapel, together with an orchard and walled garden called "The Brikes," in which it stood, and some adjacent land, were disposed of for £320. It had been previously leased by Edward, Lord North, to Thomas Parry, Esq., in 1554, with the same adjacent land, a garden and a small house upon it, for £13 6s. 8d. per annum. We read in "Machyn's Diary" as follows :—

"The xxj day of January, 1552, rod unto Tyburn ij felons; serten was for kyllyng of a gentylman of ser Edward North, knyghte in Charturhowse Cheyrchyard, the vij yere of Edward vj."

Stow, writing about the year 1598, of Pardon Chapel and its cemetery, speaks of it as being then "enlarged and made a dwelling house, and this buring ground is become a fayre garden, retayning the olde name of Pardon Churcheyarde."[1] Queen Elizabeth leased the Pardon Chapel estate in the 34th year of her reign to Thomas Goodison; subsequently it was in the possession of William Harborne, who, on the 19th of May, 1641, assigned the remainder of his term to John Clerke, receiver of the Charterhouse. Since then it has been in the hands of the governors of that institution; it has, however, been held for a term of years by various persons, among others by Baron Sotherton, Sir Edward Verney, knight-marshal, &c., &c. John Granger took it in 1645 for twenty-one years, on condition that no buildings should be erected upon it during that period.[2]

Of the later history of Pardon Chapel and churchyard little has been recorded. When Malcolm wrote, in 1803, the chapel was recollected as having stood directly facing the kitchen garden of the Charterhouse, and behind the houses in Wilderness-row, that is to say, on the north side of the row near its western extremity, on the site, or close to the site, of what is now Wilderness-row Chapel.

Maitland, writing in 1739, says "it is at present of the neighbouring inhabitants corruptly called 'Farden' Church-yard, there being nothing of the chapel left but its four stone quoins, the interstices whereof were some time ago rebuilt, and the whole converted into a dwelling-house, in the neighbourhood of which, a few years ago, in digging the foundations for divers new houses, a very great quantity of human bones were dug up, to the no small amazement of the bystanders."[3] Mr. Warner says that about the year 1820, "witnessed myself a great quantity of human bones being dug up nearly opposite the chapel for the purpose of making a drain across the street."[4] When the ground about this spot was opened in 1834, for the purpose of sewerage, vast numbers of bones and skeletons were found, being the remains, as was supposed, of those who died of the plague in 1348, and had been interred here. Among the bones a few galley halfpence, and other coins were found, as also a considerable number of abbey counters, or jettons.

What is now Wilderness-row is imagined to have originally formed, with Old-street, part of an ancient British trackway called Icknield-street, connecting the eastern counties, the abode of the Iceni, with the metropolis. It diverged out of the "Prætorian way," a road leading by way of Holborn and Oxford-street to Ad Pontes (Staines), at or about the end of Oxford-street, and pursued a north-easterly direction by Portpool-lane, Clerkenwell, Old-street, and Hackney, to Duraleiton (Low Leyton), in Essex. By the way, we may mention that, in Aggas's Map of London, published in 1560, the course of Old-street is shown, opposite to Pardon Churchyard, which is represented as a walled enclosure next to the north wall of the Charterhouse. On either side of Old-street at the western end were trees, and beyond them on the north side were open fields. The street led eastward unto Finsbury-fields. There was a pathway opposite Shoreditch Church, across the fields, indicating the site of the present Old-street-road. Later we find the western end of Old-street described as Rotten-row. At the east end of Old-street at the south corner stood the Dog Houses; and in a field on the north side of the street, but some short distance from it, stood the Pest House. Some

[1] Stow's *Survey*, ed. 1598, p. 356.
[2] Malcolm's *London Redivivum*, vol. i. p. 381.
[3] Maitland's *History of London*, ed. 1739, p. 764.
[4] Warner's MS. Notes.

particulars of this neighbourhood are given in a tract entitled "A True Discovery of a Bloody Plot intended to have been put in practice on Thursday, the 18th of this present November, against some of the chiefe of the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled by bloody-minded Papists. As also a relation of intended insurrections in six several parts of this land on the same day; discovered by Thomas Beale. London: Printed for the Author," 1614, 4to. 4 leaves:—"On Munday, the 15th day of this November, I was in my owne house at dinner at twelve of the clock. When I had dined (having no imployments at the worke of my calling) I tooke a little writing booke in my hand, which formerly I had written, and did intend to peruse it, and correct some faults, and supply some things wanting; but having no conveniency in my owne house, by reason of the frowardness of my childe, I thought best (it being a calme day) to goe into a secret field not far off, which formerly I had frequented for my owne private meditations. The field lyeth above Old-streete, betweene the way that commeth from Brick-lane in Old-streete; all men that use to goe that way, know that the first of those fields hath a common path, which goeth from the Kingsgate at the further end of Brick-lane towards the Pest House, over against this path. All the way on the other side of the field is a high banke cast up, which on the further side of it is shelving, like the side of a house eaves; and on that side the path is, it is straite downe like a mud wall, with a litell dry ditch cast up on this side."

The following tokens were issued by tradesmen living in Old-street in the seventeenth century:—

Obverse, The Bell Brewhovs—a bell. *Reverse*, In Ovlde Streete 1652—R. K. D.

Obverse, Iohn Fyllerton in Old Street—an anchor and *Reverse*, Iohn Sandsbvry in Old Street—a chequered square.

Obverse, Thomas Hedger—a crooked billet—T. M. H. *Reverse*, in Ovld Street 1688 his halfe penny.

Obverse, At the Princes Armes—the Prince of Wales's crest—P. C. *Reverse*, in Old Streete 1648—R. M. L.

Obverse, The Doggs Head in the—a dog eating out of a pot. *Reverse*, Potte in Old Streete—T. E. P.

Obverse, At the Blacke Gack—a black jack, or leathern pitcher. *Reverse*, in Ovld Streete—A. E. S.

Obverse, Robert Sackler at the—a bull. *Reverse*, Byll in Ovld Streete—R. S. S.

Obverse, Edward Tavener—a goat's head. *Reverse*, in Ovld Streete 1664 his halfpeny.

Obverse, Tho. Welles Fra Leonard—a tun. *Reverse*, The Bell in Ovld Street—a bell.

Obverse, Richard Yeatman at ye—a hart lodged; a comet above it. *Reverse*, in Ovld Street 1667 his halfpeny. Engraved in Boyne's "Tokens," plate 20. No. 12.

In Wilderness-row at one time resided the Rev. H. Foster, minister of the parish;[1] the Rev. G. Patrick, afternoon lecturer of Shoreditch; the Rev. Samuel Burder, author of "Oriental Customs;" and the Rev. J. B. Saunders, called at one time the "Chaplain of Noah's Ark," from the circumstance of his congregation of an afternoon at St. Faith's, Watling-street, being only eight persons.

At pages 69-70 *ante* will be found some particulars of the Rev. H. Foster; to them we may add the following:—Mr. Foster dwelt in Wilderness-row for nearly half a century. He was well known to the inhabitants of Clerkenwell a long time before they chose him as minister. He gave five guineas towards building a new school-room for the Clerkenwell Parochial Sunday-school, and an annual subscription of two guineas. He revised the "Explanation of the Church Catechism," published by the committee of the school; and gave five guineas towards the printing of it. He bequeathed £30 to the school at his death. In 1814 was published "The Bible Preacher, &c., consisting of 365 outlines of sermons in regular series from Genesis to Revelations, together with six complete sermons by the late Rev. H. Foster; printed from his own MSS., collected and arranged, with a memoir of the author, by S. Piggot, A.M." 12mo. Mr. Piggot was domestic chaplain to Lord Viscount Carlton, curate and afternoon preacher of St. James's, Clerkenwell, and Sunday evening lecturer of St. Antholin's, Watling-street. He was the author of a "Guide for Families, or Sacred Truth Unfolded for their use,

[1] *Vide* pages 69—70.

in a series of practical lectures, with appropriate prayers. 2nd edition, improved, with a biography of Henry Kirke White," 8vo., London, 1818; "A Funeral Sermon on the Death of Queen Charlotte," Job xiv. 14, London, 1818; and "Popery, Protestantism, and Infidelity Compared," a sermon, 8vo., 1822. An engraved portrait of the Rev. H. Foster was published on October 16th, 1804, during his lifetime, W. Waite being the artist. It represents Mr. Foster in his gown, band, and wig. He was stout and full-faced, and did not wear either beard or whiskers.

At a meeting of the Metropolitan Board of Works, held on January, 22nd, 1864, the Building Act Committee brought up a report, upon which it was resolved—"That the several houses and premises in the line of thoroughfare known by the name of Wilderness-row, Clerkenwell, be re-numbered continuously, commencing with 1 and ending with 36; that such numbers do commence at the end nearest Goswell-street."

THE RIVER FLEET.

See these two little brooks that slowly creep
In snaky windings through the plains,
I knew them once one river, swift and deep.

WILL. CARTWRIGHT.

And as a costly vallance o'er a bed,
So did their garland tops the brook o'erspread.

KIT. MARLOW.

This once familiar stream, now degraded to a common sewer,[1] whose hidden course follows the western boundary-line of the parish of Clerkenwell, is entitled to special notice on account of its being interestingly associated with the early, as well as with the later history of that parish. In monastic times it was called the Holeburne, *i.e.*, the burne or brook of the hole or hollow, a name having reference, it will be perceived, to the deep valley through which the stream originally flowed, and which the physical contour of the district, even at this remote period, strikingly exemplifies; and the almost forgotten names of Hockley-in-the-Hole and Black Mary's Hole, serve yet further to substantiate. Still it was only the upper part of the stream that received this appellation; that part of it which lay between Holborn Bridge, and the embouchure at the Thames, on the concurrent testimony of ancient records, was called the Flete or Fleet; most probably on account of the influence of the tide extending thus far. This subject has been ingeniously elucidated by T. E. T., in a letter to "Sylvanus Urban," in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. xlv., 1856, p. 486.

Stow, writing of the place now called Holborn, which was a highway of considerable publicity in the reigns of Henry II. and John, the village of Holborn being, as is alleged, erected on the bank of the bourn or brook, says:—"Oldborne or Hilbourne was the like water breaking out about the place where now the bars do stand, and it ran down the whole street till Oldborne Bridge, and into the river of the wells or turnemill brook. This bourne was likewise long since stopped up at the head and in other places where the same hath broken out, but yet till this day the said street is there called High Oldborne Hill, and both the sides thereof, together with all the ground adjoining that lie betwixt it and the river Thames, remain full of springs, so that water is there found at hand, and hard to be stopped in every house." We read that "The Olbourn or Holbourn, a rivulet springing up near Middle-row, made its way in a clear current, and fell into the River of Wells, at Holborn bridge.

[1] Sewer is a Saxon word, *sæ-wær*, that is, seafence, a protection against sea tides. This word occurs in various forms, all from the same root, and directed to the same idea. Thus we find *sæ-waroth* or *wearth*, sea-shore; and *sæ-weard*, sea-warden, keeper of sea. The word *wær* is still used; as the *wear* or *were* of a river or mill; wary, cautious, careful against danger. The *sæ-wær* might be of any kind; bank, wall, cutting, or otherwise. Lord Coke was fond of running after strange and far-fetched etymologies, but he never proposed a more far-fetched one than that, in 4 Inst., 275, of *sewer* from "issue, vulgarly *sue*; hereupon cometh the word *suera*," in barbarous law Latin. Even in that law Latin the word is properly written *severa* or *sewera*; and it is clearly a mere latinized form of the English word, like *trenchia*, which is excellent law Latin for "a trench."—TOULMIN SMITH.

Clerken well, and Skinner's well near it, and Fogg's well, Tod's well, Loder's well, and Rad well, near the Charterhouse, and another in Smithfield, called the Horse pool, all united by their streams, and formed the River of Wells."

Stow and other historians after him were without doubt in error when they recorded that a stream or brook called the Oldborne flowed down Holborn-hill into the River of Wells or the Fleet. The correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," whom we have quoted, offers arguments which disprove the statement; and we think that if any stream at all did flow down the hill it was only a very small one, and was not called the Old borne; and that the River of Wells, Turnmill brook, or the Fleet, was the water which bore the name of Holborn—a name not derived from Old bourne, but from Hole bourne or burne, the brook of the hole or hollow. That the name of Hole burne is most ancient is evident from the fact that it is to be found in Doomsday-book.[1]

"In the register or cartulary of the Nunnery of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, which register book is the oldest extant, being of the time of Richard I., or John, the description of the lands contained therein makes mention of a meadow near *(juxta)* Holeburne, and the bank *(ripam)* of Holeburne, and the land and meadow which are between Holeburne and the ditch that goes from Holeburne to the mill of the nuns and the ditch itself; and the license of conveying water from the Holeburne by that ditch to the aforesaid mill. The garden of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem is also said to be situated upon the Holeburne. It therefore seems to me that 'Holeburne' clearly means the same which has been generally called the Fleet, which is known to be in that locality, and the derivation of Holeburne will be obvious to anyone who observes the local peculiarities of the place, *i.e.*, where the stream runs in a deep valley or hole, which, in the same register, is described as *vallis*, where also there was a fishpool, and also a well called Skinner's Well. This may not be repugnant with the idea that the same stream took a different appellation at its embouchure at the Thames, where its overflowing at high tides might cause the formation of those standing waters which are called fleets, such as the Fleets of the Trent."

In the "Confirmatio Regis Henrici Secundi" we read, " . . . et pratum juxta Holeburne, et vivarium cum gardino in valle juxta domos earum (monialium) et hortum . . . vallem etiam cum alio vivario, et tres perticatas terræ juxta vallem in parte boriali, ad longitudinem vallis, a via quæ dividit terram monialium et terram Turstani usque in ripam Holeburne."[2]

"In the "Confirmatio Henrici Foliot et Leciæ uxoris suæ," we read, " . . . et vallem in qua fuit vivarium magnum, in quâ valle est Skinnereswelle, et tres perticatas terræ ultram illam vallem versus aquilonem secundum longitudinem vallis, usque in Holeburne, et ipsam vallem et vivarium, si ibi fuit vivarium, et terram quæ est inter illam vallem et godewelle, subtus viam usque in Holeburne . . . et v acras terræ juxta prædictam vallem quæ jacent secundum longitudinem versus meridiem et versus aquilonem; et terram et pratum quæ sunt inter Holeburne et fossatum quod vadit de Holeburne ad molendinum prædict' monialium, et ipsum fossatum et licentiam trahendi aquam de Holeburne per illud fossatum ad prædictum molendinum et gardinum hospitalariorum quod est super Holburne."[3]

Holborn is mentioned in "Liber A. sive Pilosus," of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. This shows that there was a chapel or oratory situate opposite to the church of St. Andrew, Holborn, which was within Holborn-street, a place that anciently gave name to what is now the prebend of Holborn in St. Paul's Cathedral, viz.—"Convenit inter Henricum decanum et capitulum Londinense ex parte una et dominum Johannem le Fraunceys concanonicum suum ex parte alia, quod idem scilicet Johannes de licencia ipsorum eriget sibi oratorium in curia sua quam emit de uxore et hæredibus quo rundam. Stephani de Lhome in strata de Holeburne ex opposito Sancti Andreæ in prebenda sua quæ dicitur de Holeburne strete. Et in eodem oratorio faciet sibi celebrare divina, salva indempnitate matricis Ecclesiæ. Actum Londini crastino Sancti Andreæ Apostoli. Anno Gratiæ

[1] *Ad Holeburne, Domesday*, i., 127a.

[2] *Confirmatio Regis Henrici Secundi.* Cott. MSS., Faustina, B. ii., fo. 9a. Mon. Angl. i., 432, ed. 1655.

[3] *Confirmatio Henrici Foliot et Leciæ uxoris suæ.* Cott. MSS., Faustina, B. ii., fo. 266. Mon. Angl. i., 430, ed. 1665.

M° CC Quinquagessimo." In a charter from Edward III. to Eubule (Ebuloni) l'Estrange and Alice (Alesiæ) his wife, and which is exemplified by Pat. 17, Edward IV., p. 1., n. 4, mention is made of the manor of Holborn, which is described as "Manerium de Holeburn in suburbiis London."

Lemon (quoting Cle. Voc. 73 and 131 n.) says Holbourn means "The bounds or limits of the college." The true derivation is from Anglo Saxon *eald*, *aeld*, old, *burn*, a stream, brook.[1] Fleet in local names in England is the Anglo Saxon *fleot* (Plat-Deutsch *fleet*, a small river, German *flethe*, a channel), a place where vessels float, a bay, gulf, arm of the sea, the mouth of a river; from *fleot-an*, to float, swim; perhaps indirectly from Sanskrit *plu*, to swim.[2] In Ingram's "Translation of a Saxon Chronicle," 1823, we are told that Fleot, Flet, Fled, Fleet, and Flot are derived from the Saxon Fleot, or Flod, a flood or flow of the tide.

The sources of the ancient River Fleet are delightfully situated on the elevated grounds of Highgate and Hampstead; the principal spring is in a secluded lane, at the rear of Caen Wood, the seat of Lord Mansfield; another is on the left of a footpath leading thence to Highgate; and the tiny brooklet formed by its waters communicates by a small arch with a reservoir, the first of seven storage ponds, on different levels, belonging to the Hampstead Water Company. Another of the spring heads rises in the midst of Caen Wood. All three springs are diverted so as to fill the reservoirs above mentioned, a small stream carrying off the redundant water, which is very trifling, except in wet seasons. A fourth spring flows from the Vale of Health, at Hampstead, in a narrow channel to another of the reservoirs, which are connected by means of large pipes passing from one to another. At a lower level the main stream meanders through the fields between Haverstock-hill and Kentish Town in a wide, deep and rugged channel, indicating that a considerable body of water must have originally flowed through it with a rapid current. The name of Kentish Town, which was formerly a mere country village, is supplied by tradition, which ascribes its origin to the place being situated on the bank of a stream (the River Fleet), which rose among the hills about Caen or Ken wood, and which was formerly called Ken or Caen ditch, hence Ken ditch Town, the town of Ken ditch, or Kentish Town. But the correctness of this etymology has been questioned by at least one historian. The Fleet passes on through Kentish Town, its course there being much hidden, and flowing in a south-east direction, it passes under the Regent's-canal to St. Pancras, where, until the year 1766, when it was arched over, it bore the name of Pancras Wash.[3] Running at the foot of the gardens in the rear of the houses in the Old St. Pancras-road it arrives at Battle-bridge, and so makes its entrance into Clerkenwell; following the line of the Bagnigge Wells-road, its covered course nearly coincides with the parochial boundary in this direction. Passing in an artificial channel alongside the western boundary wall of the House of Correction, its course lies beneath the valley between Turnmill-street and Saffron-hill; thence under Farringdon-street and Bridge-street, emptying itself into the Thames on the western side of Blackfriars-bridge. This stream was fed formerly by the overflowing of the springs for which Clerkenwell parish was once so noted, and this gained for it the appellation of the River of Wells. The River of Wells was so called in the time of the Conqueror. It then supplied the places through which it went with water for drinking. But its "sweet waters" were early tainted by impurities. In 1290 the prior of a house of Carmelites, situated in what is now called Whitefriars, complained to the king of the noxious exhalation arising from the Fleet, which was so abominable that many of the brethren died of miasma; and moreover its fœtid odours overpowered the fragrant incense which was burnt at their altars. To this complaint the Black Friars joined theirs; and the Bishop of Salisbury, whose palace was hard by, united with them in their grievous petition.

[1] Charnock's *Local Etymology*, p. 131.

[2] Charnock's *Local Etymology*, p. 105.

[3] Mr. Crosby says, that on August 9th, 1835, the channel of the River Fleet through the fields at Kentish Town was completely dry in consequence of the continued drought. Even the water round the two islands on the ascent to Highgate was extremely low. Mr. Crosby has left amongst his numerous drawings, one of the line of the new sewer joining that in College-street, and through which the Fleet was then diverted; made February, 1837; also one of the shorings for the new sewer from the arch through which the Fleet ran under the Regent's Canal at Camden Town to the sewer in College-street; made in the same year; and also a view of the Fleet and Highgate Church, from Fortress-terrace, Kentish Town; made September 28th, 1845.

In an ancient book of the Templars' lands, anno 1185, kept in the Stone Tower at Westminster, as a king's remembrancer's record (cited in "Mon. Angl." ii., page 526, ed. 1661), occurs the following:—"Redditus Bailliæ de London. Apud Flete, ex dono Gervasii de Cornhill Teintarii j. mesagium pro vs." In the time of King John, about Castle-lane (which led between Blackfriars and the Thames, and was so called in 26th Edward III.) was a mill belonging to the Templars. John granted a place in the Fleet River (Locus super Flete), near to Baynard's Castle, to make a tide mill, and the whole course of the water of the Fleet to serve the same mill. It is described in "Rot. Chart. 1° Johannis," memb. 34, as a mill in the water which cometh down from Fleet bridge.

In a parliament held at Carlisle, in the 35th year of Edward I., 1307, Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, complained that in former times the course of water running under "Holeburne" bridge and Fleet bridge into the Thames, had been of such breadth and depth that ten or twelve "naves" (ships) "were wont to come to Flete bridge, and some of them to 'Holeburne' bridge, yet that by the filth of the tanners and others, and by the raising of wharfs, and especially by a diversion of the water in the first year of King John, 1200, by them of the New Temple for their mills without Baynard's Castle, and by other impediments, the course was decayed, and ships could not enter as they were used."[1] On the petition of the earl, the Constable of the Tower with the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, were directed by writ to take with them certain "honest and discreet men to inquire into the former state of the river, to leave nothing that might hurt or stop it," and restore it to its original condition. The creek was cleansed, the mills removed, and other means taken for the preservation of the course; but it was not brought to its old depth and breadth, and therefore it was no longer termed a river but a brook, called Turnmill or Tremill brook, because mills were erected on it.[2] "But still, as if by nature intended for a common sewer of London, it was soon choked with filth again." The scouring of this muddy stream, which seems to have silted up about every thirty or forty years, was a continual expense to the City of London.

In Prynne's "Records," London, 1669, folio, under the head of "The courts, &c., within the City of London," he says that the records in the Tower, concerning the City in general, are so numerous that he cannot comprise them within the chapter; he, however, gives some of them, and then says, "To which I shall subjoin some others which may conduce towards the repairing, re-edifying the public edifices, walls, gates, bridges of the City, decayed or destroyed by the late consuming fire; and redressing some nuisances to the River of Fleet, and making it navigable as formerly to and under Holborn bridge, not unseasonable to be thought upon for preserving the health, and advancing the trade of those who inhabit near unto it" (p. 179). He afterwards says, "I shall add to these the petition of the Commons of London, and inhabitants of Holborn, in the parliament of 35 Edward I., against the obstructions of the Flete river to the hindrance of its navigation to Holborn bridge as formerly, and corruption of the air near it, with the king's commission for redress thereof grounded thereupon" (p. 186). This petition is in Latin, and in part runs as follows:—"Ad peticionem Comitis Lincolniæ que rentis quod cum cursus aquæ quæ currit apud London sub ponte de Holeburne et ponte de Flete usque in Tamisiam, solebat ita largus et latus esse, ac profundus, quod decem naves vel duodecim at prædictum pontem de Flete cum diversis rebus et mercand isis solebant venire, et quædam illarum navium sub illo ponte transire usque ad prædictum pontem de Holeburn." It will be observed that the water is described as running "Sub ponte de Holeburne et ponte de Flete" into the Thames.[3] The Commission mentions only "aquæ de Fletoe sub ponte de Holebourn."[4] The like commission issued to perfect this work, which was discontinued by the king's death.[5] Prynne adds, "whether such a commission and inquiry to make this river navigable to Holborn bridge or Clerkenwell would not now be seasonable, and a work worthy to be undertaken for the public benefit, trade, health of the city and suburbs, I humbly submit to the wisdom and

[1] An. 35, Edward I., *De cursu aquæ de Flete, supervidend et corrigend; Placita Parliamentaria*, p. 126.
[2] Stow.
[3] *Placita et Petitiones in Parliamento, an.* 35 *Ed.* I. *Ryley plac. Parl. p.* 340.
[4] *Pat.* 35, *Ed.* I, *m. dorso. De Cursu aquæ de Fleta super videndo et corrigendo.*
[5] *Pat.* 1, *Ed.* II, *pat.* 1, *m.* 14, *dorso de Cursu aquæ Flete, &c., reducend et impedimenta removend.*

judgment of those whom it most concerns" (p. 188). By this remark it appears that the Fleet was not navigable in May, 1669, the date of Prynne's book.

Stow says that before 1307, ten or twelve ships used to go up the Fleet as far as Holborn bridge.[1] In the third folio (recto) of that ancient book, the "Liber A. sive Pilosus," containing the ancient evidences of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, appears a notice of Fleet Hithe. It is thus mentioned in the following "Process of Recognition":—"Henricus Rex Angliæ vice comiti Lond' salutem precipio quod recognosci faciatis per probos homines de wardâ in quâ est hitha illa de fleta quam Henricus Arborarius tenet, ubi naves Sancti Pauli solent cum petrâ applicare an illa hida sit Sancti Pauli an Henrici. Et naves Sancti Pauli solent et debent ibi esse quieti de thelomo et consuetudine. Et quod Sanctus Paulus et Episcopus juste ibi habere debuerunt secundum quod recognitum fuerit, sine dilacione eis faciatis habere in omnibus rebus. Ne super hoc audiam inde clamorem. Teste W. de pont' apud Wintoniam." This writ of recognition is of the time of Henry I., as appears from the style of the king, and from the teste of the writ. The name of Henricus Arborarius, Henry the Woodmonger, occurs on the great "Roll of the Pipe" for the 31st Henry I. (London and Middlesex); and also in the "Registrum de Clerkenwell," as one of the earliest donors to the nunnery of Clerkenwell.[2] The process shows that Fleet Hithe was in the possession of Henry the Woodmonger; that the ships or barges belonging to the Dean and Chapter, laden with stone, were wont to unship their lading at that place; and that they sought to be quit of an ancient toll and custom which were exacted from them. The fact that the river was navigable under Holborn bridge is evidenced by the words "Ubi naves Sancti Pauli solent cum petrâ applicare," which ships and vessels, being laden with stone for repair of the church, must have drawn a great depth of water.[3]

In Lambert's "London," 1806, vol. i., p. 464, we read that about the year 1502 (*temp.* Henry VII.), the Fleet Dyke or ditch was cleansed out from Holborn to the Thames, so that it was made navigable by large boats laden with fuel and fish as far as Holborn bridge.

In 1560, Aggas published his map, "Civitas Londinum," by which it appears that at that time there were two bridges over the Fleet, one being "Holborne" bridge, and the other "Fleete" bridge. The former was situated at or about the spot which is now between Field-lane and Victoria-street, and the latter was situated at or about the spot where the present Fleet-street and Ludgate-hill join each other. Near to this bridge southward, that is, towards the river Thames, was a building which covered the Fleet; this building appears to have been either a dwelling-house or a warehouse; it was opposite to the northern end of Bridewell Palace, which extended to the shore of the river Thames, and was situated on the western side of the Fleet. From the spot where the dwelling-house or warehouse stood to the river Thames the Fleet was open, Bridewell bridge, which was afterwards built at its mouth, not having been then erected.

In Stow's "Survey," 1633, we read that Fleet bridge, in the west without Ludgate, was "a bridge of stone, faire coaped on either side with iron pikes, on the which towards the south bee also certaine lanthornes of stone, for lights to be placed in winter evenings, for commodity of travellers. Under this bridge runs a water, sometimes called (as I have said) the River of the Wels; since Turnmill brooke; now Fleet dike, because it runneth by the Fleet, and sometime about the Fleet, so under Fleet bridge into the River of Thames. This bridge hath been farre greater in times past, but lessened as the water course hath been narrowed. It seemeth to be made or repaired at the charges of John Wels, mayor, in the year 1431, for on the coping is engraved Wels, imbraced by angels, such as on the standard in Cheape, which he also builded." After the Great Fire, which destroyed Fleet-street bridge, another was built, which remained until 1765. In Strype's Stow, 1720, we read of this bridge, that "since the rebuilding of London it appears a fair stone bridge, being the breadth of the street, for the conveniency of coaches and carts, and contrived also for the safe passing of those who walk on foot, it being so great a thorowfare. The sides are raised above breast high, and thereon the City arms engraven with their supporters. Under this bridge goes the canal (as it is now called) as

[1] Strype's Stow, 1720, *p.* 221.
[2] MSS. Cott., Faustina, b. ii.
[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1854, vol. xli., N. S., p. 490.

far as Holborn bridge, where a little water called Turnmill brook falleth in, and emptieth itself into the Thames. On this fair canal stand two other bridges of freestone, on each hand of Fleet bridge, with a comely high arch, that vessels may pass under, being ascended by several stone steps; one of these bridges being opposite to Bridewell, and the other to Fleet-lane, near the Fleet prison." From the "New View of London," 1708, we learn that Fleet bridge was even with the street. "It leads from Fleet-street over the Fleet ditch to Ludgate-hill; is accommodated with strong battlements, which are adorned with six peers, and enriched with the arms of London, and supporters, pine apples, &c., all of stone; and between the peers are iron rails and banisters on the north and south sides of the bridge."

In the original correspondence of Zachary Williams, of the date 1751, and who was eighty-two years of age, are letters respecting a supposed discovery of his relating to the longitude. He was referred by the Admiralty to Dr. Bradley, who was authorized to examine into the proposed secret. The following letter appointing an interview is curious, as it tends to show that there were houses on Fleet bridge at the time when it was written :—

"To Mr. Zach. Williams, at the Rainbow Coffeehouse, on Fleet Bridge, London.

"Greenwich Park, Novr. 5, 1751.

"Sir,—Dr. Bradley has ordered me to let you know that he will meet you at the Rainbow Coffeehouse, on Fleet Bridge, between eleven and one o'clock on Thursday next, if he is not prevented; but if you do not see him then, he will let you know further. "I am your humble servant,

"John Bradley."

Amongst Mr. Crosby's papers we found a declaration, of which the following is a copy; it is headed with a pen and ink sketch of Fleet bridge :—

"Deposition of Mr. Thomas Calladine, one of the brothers of the Charterhouse, London, made at his own room in the Charterhouse, No. 18. Saith he is now aged ninety-six years of age, that is to say, he was ninety-five on the twenty-fourth of April last. He well remembers Fleet bridge, having often gone over it when a young man. It was a stone bridge of one arch; it had, to best of deponent's recollection, no stone parapet, but a wooden rail and posts on the south side; and was joined on the north to Fleet Market, as seen in the above view drawn on this same half sheet of paper. Deponent at the time he used to go over the Fleet bridge (which went from Fleet-street to Ludgate-street, and which bridge was flat, and had no ascent), was serving his apprenticeship to Mr. Edward, tailor, of Wine Office-court. Deponent signs this his relation this thirteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, at six p.m. "Thos. Calladine.

"Witness to the above deposition and signature by deponent,

"Thomas Hall, of the Court of Review.

"Anthony Crosby, 3, Stone-buildings, Lincoln's Inn."

In the "Liber Albus," or White Book of the City of London, compiled in 1419, the street of Fletebrigge, or Fleet Bridge-street, is referred to; and in the same book we read of the cleansing of the Foss of the Flete. Amongst the tolls we find, "Every cart that brings corn into the City for sale, shall pay one halfpenny; if it enters by way of Holburne or by the Flete it shall pay one penny, the franchise excepted. The cart that brings nuts or cheese shall pay twopence; and if it enters by the Flete or by Holeburn, it shall pay twopence halfpenny."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580, *temp.* Mary, mention is made of a confession dated March 30th, 1556, of William Hinnes, relating to the conversation he had with Bedell, at Greenwich, and Fleet Bridge; with other particulars. And later in the same year we find "Notes out of Hinnes's confession, to charge Bethell with, as to meeting him at Fleet Bridge, &c. Reported landing of certain English gentlemen in the west of England."

In the "Secret History of the Rye House Plot and Monmouth's Rebellion," written by Ford, Lord Grey, who was a party thereto, and addressed to James II., 1685, which history was first printed in 1754, by Andrew Millar, in the Strand, are notices of the intended rising in London, and of the conspirators' project to make the Fleet and its bridges defensible, as the following extracts (dated October 16th, 1685) will show :—"About the latter end of October, Monmouth said to Sir Thomas Armstrong and Lord Grey that it was necessary for them to view the passage into the City, which accordingly they did from the lower end of Fleet ditch next the river to the other end of

it by Snow-hill. Sunday night was pitched upon for the rising in London, as all shops would be shut. Their men were to be armed at the Duke of Monmouth's, in Hedge-lane, Northumberland House, Bedford House, and four or five meeting houses in the City. The first alarm was designed to be between eleven and twelve at night by attacking the train bands at the Royal Exchange, and then possessing ourselves of Newgate, Ludgate, and Aldersgate. The first two gates we did not design to defend unless we were beaten from Fleet Bridge and Snow-hill, where we intended to receive the first attack of the king's guards. At Snow-hill we intended to make a barricade and plant three or four pieces of cannon upon ships' carriages; at Fleet Bridge we designed to use our cannon upon the land carriages, and to make a breast work for our musqueteers on each side of the bridge next us, and to fill the houses on that side the ditch with men, who should fire from the windows, but the bridge to be clear."

In Boyne's "Tokens" we find that the following coins were issued by tradesmen of Fleet Bridge, in the seventeenth century:—

Obverse, At the Rose Tavern—a full blown rose. *Reverse*, At Fleete Bridg. 49—W. D. B.

Obverse, Tho. Cartwright Golden—a windmill. *Reverse*, Neere Fleet Bridge—T. C.

Obverse, The Kings Arms—the royal arms. *Reverse*, At Fleet Bridge—I. G. H.

Obverse, In George Yard at—T. A. S. *Reverse*, Fleet Bridg. 1658—Noah's ark and dove.

Obverse, Mathew Sore at ye Rose—a rose. *Reverse*, At Fleet Bridge. 1668—his halfe penny—M. S. S.

Obverse, Tho. Stroyd at the 3—three tongues. *Reverse*, Fleete Bridge—T. I. S.

Obverse, Will Tomkins at—W. W. T. *Reverse*, Fleete Bridge. 1657—a spread eagle.

Obverse, Will Wall capp maker—the Merchant Tailors' arms. *Reverse*, At Fleet Bridge—W. M. W.

Obverse, Edmond Wratten at ye—the Weavers' arms. *Reverse*, Neere Fleet Bridge—his halfpeny.

By Aggas's Map of London, published in 1560, it appears that Holborn-bridge then had houses upon it on the north side. We read in Stow's "Survey," 1633, that in 1598, Oldbourne bridge, over the River of Wells towards to the north, was so called of a bourne that sometimes ran down Oldbourne hill unto the said river; but we have explained the incorrectness of this etymology. This bridge of stone, like as Fleet bridge from Ludgate west, served for passengers with carriages or otherwise, from Newgate toward the west, and by north.

William Lamb, citizen and cloth-worker, and sometime gentleman of the chapel to Henry VIII., "founded a faire conduit and a standard, with a cocke, at Holborn bridge, to convey thence the waste." The conduit itself was in the fields (now Lamb's Conduit-street). It was discovered bricked over, by Mr. Wykeham Archer, in 1851. The water is clear and slightly astringent; and the Mansion House is said still to derive a supply from this source.[1] The "Old English Herbal," speaking of winter rocket or cresses, says, "It groweth of its own accord in gardens and fields by the wayside in divers places, and particularly in the next pasture to the Conduit Head, behind Gray's Inn, that brings water to Mr. Lamb's Conduit in Holborn." We read in the "New View of London," 1708, as follows:—"Lamb's Conduit at the north end of Red Lion-street, near the fields, affords plenty of water clear as chrystal, which is chiefly used for drinking. It belongs to St. Sepulchre's parish; the fountain head being under a stone marked S. S. P. in the vacant ground a little southward of Ormond-street, whence the water comes in a drain to this Conduit; and it runs thence in lead pipes to the Conduit on Snow-hill, which has the figure of a Lamb upon it, denoting that its water comes from Lamb's Conduit." Cunningham, in his "London," says, "The fields around Lamb's Conduit formed a favourite promenade for the inhabitants of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and St. Giles'-in-the-Fields. They were first curtailed in 1714, by the formation of a new burying ground for the parish of St. George's, Bloomsbury, and again in 1739, by the erection of the Foundling Hospital. The Conduit was taken down in 1746." A correspondent of "Notes and Queries," New Series, vol. iii.,

[1] *Illustrated London News*, 25th July, 1863.

p. 265, April, 1857, says, in reference to Lamb's Conduit:—"About sixty years since, I was travelling from the West of England in one of the old stage coaches of that day, and my fellow-travellers were an octogenarian clergyman and his daughter. In speaking of the then increasing size of London, the old gentleman said, that when he was a boy, and recovering from an attack of small-pox, he was sent into the country to a row of houses standing on the west side of the upper part of the present Lamb's Conduit-street; that all the space before him was open fields; that a streamlet of water ran under his window; and he saw a man snipe shooting, who sprung a snipe near to the house, and shot it. He further said, that he once stated the fact to an old nobleman (whose name he mentioned, but I have forgotten it), and he replied: 'Well! when I was a young man, I sprung a brace of partridges where Grosvenor-square now stands, and bagged one of them.' I have myself seen a pump reputed to be erected on the Conduit head, and standing against the corner house of a small turning out of Lamb's Conduit-street, on the right hand side as you go towards the Foundling, and nearly at the upper end of the street.—F. W. H——H." For an account of William Lamb, his benefactions, and his Conduit, *vide* "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. liii., page 134. And *vide* same volume, page 188; and vol. lviii., page 672. Abraham Fleming, who became rector of St. Pancras, Soper-lane, in 1593, wrote a tract, which was printed in 8vo., entitled "A Memorial, &c., of Mr. William Lambe, Esquier." And there was published a broadside, "An Epitaph, or Funerall inscription vpon the Godlie life and death of the Right Worshipfull Maister William Lambe, Esquire, Founder of the New Conduit in Holborne," &c., "deceased the 21st April, anno 1580. Deuised by Abraham Fleming." At the bottom was, "Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham for Thomas Turner," &c.

In 1670, 22nd Car. II., cap. 11, an additional act for the rebuilding of London after the great fire of 1666, was passed. Section 7 states:—"Whereas the way or passage of Holborn bridge is now too straight and incommodious for the many carriages and passengers daily using and frequenting the same, and is therefore necessary to be enlarged: be it therefore likewise enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the said mayor, aldermen, and commons so to enlarge and make wider the same, as that the said way and passage may run in a bevil line from a certain timber house on the north side thereof commonly called or known by the name or sign of the Cock, unto the front of the buildings of a certain inn called the Swan Inn, situate on the north side of Holborn-hill as aforesaid." Pursuant to this enactment Wren built a new bridge at the foot of Holborn-hill. The name of William Hooker, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1673-4, appeared on the stone coping of the approach, on the east, of the new bridge. "In March, 1840," says Mr. Tite, F.S.A., "the sewer at Holborn-hill was opened, and as I was accidentally passing, I saw the southern face of the bridge which crossed the Fleet at this place uncovered to some extent. It was built of red brick, and the arch was about twenty feet span. The road from the east intersected the bridge obliquely, which irregularity was obviated by a moulded and well executed stone corbel arising out of the angle thus formed, which carried the parapet. On the plinth course of the parapet was cut the inscription following, recording the fact of the erection of the bridge, with the name of the Lord Mayor at the period:—'William Hooke(r). (A)nno D. 1674.'"

The Editor is indebted to the MSS. of the late Mr. Crosby for the following minute description of Holborn-bridge:—

"Holborn-bridge. The old stone one. 1841. The arch of the old stone bridge, on the north side, consists of ten stones on each side of the keystone, which is composed of two pieces of stone, the divisions being perpendicular, thus (a sketch). The whole number of stones therefore forming the arch, including the keystone as one stone, is twenty-one stones. The width of these stones is irregular, some being nine inches and some twelve inches. All are seventeen inches long. The chord of the arch is fourteen feet two inches, and from the centre of the chord to the keystone is five feet six inches. The form of the arch is the old Gothic. On the north another arch was formed at the side so as to make this arch an arch within a larger one, which projected north about eighteen to nineteen inches. The stones are so worn and irregular, that it is impossible to get at an exact admeasurement to an inch; for instance, one of the stones of the inner arch is nineteen inches long, but it may have been forced down. Others are chipped off two or three inches, so that their original length must be taken between seventeen and nineteen inches. The width of the bridge as it now remains from north to south of the inner arch is eleven feet six inches, but as this would have but allowed a very small passage on the bridge it must have been greatly wider. It is now joined on the south by a brick bridge, also very ancient, but evidently newer

than the stone one, because, upon examining an aperture where both join, there is the projection on the south of similar stone arch above the inner arch as on the north, but the projection is much larger, being two feet six inches within the brick work, which, except at this opening, conceals the south end of the stone bridge. Taking therefore the original or inner arch to be of the width of 11 feet 6 inches

The north overhanging arch as 1 „ 6 „

And the stonework and ditto on the south as 2 „ 6 „

The actual width underneath the surface of all would be this 15 feet 6 inches.

And as the battlements of such a bridge would not require to be more than eighteen inches thick, it would leave twelve feet six inches in the clear for passage on this bridge, which would be sufficient for the traffic at the time it was built and for centuries after. The addition to it on the south, at some after period not known, by a brick arch, conforming to the shape of the old stone one, of the width of ——, would make the enlarged passage —— feet —— inches wide. A further addition to the passage to Holborn was made on the erection of Wren's bridge, which made the whole passage —— feet wide. And it was further increased by a common brick arch, which joined the houses on the west side of Holborn-hill to those on the east by the Old Swan inn. These notices result from a further inspection I made of the bridges on Wednesday night, April 21, 1841 —A. Crosby."

Mr. Crosby has left the following unfinished note in reference to Holborn-bridge:—

"There are no less than four bridges over the Fleet River at that part called Holborn-bridge. They are joined together at their sides, two of these evidently having been added at different periods to widen the passage of the original bridge; and the additional bridge, which was erected by Wren, was introduced not only to secure that object, but to supply a beautiful terminus to the grand canal that was formed after the great fire of 1666 by the cutting and embanking of the River Fleet from Holborn to the Thames. The whole of these bridges are now hidden —— feet under the surface of the street which still bears the name of Holborn-bridge, and of the thousands who still daily pass over them perhaps there is scarcely one who ever heard of their existence. And yet what dreams have come to him who has stood under them and heard the rumbling of carriages passing the old arches! How imagination, awakened by the sound, is carried back to remote times, and pictures the flight of London's early citizens, their combats and slaughters at this bridge; the ancient's navies too, which came up to the old arch, and the stored argosy; the processions of armed knights to the combat, and of pious churchmen to St. Paul's; the resigned walk of martyrs to the stake in Smithfield; the midnight murder here acted (?); and the bound and chained criminals passing to execution; the lagging steps of the plague-stricken; and fearful rush of the great fire-frighted denizens. The scene changes, and then masons, sounds of hammers, the busy traffic of barges laden with the supplies of life, are crowding the canal. All is conjured up by busy imagination, and the realized scene only vanishes on our re-ascent to the street's surface, where we find no trace of the memorials which had called back the past to the mind's eye—the only true magician that exists."

Amongst the drawings by Mr. Crosby, in the City of London Library, are the following:—The Old Swan Inn, Holborn-bridge, made January 17th, 1838; the inner yard of the inn, with a distant view of chimneys of houses in West-street; the porch at the inn; and the inner gateway of the inn, and entrance-gate in the distance opposite Farringdon-street; all made January 18th, 1839. The materials and fixtures of this inn were sold by auction on January 15th, 1839, and following day. From the catalogue of the sale now before us, and headed "The New Street in continuation of Farringdon Street northward," we learn that the premises covered an acre and a half.

In the first volume of "The Labours of that most eminent Servant of Christ, Mr. John Bunyan," London, 1692, he is stated to have died "at his loving friend's, Mr. Strudwick's, a grocer, at Holborn Bridge, London, on August 31, 1688." In most accounts the house where the author of the "Pilgrim's Progress" died is stated to be Strudwick's, at the sign of the Star, on Snow-hill; and the day, the 12th August, 1688. No house old enough to have been the one in question now exists at this spot; and probably it was removed in the formation of Skinner-street.

The following tokens were issued by the tradesmen of Holborn-bridge in the seventeenth century:—

Obverse, At the Mearemaid—T. C. *Reverse*, At Holborne Bridg—a mermaid.

Obverse, Clarveato at the Synn—the sun. *Reverse*, Tavern at Holbvrn Bridg—his halfepeny. 1668.

Obverse, Richard Cornish—a castle. *Reverse*, At Holborn Bridg—R. M. C.

Obverse, At the Golden Still—a still. *Reverse*, At Holborn Condvit—R. E. D.

Obverse, Thomas Day at ye Black—a swan. *Reverse*, Swan at Holborn Bridg—his halfepeny.

Obverse, Iohn Dvvry at ye Golden—a horse-shoe. *Reverse*, Neere Holborne Bridg—his halfpeny.

Obverse, At the Sword and Ball—a sword thrust through a ball. *Reverse*, At Hovlbvrn Bridge—H. I. G.

Obverse, Iames Gladman—a bell. *Reverse*, Holborn Bridge—I. M. G.

Obverse, Qveene Head Taverne—full faced bust of Queen Elizabeth. *Reverse*, At Holborne Covndid—E. E. H.

Obverse, At the 3 Tvns at—three tuns. *Reverse*, Holborne Bridge. 1648—T. M. H.

Obverse, Anthony Ioyce—three stags. *Reverse*, At Hoborn Conded—A. K. I.

Obverse, Henry King at—a rose and crown. *Reverse*, Holbron Cvndvit—H. M. K.

Obverse, Will Middlemore—The Prince of Wales's crest and plume. *Reverse*, . . . Olborne Bridge—W. E. M.

Obverse, Iohn Myrdocke near—the Mercers' arms. *Reverse*, Holborne Bridge—I. B. M.

Obverse, At the Golden Faiken—a falcon. *Reverse*, At Holborne Bridge—T. T. P.

Obverse, Mathias Pytman—two soldiers. *Reverse*, At Holborn Bridge—M. M. P.

Obverse, Francis Pochin at the—full-faced bust of Queen Elizabeth crowned, and holding the orb and sceptre. *Reverse*, Tavern at Holbvrn Bridge—his halfepeny. F. E. P.

Obverse, The 3 Svgar Loves—three sugar loaves joined. *Reverse*, At Holborne Cvndite—T. E. S.

Obverse, Iohn Stelle at the Blew—a boar's head. I. S. S. *Reverse*, At Holborne Bridge—his halfpeny.

Obverse, Iohn Tirion at ye Svnn—the sun. *Reverse*, Neare Holbvrne Bridge—his halfepeny.

Obverse, The Hen and Chickens—a hen with her chickens. *Reverse*, At Holborne Cvndvt—T. B.

Obverse, Giles Baggs at the Hamer—a hammer and a crown. *Reverse*, And Crown at Holborn Bridg—G. B.

Obverse, Matt Bayly at ye Red Cow—a cow. *Reverse*, near Holborn Cvndvit—M. T. B. ½.

Obverse, W. Birch at the White—a man on horseback. *Reverse*, Horse Holborne Bridg—W. A. B.

Obverse, Robert Booth—two men with staves. *Reverse*, At Holborn Bridg—R. B. Engraved in Boyne's "Tokens," plate 20, No. 1.

Obverse, Tho Bostock at ye Golden—a ball. *Reverse*, Ball at Holborne Condvit—his half peny token.

The following tokens were issued by traders of Field-lane, Holborn-bridge, in the same century:—

Obverse, Peet Beckford in Fee lane—P. F. B. *Reverse*, At the Gvy of Worick—Guy Earl of Warwick holding a boar's head on a spear. Engraved in Boyne's "Tokens," plate 19, No. 9.

Obverse, Richard Evans at ye in—a rose and crown. *Reverse*, Feild lane tripeman 68—his halfepeny. R. E. E.

Obverse, At the George—St. George and the Dragon. *Reverse*, In Feild lane—I. A. G.

We read in the "Times," of August 22nd, 1838, as follows:—"The rear of the houses on Holborn-bridge has for many years been a receptacle for characters of the most daring and desperate condition. It was here in a brick tenement, now called by the Peachums and Lockets of the day 'Cromwell's House,' that murderous consultations were held, by the result of one of which the assassination of the unfortunate Mr. Steel was accomplished; and here, in a secret ménage (now a slaughter-house for her species), did Turpin suffer his favourite Bess to repose for many a night previously to her disastrous journey to York. It was here that the words Hounslow, Bagshot, and Finchley, resounded in boisterous revelry while they drank to their comrades on the road."

Bridewell, before mentioned, was the site of a royal palace before the Conquest. It came into the possession of Cardinal Wolsey, but on his downfall it reverted to the crown. In this palace Henry VIII. summoned to appear before him the heads of all the religious houses in England. The erections which stood here were rebuilt in 1522, for the reception of the Emperor Charles V., by Henry VIII., who gave it the name of Bridewell on account of a remarkable well thereunto adjoining, and of its vicinity to St. Bride's Church. Charles V. preferred to lodge in the house of the Black Friars,

which was situated on the other side of Fleet ditch, over which a temporary bridge was thrown, which, passing through the City wall, formed a communication between that house and the palace, in which his suite was accommodated. In 1528 Cardinal Campeius was "brought to ye kinge's presence, then living at Brydewel, by ye Cardinal of Yorke, and was caryed in a chayer of crimosin veluet, borne between iiii persones, for he was not able to stand, and the Cardynall of Yorke; and he sat both on the ryght hand of the kinge's throne, and there one Fraunceisci, secretary to Cardinal Campeius, made an eloquent oracion in the Latin tongue."[1] Henry VIII. "caused al his nobilitie, judges, and counsaylors, wt diuers other persons, to come to his palace of Brydewell, on Sonday, the viii day of Noueber, at afternone, in his great chamber, and there" delivered a speech to them concerning his marriage with Katherine of Arragon. In the following year Henry and his queen resided here, while the question of their marriage was pending at the Black Friars. After which, taking a dislike to the place, he let it fall into decay; in which state it remained until its appropriation in the following reign to charitable purposes. By charter dated June 26th, 1552-3, Edward VI. gave it to the City to be a working house for the poor and idle persons of the City, and as a house of correction, with seven hundred marks of land, of the possessions of the House of Savoy, and all the beddings and other furniture of the said house, towards the maintenance of Bridewell, and the hospital of St. Thomas, in Southwark. But King Edward dying soon after this grant was made, prevented the City entering upon the premises, and taking possession till it was confirmed two years after by Queen Mary, after which Gerard, the Mayor, entered and took possession thereof. In 1608 twelve large granaries were erected in Bridewell at the expense of the City, capable of containing six thousand quarters of corn, and two store-houses for coal. In the ancient chapel, which, says Strype, "was inlarged and beautified at the proper cost and charge of the governors and inhabitants of this precinct, in the year of our Lord, 1620," was a portrait of Edward VI., under which were the following lines:—

> This Edward, of fair memory the sixt,
> In whom, with greatness, goodness was commixt,
> Gave this Bridewell, a palace in old times,
> For a chastening house of vagrant crimes.

After the fire of 1666, by which almost the entire pile was destroyed, the hospital was in 1668 rebuilt in two quadrangles. In 1829 a new prison was erected at Lambeth as a substitute for the City Bridewell.

We have before us an engraving of Bridewell Palace as it appeared in 1540. Its front towards the Thames stands upon a quay, which extends along the west side of the Fleet. The palace has on the south three advanced towers, and two rows of windows, but no entrance way. On the west is a garden, which is enclosed from the quay by a wall. On the north, behind the palace, is a quadrangular garden, which is enclosed on the south, west, and north by buildings, and on the east by a wall, which abuts upon the west quay of the Fleet. Further northward are other buildings of the palace, which surround another quadrangle. At the north end of the palace buildings is a tenement upon or over the Fleet, which is here bounded on the east by a wall, which encloses a garden. The south quay of Bridewell is approached from the river by a flight of steps. Aggas, in his Map of London, in 1560, gives a view of Bridewell with the "walls along ye river" in front of it. His representation is substantially the same as that which we have above described. Bridewell in its altered state was a much more homely building than its predecessor. It had small towers at its angles, a door on the south side upon the quay, four rows of windows, a slanting roof, in which were on the south five attic windows; and a group of small buildings clustering against its east wall.

In 1589, by authority of the Common Council, a thousand marks, £666 13s. 4d., were collected to draw several of the springs at Hampstead Heath into one head for the service of the City where wanted; and in order that by such a "follower," as it was termed, the channel of the brook should be scoured into the Thames; and after much money was spent and by means of continual encroachments

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, fol. 180.

on the banks, and the throwing of soil into the stream, it became, says Stow, worse clogged than ever. In 1606 flood gates were erected to dam the water back when required. In the time of Cromwell, 1652, an order was issued for the cleansing of the sewer, and the removal of the "houses of office," which overhung its waters, and made it what the commissioners called "very stinking and noisome." The ditch is described as being quite impassable with boats "by reason of the many encroachments thereupon made by keeping of hogs and swine therein and elsewhere near to it, and throwing in of offals and other garbage by butchers, saucemen, and others, and by reason of the many houses of office standing over and upon it." In compliance with this order the ditch was cleansed.

Fuller, writing in 1662, said of the Fleet, that it was so called "from its former fleetness, though now it creepeth slow enough, not so much for age as the injection of the City excrements wherewith it is obstructed."[1] In an early play one of the characters says, "I was just dead of a consumption till the sweet smoke of Cheapside, and the dear perfume of Fleet ditch made me a man again."

In Sir Christopher Wren's design for the rebuilding of London after the great fire of 1666, we find six bridges between the Thames and Clerkenwell, viz., Bridewell-dock bridge, Wood-market bridge, Fleet bridge, a bridge in the line of street from the proposed piazza in Fleet-street to Pye-corner, Smithfield; Holborn bridge, and Cock-lane bridge. But this design was not carried out.

After the fire of London the channel was, by order of the mayor and aldermen, cleaned, enlarged, and again made navigable for barges to come up by the assistance of the tide from the Thames as far as Holborn, where Turnmill brook fell into this wider channel, which had sides built of stone and brick, with warehouses on each side, running under the street, and used for the laying in of coals and other commodities. The channel had five feet of water at the lowest tide at Holborn-bridge. The wharves on each side of the channel were thirty feet broad, and rails of oak were placed along the sides of the ditch to prevent people from falling into it at night. There were four bridges over it, namely, at Bridewell, Fleet-street, Fleet-lane, and Holborn. The ditch was built and made by Sir Thomas Fitch, bricklayer, who contracted with the City for doing the same for a very considerable sum of money, and enriched himself thereby.

In 1676, was published in quarto a sheet containing the several rates for wharfage and carriage to be taken and paid at the wharves and quays of the new channel or cut of Bridewell dock and Fleet channel from the River Thames to Holborn-bridge; set and appointed by the king's majesty with the advice of his privy council; and also for toll and other profits arising by the navigation of the said channel or cut, set and appointed by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, with the approbation of all the Barons of the Exchequer, in pursuance of an act of parliament, entitled "An additional act for the rebuilding of the City of London." The wharfage and storage project might have proved an advantage to the City by the revenue arising thereby, but it did not take.

We read in the "London Spy," vol. ii., p. 136, in reference to the Fleet:—"From thence we took a turn down by the ditch side, I desiring my friend to inform me what great advantages this costly brook contributed to the town to countervail the expense of seventy-four thousand pounds which I read in a very credible author was the charge of its making. He told me he was wholly unacquainted with any unless it was now and then to bring up a few chaldron of coles."

We have stated that after the fire of 1666 there were four bridges over Fleet ditch. Of these we have already described Fleet-street bridge and Holborn bridge. The others were Bridewell bridge and Fleet-lane bridge. We read in Stow's "Survey," that in 1598 Bridewell bridge was of timber over the River of Wells or Fleet dike, between the precinct of the Blackfriars and the House of Bridewell. And again, that there was a breach in the wall of the City, and a bridge of timber over the Fleet dike directly over against the House of Bridewell. And in the "New View of London," 1708, we read that Bridewell bridge was a strong stone one, over the Fleet brook right against the back gate of Bridewell. It was much higher than the street; it was built with battlements; and it was for foot passengers only, who ascended and descended by fourteen steps. Inscribed upon the bridge was the following:—"Built Anno Dom. mdclxxii. Sir G. Waterman, Major." On October 19th, 1765,

[1] Fuller's *Worthies*, 1662, p. 200.



SIR HUGH MYDDELTON'S GLORY, OR THE FIRST ISSUING OF THE WATER INTO THE NEW RIVER HEAD. (FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING).

Bridewell bridge was pulled down. In reference to the wall above-named, Stow, writing in 1633, says that Henry Waleis, mayor, by grant of Edward I., made a wall from Ludgate to Fleet bridge, behind the houses, along by the water of the Fleet to the Thames.

The following tokens were issued by tradesmen residing near Bridewell bridge in the seventeenth century :—

Obverse, At the Syn Tavern—the sun in rays. *Reverse*, Vpon Bridwell steps—A. E. C.

Obverse, Robert Chapman at Bride—the Woodmongers' arms. *Reverse*, Well Dock his half peny—R. E. C.

Obverse, Robert Chapman at—a sword with a crown on the point. *Reverse*, Bridewell Docke—R. E. C.

Obverse, At the Pyd Byll in—a bull. *Reverse* Oyld Brid well. 1652—M. A. E.

Obverse, Giles Ray Woodmong—the Woodmongers' arms. *Reverse*, At Brid well Docke—G. I. R.

Obverse, Tho. Templeman—a fleur-de-lys on a fagot. *Reverse*, At Bridwel Docke—T. M. T.

Obverse, This Halfpeny belongs to ye—the City arms. *Reverse*, Hospitall of Bridewell London—the City Arms.

We learn from "The New View of London," 1708, that the bridge over the Fleet canal at Fleet-lane end was a handsome stone one, and that it was called the Middle Bridge, as being in the middle between Fleet-street and Holborn bridge. It was adorned with a stone rail and bannister, and was built in the year 1674. It was sometimes called the Small bridge. Fleet-lane bridge was ascended by fourteen steps, and was high like Bridewell bridge, to allow vessels with merchandize to pass under it.

The following tokens were issued by tradesmen residing near this bridge in the seventeenth century :—

Obverse, Will Dygdale Mealeman—his halfe peny. *Reverse*, In Fleet lane neare ye Bridge—W. D. 1663.

Obverse, Samvell Griffeths—king's head crowned, full face. *Reverse*, In Fleet lane—S. G.

Obverse, At the Ship in—a ship. *Reverse*, Fleete lane. 1649—S. A. O.

Obverse, Henry Waterfall—his halfepenny. *Reverse*, In Fleet lane—H. E. W.

Obverse, Henry Yeo his halfe penny—three halters. *Reverse*, At the Plough in Fleet lane—a plough.

At Hampton Court is a painting by W. James of Fleet ditch, as seen from the river Thames, 1756 ; the bridge represented in the picture is Bridewell bridge. In the City of London Library is a similar view showing the entrance to the River Fleet, painted by Scott. In the first edition of Wharburton's "Pope," 8vo., 1751, the "Dunciad," is an illustration of the Fleet ditch.

The improvements of the Fleet are said to have cost £27,777, but in vain was this great expense incurred, for it soon became a "black canal of mud," which bore its tribute of dead dogs to the Thames. The filthy state of the ditch early in the eighteenth century served as a theme of mirth and amusement for the wits of the day.

Swift, in his description of a shower in the City (No. 238 "Tatler," October 17th, 1710), thus refers to the Fleet :—

> Now from all parts the swelling kennels flow,
> And bear their trophies with them as they go :
> Filth of all hues and odours seem to tell
> What street they sail'd from, by their sight and smell.
> They, as each torrent drives, with rapid force,
> From Smithfield or St. 'Pulchre's shape their course,
> And in huge confluent join'd at Snow-hill ridge,
> Fall from the Conduit, prone to Holborn Bridge.
> Sweepings from butchers' stalls, dung, guts and blood,
> Drown'd puppies, stinking sprats, all drench'd in mud ;
> Dead cats and turnip tops come tumbling down the flood.

Pope, in his "Dunciad," says :—

To where Fleet Ditch with disemboguing streams
Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames,
The King of Dykes! than whom no sluice of mud
With deeper sable blots the silver flood.
Here strip, my children, here at once leap in,
Here prove who best can dash through thick and thin.

Gay, in his "Trivia," book ii., says :—

Then leaning o'er the rails he musing stood,
And view'd below the black canal of mud,
Where common-shores a lulling murmur keep,
Whose torrents rush from Holborn's fatal steep.

.

. . . Who that rugged street[1] would traverse o'er,
That stretches, O Fleet ditch, from thy black shore.

The polite Lord Chesterfield was asked by an enthusiastic Parisian whether London could show a river like the Seine. "Yes," replied his lordship, "we call it Fleet ditch."

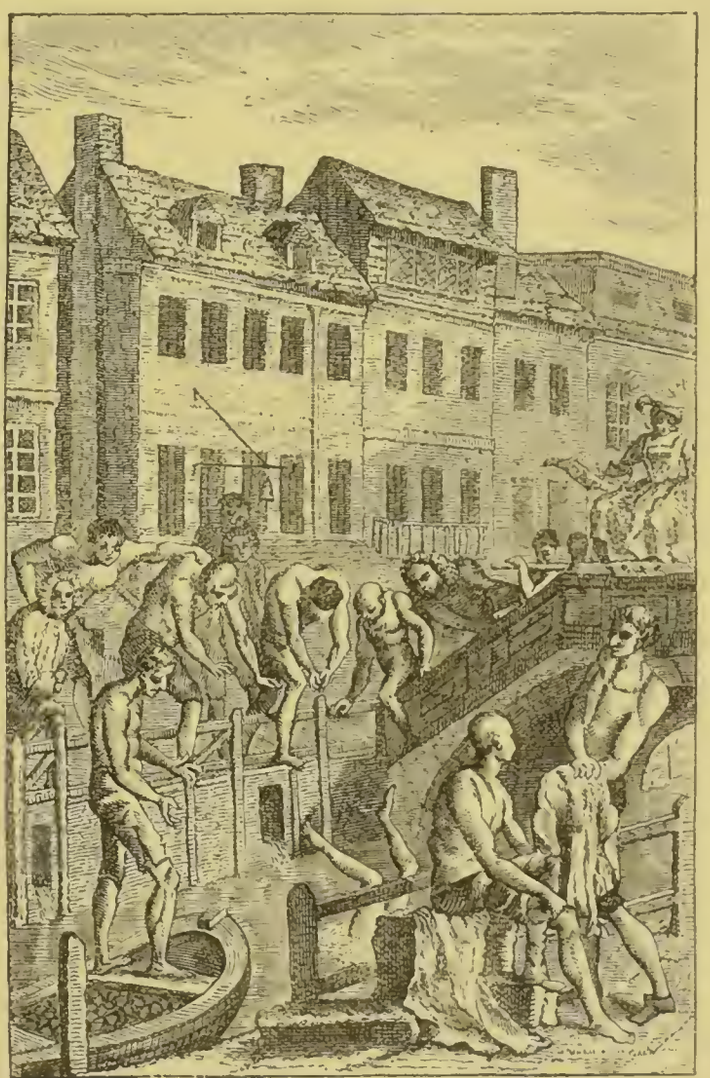
The following serves to show what contributions of refuse were made to the Fleet:—"A fatter boar was hardly ever seen than one taken up this day (24th August, 1736), coming out of the Fleet ditch into the Thames. It proved to be a butcher's, near Smithfield Bars, who had missed him five months, all which time he had been in the common sewer, and was improved in price from ten shillings to two guineas."[2]

From Lambert's "London," 1806, vol. ii., p. 135, we learn that on the 26th of February, 1733 (*temp.* George II.), a petition was presented to the House of Commons by the Sheriffs of London, from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, setting forth that by an Act of Parliament made in the 22nd Charles II., entitled "An additional Act for rebuilding the City of London, uniting of parishes, and rebuilding of the cathedral and parochial churches within the said city," the channel of Bridewell Dock, from the River Thames to Holborn bridge, was directed to be sunk to a sufficient level to make it navigable, under such limitations as were prescribed by the said Act; and in pursuance of the said Act the channel was soon after made navigable from the Thames to Holborn bridge; but that the profits arising from the navigation had not answered the charge of making; that part of the said channel from Fleet bridge to Holborn bridge, instead of being useful to trade as was intended, was filled up with mud, and had become a common nuisance; that several persons had lost their lives by falling into it; that the expense of cleansing and repairing the same would be very great; and that a greater annual charge would be required to keep the same in repair than the profits arising therefrom would defray. They therefore prayed that a bill might be brought in to repeal so much of that Act as related to the said channel, and to empower the petitioners to fill up that part of it from Fleet-street to Holborn bridge, and to convert the ground to such uses as they should think fit and convenient. In consequence of this petition a bill was soon after brought in and passed, by virtue of which the fee-simple of the site of the premises was vested in the Corporation for ever; on condition that drains should be made underneath. This was accordingly done, and by September, 1735, two spacious arches, ten feet high and six wide, as common sewers, were finished and levelled over, and a market was erected thereupon, and opened the 30th of September, 1737, as Fleet-market. The remaining portion of the Fleet, from the corner of Bridge-street to the Thames, remained open many years after, but was at length arched over when the approaches to Blackfriars bridge were completed between 1760 and 1768, though a small part remained for some time an open dock owing to the obstinacy of its proprietor. The danger arising from the unprotected state of the Fleet is evident from the following :—On the 11th January, 1763, a man was found in Fleet ditch standing upright and frozen to death. He appeared to have been a barber at Bromley, in Kent. He had come to town to see his children, and had mistaken his way in the night and slipped into the ditch, and being in liquor he could not disentangle himself.[3]

[1] Thames-street. [2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1736. [3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxiii., p. 48.

In 1771, the tenants living from the corner of Bride-lane to Fleet-market had notice to quit, as the houses were coming down to form the new street. By 1787 there were many new buildings on the site of Fleet ditch.

The stream northward of Fleet bridge justified the epithet of Turnmill brook until a comparatively recent period, as even in the present century it gave motion to flour and flatting mills at the back of Field-lane, near Holborn. In 1714 there appeared in the "Daily Courant," of September 17th, an advertisement of a house to let in Bowling-alley, Turnmill-street, with the advantage of a "common sewer with a good stream and a good current" running by it, "that will turn a mill to grind hair powder, liquorish, and other things." In 1740 Cave, the printer, purchased a machine to spin wool or cotton into thread, yarn, or worsted, consisting of one hundred spindles, and he had a mill erected to work it on the course of Turnmill brook. The patentee, Paul, of Birmingham, undertook its management, but it was never brought into profitable order.[1]



VIEW ON FLEET DITCH.[2]

During the digging of the Fleet ditch, in 1676, for the formation of the "New Canal," as it was called, between the Fleet prison and Holborn bridge, at a depth of fifteen feet several Roman utensils were discovered; and a little lower a great quantity of Roman coins of silver, copper, and brass, but none of gold. Those of silver were ring money of several sizes, the largest about the bigness of a crown, but gradually decreasing. The smallest were about the size of a silver twopence, each having a snip at the edge. At Holborn bridge two brass "lares," or household gods of the Romans, about four inches in length, were dug out; one a Ceres, the other a Bacchus, both being almost encrusted with a petrified matter; but the coins, lying at the bottom of the current, their lustre was in a great measure preserved by the water incessantly washing off the oxydizing material. "It is a probable conjecture," says Pennant, "that these were thrown in by the affrighted Romans at the approach of the enraged Boadicea, who soon took ample revenge on her insulting conquerors." Here also were discovered a number of British and Saxon antiquities, arrow heads, spur rowels of a hand's breadth, keys, daggers, scales, seals with their owners' names in Saxon characters, ships' counters with Saxon characters, with a considerable number of medals, crosses, and crucifixes of a later period. In the bed of the river, at Black Mary's Hole, near the end of Baker-street, a ship's anchor is reputed to have been found some years ago. A correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," says:—"In the collection of Mr. Walter Hawkins, F.S.A., is an anchor singularly encrusted with rust and pebbles, which is stated to have been found in Fleet ditch, I

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1857.

[2] From an old engraving, illustrating Pope's *Dunciad*:—

Here strip, my children, here at once leap in,
Here prove who best can dash through thick and thin.

believe during the alterations necessary for the new street. It measures about three feet ten inches in height."[1] There is also a tradition of another anchor having been found as far up the stream as the Elephant and Castle, opposite St. Pancras Workhouse, at the corner of the road leading to Kentish Town; and about fourteen years ago, when some workmen were excavating in the old bed of the Fleet in this locality, they dug up a great quantity of bricks and rubbish from a considerable depth below the recent course of the river. These discoveries, coupled with the fact of the bed of the river having occupied a much lower level than at present, afford the strongest presumptive evidence, if not certain proof, of the stream having been navigable for a considerable distance along its course, and favours the tradition of a Danish fleet having once anchored in its waters; moreover, "the appearance of a vessel so high as the Veterinary College was affirmed to Mr. Archer by a most respectable authority, as a thing which had come under his own cognizance."

At a meeting of the British Archæological Association, held November 26th, 1856, Mr. Charles Ainslie exhibited an early padlock of iron, of a globular form, so constructed that the whole shackle could be drawn out when the bolt was thrown back. It was found a few months previously in Fleet ditch, near the bottom of Holborn-hill.[2] At a meeting of the same association, held December 9th, 1857, Mr. C. H. Lukmoore exhibited a jug of hard-baked pottery, the upper part covered with mottled green glaze, and measuring six and a quarter inches in height. It was in very perfect condition, and was discovered about a year and a half previously to the meeting, near Smithfield, when enlarging a portion of the Fleet ditch. Its date was the early part of the sixteenth century.[3] At a meeting of the same association held December 8th, 1858, Mr. C. Richardson exhibited a knife recovered from Fleet ditch in September, 1838. The ivory haft was wrought with a figure of Mercury with winged petasus, Roman lorica with lambrequins, long sagum and rich cothurni. A hunting horn depended from a shoulder-belt over the right hip; and the left hand held the caduceus. The date of this haft was about the middle of the seventeenth century, but it was fitted to a blade of the time of George I., stamped with a crown, G. R., and the maker's name, H. Rogerson, London.[4] At a meeting of the same association, held on May 14th, 1862, Mr. Gunston exhibited two bosses, apparently from targets or buckles of the time of Henry VIII., then lately recovered from the bed of the river Fleet. They were both of latten, one being two inches and a quarter diameter; the other, rather less than two inches. The broad flat verge of the larger specimen was graven with a mæander, and perforated for three rivets; that of the lesser boss was stamped in very low relief, with four circlets containing profile busts, with foliage between, the whole being on a granulated field.[5] At a meeting of the same association, held on June 11th, 1862, Mr. Gunston exhibited various relics then lately recovered from the bed of the river Fleet, from which the following may be selected for special mention:—Two small penknives, the earliest with a blade about one inch and seven-eighths in length, stamped with an "I."; the flat tang, two inches and three-quarters long, having its sides covered with slices of ox-horn: date, fifteenth century. The second had a broader blade, two inches and one-eighth long; the handle, two inches and a half long, consisted of a quadrangular stem and flat tang, which had been covered with either wood or horn: date, sixteenth century. All the remaining articles were of the latter æra. A wooden haft of a dagger, three inches and a quarter long, carved with a spiral band of knot-work verged with zigzags, the ends bound with iron, and the flat top having one side engraved with the initials "G. W.," and the other with what seemed to be a shield charged with three piles meeting in point, with a stag springing forward for crest; the haft was covered on either side with wood, and terminated in an acorn. Little knife, the bone haft of which was carved to represent a female bust, which bore, both in features and costume, a striking resemblance to Catherine de Medicis, wife of Henry II. of France. Bone haft of a knife, the ornamental top of which was engraved with circlets and dots, and the flat sides with cross bar-work

[1] E. B. P., in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Oct., 1843, p. 417, in which is an engraving of this anchor.
[2] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xiii., p. 224.
[3] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xiv., p. 95.
[4] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xiv., p. 358.
[5] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1862, vol. xviii., p. 375.

filled with a silver-like amalgam. Portion of a knife blade with a few lines of inscription on either side, which seemed to read, "Leave to delyte in me. · Hand of (a hand holding a flagon) the Drunken need and want credyt Krye an? 1566?" Steel, five inches and a half long, quadrangular, with perforated disc at top for suspension. The sharpening portion of this implement nearly agreed in form with the Roman steel found in London, and now in the British Museum. It was, however, of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.[1]

Formerly, after sudden thaws or heavy rains, it was no uncommon occurrence for the Fleet to overflow its banks, and completely inundate the low-lying districts through which it passed. The earliest mention that we have met with of these occasional inundations is in the "News from Town and Country," of Tuesday, October 14th, 1679, in which we read, "that such was the impetuosity of the current that it bore down the back parts of several wholesale butchers' houses, at Cow-cross, and carried all sorts of cattle, alive and dead." This, there can be no doubt, is substantially true, but what follows is too extravagant to be credited. "At Hockley-in-the-Hole it overflowed so that it carried away all sorts of household utensils; a pot boiling was borne off the fire and carried away by the stream so steadily that the cover kept on; an hungry fellow going to seize it, making too much haste, stumbled upon it and overturned it, but it retained so much of its heat that it scalded his legs under water. Several barrels of ale and beer, and some of brandy, swam about, some of which the most venturous of the rabble made a wreck of." These floods were often of an alarming and dangerous character, and were not unfrequently attended with loss of life. In September, 1768,[2] after a severe storm, by which the ponds at Hampstead became surcharged and burst their bounds, the water came pouring down the channel of the Fleet in such torrents that the road and fields about Bagnigge Wells were overflown. In the gardens of Bagnigge Wells the water was four feet deep, and great damage was done there. A man narrowly escaped drowning in the rear of the house of one Dr. Sharp, near to this place, and much injury was done to a neighbouring tile-kiln. The damage happening in this vicinity alone was estimated to exceed a thousand pounds. Several people in Coldbath-fields, Mutton-lane, and Peter-street, sustained great loss; some publicans had several butts of beer carried out of their cellars; three oxen and several hogs were carried away by the drain, and drowned; and in Mutton-lane and Hockley-in-the-Hole the inhabitants were obliged to quit their rooms and go upstairs. A waterman at Blackfriars took his boat to Turnmill-street, where he plied, and removed the inhabitants, who could not leave their houses on account of the height of the waters.

In January, 1809, when the snow was lying very deep, a rapid thaw came on, and the arches of the Fleet sewer not affording sufficient passage for the increased current, the whole of the space between St. Pancras, Somers Town, and the bottom of the hill at Pentonville, was, in a short time, covered with water. The flood rose to the height of three feet in the middle of the highway; the lower rooms of all the houses within that space were completely inundated, and the inhabitants sustained considerable damage in their goods and furniture, which many of them had not time to remove. Two cart-horses were drowned, and for several days persons were obliged to be conveyed to and from their houses, and receive their provisions, &c., in at the windows by means of carts.[3]

On the afternoon of Saturday, August 1st, 1846, the metropolis and its neighbourhood were visited by a terrible storm of thunder, rain, hail, and wind; and the damage done by its violence in different parts of London was immense. The Fleet ditch, which was then carried to the second arch of Blackfriars bridge through a drain formed of strong iron plates, blew up with a tremendous explosion; and a steam-boat, which was passing at the time, was impelled by the force of the water against one of the piers of the bridge, and sustained much damage. The Fleet ditch being surcharged flowed into most of the cellars and underground apartments on the west side of Farringdon-street, and a linen-draper had upwards of £3000 worth of goods destroyed or damaged. In the lower parts of Clerkenwell, where the sewer was open, the effects of the flood were of a most disastrous character.

[1] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1862, vol. xviii., p. 385.
[2] *Public Advertiser*, Sept. 3rd, 1768.
[3] Nelson's *History of Islington*, 1811, p. 61.

In the valley formed by the descent of Brook-hill and the opposite acclivity of Vine-street, great damage occurred. In Bull's Head-court, Peter-street, the water rose five feet, completely filling the underground rooms, and sweeping cattle and furniture away. Three houses in Round-court, Brook-hill, inhabited by many poor families, were partly carried away, and with great difficulty the inmates escaped. A warehouse belonging to a drysalter had one front washed away. The House of Correction was under water to a depth of several feet; and the entire space from Acton-place, Bagnigge Wells-road, to King's-cross, was flooded to a depth that prevented the inhabitants leaving or entering their dwellings, the road being impassable, and most of the kitchens under water. In this locality a baker lost thirty-six sacks of flour, and the low-lying houses on the western side were completely inundated. On the following Wednesday morning another storm burst over the metropolis and its environs, accompanied by violent torrents of rain. The descent of such immense quantities of water had the effect of overcharging the sewers. In Round-court, Brook-hill, two houses, in addition to those which fell on the Saturday, were undermined and thrown down, and others were placed in circumstances of danger.[1]

About thirty years ago the roads in the northern district of the parish of Clerkenwell were watered with the sewage of the Fleet, the Commissioners of the Highways objecting, on account of the expense, to rent of the New River Company a supply of water for the purpose. The stench arising from the water so used, in the hottest season of the year, became so intolerable, that the inhabitants memorialized the Commissioners, and this offensive practice was discontinued.

We read in the "Morning Herald" of July 2nd, 1832, that, "among the causes which are said to have accelerated the re-introduction of the Cholera into the Clerkenwell prison is the noxious effluvia produced from the opening of the River Fleet."

The Fleet sewer, the "Cloaca Maxima"[2] of our metropolis, receives the drainage of parts of Hampstead and Highgate, all Kentish Town, Camden Town, and Somers Town, parts of Islington, Clerkenwell, and St. Sepulchre, and nearly all that part of the Holborn division of sewers south of the New-road, the total surface draining into it in the Holborn and Finsbury division being about four thousand two hundred and twenty acres. In 1746 about four hundred acres of this district were covered with houses; at present there are nearly two thousand acres built upon, of necessity requiring a sewer of large capacity to carry off the refuse waters. The dimensions of the Fleet vary according to the locality; at its northern portion it is six feet six inches high, and six feet six inches wide; at other parts it varies from twelve feet high and twelve in width, to nine feet high by ten feet wide; then eight feet six inches wide by eight feet three inches high; and before reaching the Thames the dimensions of this huge sewer are fourteen feet wide by ten feet six inches high, and at its mouth eighteen feet by twelve. The ordinary movement of the current from Bagnigge Wells is three miles an hour, but after heavy showers, when sometimes the water rises almost instantly five feet or more, the speed is greatly accelerated. The amount per day of sewage discharged by this monster sewer is on the average 1,741,775 cubic feet.

In Schedule D of the "Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855," we read that the "Fleet Sewer commences in High-street, Hampstead, at the junction of High-street with Flask-walk, extending thence through South End-green, Gordon House-lane, Victoria-road, Great College-street, Old St. Pancras-road, Bagnigge Wells-road, west of Middlesex House of Correction, and by Farringdon-street to Blackfriars bridge, where it discharges into the river Thames. This sewer has numerous tributaries running into other districts, the chief of which are Camden-road, Caledonian-road, Pentonville-hill, River-street, St. John's-road, Holborn-hill, and Guildford-street."

By section 135 of the last-mentioned Act, the Fleet, as one of the Metropolitan main sewers then vested in the Commissioners of Sewers, together with all its appurtenances, became vested in the Metropolitan Board of Works, which body was created by the Act. The Board had power given to

[1] *Illustrated London News*, 8th August, 1846, No. 223, vol. ix., pp. 85-86.

[2] The Cloaca Maxima at Rome, of which great sewer the remains are still to be seen, is said by Livy to have been constructed by Tarquinius Superbus. It is an arched drain, fifteen feet wide and thirty feet high, with three arches in contact one within another, built entirely of stone.

it to make such sewers and works as might be necessary to prevent the sewage of the metropolis from flowing into the river Thames. By virtue of this power the Board has constructed in Clerkenwell and elsewhere in the metropolis most gigantic main drainage works.

On each side of the River Thames there are three main tunnels or sewers which completely divide underground London into three districts, known respectively as the High, the Low, and the Mid-level. These in their course intercept all existing sewers flowing into the Thames, and carry their contents to Barking Creek on the north side, and to Crossness Point, in the Erith marshes, on the south side. The High level on the north side is about eight miles in length, and runs from Hampstead to Bow, being at its rise four feet six inches in diameter, and thence increasing in circumference as the waters of the sewers it intercepts require a wider course, to five feet, six feet, seven feet, ten feet eight inches, eleven feet six inches, and at its termination near Lea River to twelve feet six inches in diameter. It is laid at a depth of from twenty to twenty-six feet below the ground, and drains an area of fourteen square miles. The Mid-level is laid at a greater depth, inasmuch as it is lower in the valley on the slope of which London is built. It extends from Kensal-green to Bow, and its length through Clerkenwell is one thousand nine hundred and fifty feet, with a depth below the surface—at Goswell-street, forty feet; St. John-street, thirty feet; Red Lion-street, twenty-seven feet. The sewers from each of these streets run into it, and the greater portion is in tunnels under houses, and is constructed of four and a half rings of brickwork in cement all round. Its diameter is nine feet eight inches. The Low-level will extend from Cremorne to Abbey Mills, on the marshes near Stratford, and one portion of it will pass through the Thames Embankment. At Abbey Mills the low-level waters of the sewer are raised by engines at a pumping station to the junction of the high and mid-level ducts, thence descending by their own gravity through three tunnels to the main reservoir and final outfall at Barking.

The works have been in progress in Clerkenwell parish since March, 1863, when the first working shaft was sunk in Wilderness-row. From Goswell-street to Wilderness-row it is an open cutting, with the exception of a short tunnelling under the Charterhouse grounds. From Wilderness-row to the Sessions House the tunnelling is wholly under the houses—passing St. John-street under the premises of Mr. Roberts, the well known tobacconist, from thence under Pewter Platter-yard to St. John's-square, and on to Red Lion-mews and Red Lion-street on the south-west corner of the Sessions House, which abuts on the Metropolitan Railway. Over the railway an iron girder bridge is formed to carry a tube eight feet nine inches in diameter, which will connect with the sewer from Saffron-hill, and onwards westward to Kensal-green. The distance throughout, from Old Ford, Bow, to Kensal-green, is nine miles two thousand six hundred and fifty feet (exclusive of two-and-a-half miles of junctions). The tube crossing the Metropolitan Railway is a short distance above the Fleet sewer, and at this spot there are chambers provided to take the overflow of the storm water, a necessary precaution against accident, so that the sewer is never allowed to fill up to the crown, and consequently there is no fear of the bursting of the tube. The sewer running through Clerkenwell is eight feet nine inches in diameter, and as it is a perfect circle, the circumference is twenty-seven feet six inches. It is formed of four-and-a-half rings of brickwork, one foot six inches thick. There are two bell-mouth junctions in Clerkenwell—one in Goswell-street, and one in St. John's-square; there are also two descending shafts or side entrances, the average throughout the sewer being one descending shaft to every quarter of a mile. The sewer is laid throughout at an inclination of two feet to the mile, which was arranged by Mr. J. Anderson, engineering clerk of works to the Metropolitan Board, Mr. J. W. Bazalgette being the engineer in chief to the Metropolitan Board, and Mr. Lovick assistant engineer. Since the work has been in progress there has been constantly an average of between four hundred and five hundred men at work, with eleven steam engines, pumping water and drawing earth. The highest level on the north side is at Hampstead, and the highest level on the south side at Dulwich; and it is somewhat singular that these two points, north and south, are immediately opposite to each other on the map. The course of the sewer throughout is somewhat devious.

In the City of London Library is a valuable collection of manuscript notes, cuttings, sketches, &c.,

relative to the River Fleet, made and got together by the late Mr. Anthony Crosby. It is thus described in the Catalogue of the library:—

"River Fleet and its Tributaries:—An extraordinary and highly-interesting collection of original sketches, drawings in colours, tracings, prints, manuscripts, and printed collections, in reference to the history of the River of Wells, otherwise the River Fleet, *vulgo* the Fleet Ditch. These collections comprise much highly valuable historical information, commencing at the site of the Blackfriars, the River Thames, Dorset Stairs, the Dorset-gardens Theatre; Bridewell Palace, Hospital, and Bridge; St. Bride's Church and Well; Fleet-street, Fleet Bridge, Ludgate, the Fleet Prison; Holborn Bridge, West-street, eternised in the annals of roguery, under its previous name, Chick-lane; Clerkenwell; Bagnigge Wells, with the rare prints of the 'Bread and Butter Manufactory,' and the 'View from the Centre Bridge, with the Statuary Figures;' Battle Bridge, Pancras, Camden Town, Kentish Town, and the ever-varying and intersecting windings of the River Fleet, in its course from the springs at Hampstead and Highgate to the Thames."

The Editor has had recourse to this collection, in which there is little order or arrangement, and selected much useful matter from it.

Mr. Crosby intended to have published a set of views of the river Fleet, as a prospectus now before us, and of which the following is a copy, shows:—

"Preparing for publication, in one volume, quarto, price to subscribers, one guinea, Views of the River Fleet; from drawings by Anthony Crosby; with historical notices from the earliest periods to the present time, June, 1832. The ancient River Fleet will always rank as one of the most curious and interesting objects connected with the history of London. In olden times the proud palaces of Bridewell and of Ely adorned its banks, and the tide, which still flows up to Holborn bridge, then bore on its flood the stately barges of Henry the Eighth, and of the Bishop of Ely. The palaces have long since decayed, and disappeared, and that part of the river has for many years been covered in and appropriated as a sewer. Its original characteristic, however, is unchanged, and the troubled stream is still seen to rush through its dark prison to the Thames, with the velocity its name denotes. Divested of its associations with the antiquated remains of London, the River Fleet has considerable attractions for the admirer of landscape. Some of the most beautiful scenery of the environs may be found on its banks. The silvery Fleet still meanders, irrigating those charming meadows which reach on either side of Kentish Town to the sister hills of Hampstead and Highgate; and by its fantastic windings, gives an additional interest to the most delicious of suburban fields. To preserve some of these scenes, and recall others which more directly belong to the history of London, has been the object of the Artist, and the result of his labours will be found to furnish every variety of view from the *Sources* of the river to its outlet. Since the commencement of the work many changes have been made in some of the localities noticed by the artist, and in one or two places the original course of the stream has been diverted and covered in altogether. The memorials have, therefore, become doubly valuable, and will be appreciated as such by all who may desire to ascertain the original situations of the River. Throughout these views, the Artist has never sacrificed *truth* to the *Picturesque*, but has only been anxious to produce *correct delineations* of a River and its Scenery, which, though hitherto unnoticed in a manner similar to the present work, perhaps, presents to the antiquary, topographer, and general enquirer, some of the most interesting fragments of London's early history. The Work will consist of Twenty Engravings, representing general and particular views of the River Fleet in its *Ancient* and present state. A few Wood Cuts, of curious objects, connected with the subject, will be added. The whole will be executed by the first Engravers. The letter-press will contain such notices only as are scarce, curious, and which more immediately illucidate the History of the River. Subscriptions received by the Author, and by Mr. Richardson, 215, High Holborn."

Mr. Crosby has left behind him the MS. of the following intended addition to the above prospectus of his work; it is endorsed "Prospectus of Views of River Fleet. Additional notices, Feb. 27, 1845:"—

"Since the publication of the foregoing prospectus, the author has been fortunate enough to obtain drawings of the ancient bridges at Holborn bridge. These he procured with great difficulty, by descending into the sewers there, during the alterations and excavations which in 1840 and 1841 were made for the new street to Clerkenwell. On these occasions, with much personal risk, expense, and nightly fatigue for three weeks, he was enabled to make a set of drawings and admeasurements, which (among others) will furnish to his work the beautiful design by Sir Christopher Wren for the bridge built at Holborn after the great fire of 1666. No view of or design for these bridges being extant, even in the British Museum, much enhances the value of these memorials."

That Mr. Crosby endured risk and inconvenience in making his drawings is evidenced by the following notes which he has left:—

"At near twelve o'clock on Tuesday night, the 28th July, 1840, the tide flowed in so fast from the Thames to

Fleet bridge, that myself and Bridgewater were obliged to fly. It reached the hip, and we got somewhat wet before arriving at Holborn-bridge, quite safe, but much exhausted in splashing through the water in our heavy boots.—A. Crosby."

"Fleet Bridge, Tuesday, July 28th, 1840.—As I could not depend upon the admeasurements, which at the beginning of the year I had taken in a hurried manner at Fleet bridges, while bricklayers were placing in a brick bottom in place of the original one of alluvial soil, I determined to obtain them the first opportunity. This evening, therefore, at 10 o'clock I met Bridgewater (one of the workmen employed in constructing the new sewer from Holborn bridge to Clerkenwell), by appointment at the hoard there. Water boots being in readiness, I lighted my lamps, and assisted by the watchmen, King and Anon, we descended the ladder, and got into that branch of the sewer which joins Wren's bridge at Holborn. We then walked carefully till we reached Fleet bridge. I suspended my argand lamp on the breakwater of the sewer, and with my lanthorn light we proceeded towards the Thames. We got a considerable distance, during which the channel of the sewer twice turned to the right at a slight angle. The last portion we entered into was barrelled at the bottom, and the middle so full of holes, and the water so deep as we approached the Thames, that we thought it prudent to return to Fleet bridge. Here I lighted up four candles, which with my two lamps enabled me to see the admeasurements I required. Bridgewater, who is a sober, steady, and good-tempered man, was of great use to me in so doing. I measured the heights with a fishing-rod, twelve feet in length, joined to my two measuring rods, which tied gave me another rod of nine feet six inches. All went on well till about a quarter to twelve o'clock, when to our surprise we found the tide had suddenly come in to the depth of two feet and a half. No time was to be lost, but I had only one more admeasurement to make, viz., the width of the north bridge. I managed this, and we then snatched up the basket, and, holding our lamps aloft, dashed up the sewer, which we had to get up one half before out of danger. The air was close and made us faint. However, we got safe to Holborn bridge with all our things, and the argand lamp did not blow out till we just reached it.—A. Crosby."

Mr. Crosby unfortunately did not live to finish his intended work on the Fleet River. After his death the matter which he had collected was sold by his family, and was ultimately purchased for the City of London Library. The Editor has ascertained that Mr. Crosby was in the legal profession, and was at one time an inhabitant of Clerkenwell. He was, in 1840, secretary of a society for promoting practical design. His papers show that he at some time resided, or was employed, at No. 3, Stone-buildings, Lincoln's Inn, and No. 29, Brooke-street, Holborn.

The perils which Mr. Crosby met with in the Fleet ditch, as above recorded, were not uncommon. Thus in Archer's "Vestiges of Old London," part iii., in which is a view of the interior of the ditch, we read, that by the opening at the Thames "many persons enter at low tide, armed with sticks to defend themselves from rats, as well as for sounding on their perilous way among the slimy shallows; and carrying a lantern to sight the dreary passages, they wander for miles under the crowded streets, in search of such waifs as are carried there from above. A more dismal pursuit can scarcely be conceived: so near to the great concourse of London streets, that the rolling of the numerous vehicles incessantly thundering overhead, and even the voices of wayfarers, are heard, where, here and there, a grating admits the light of day; yet so utterly cut off from all communion with the busy world above, so lonely in the very heart of the great and populous city, that of the thousands who pass along, not one is ever conscious of the proximity of the wretched wanderer creeping in noisome darkness and peril beneath his very feet. A source of momentary destruction ever lurking in these gloomy regions exists in the gases, which generate in their confined and putrefying atmosphere, and sometimes explode with a force sufficient to blow up the very masonry; or which, taking light from the lantern, might envelope the miserable intruder in sudden flame. Many venturers have been struck down in such a dismal pilgrimage, to be heard of no more; may have fallen suddenly choked, sunk bodily in the treacherous slime, become a prey to swarms of voracious rats, or been overwhelmed by a sudden increase of the polluted stream."

In Timbs's "Curiosities of London," 1855, pages 303-305, is a short account of Fleet river and ditch.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARK, CLERKENWELL.

Original Boundaries of the District—New District formed—St. Mark's Church—Exterior—Flagstaff and Flag—Remarkable Incident relating to—Interior of Church—Consecration. CHADWELL-STREET (Upper and Lower):—Zion Baptist Chapel. CLAREMONT-SQUARE:—Part once called Myddelton-terrace—Tub-field—New River Reservoir—Formation of. GARNAULT-PLACE:—Samuel Garnault—Grimaldi, the Clown. GREEN-TERRACE:—Mr. J. Grene—Spa Green. LLOYD'S-ROW:—Baker Estate—Islington Spa, or new Tunbridge Wells—First Advertisements of—Analysis of Tunbridge Water—Islington Spa called the Threepenny Academy—Ward's Poems thereon—Visited by Lady Mary Montague and the Princesses Amelia and Caroline—Lockman's Poem on the Spa—Advertisements of the Waters—Colman's Play, "The Spleen, or Islington Spa"—Alteration of Premises—Testimonials in Praise of the Water—The Water described—Present state of the Spa. MYDDELTON-PLACE:—Sir Hugh Myddelton Tavern—Formerly Myddelton's Head—Celebrities who resorted there—Hogarth's Picture of—Picture at the Bar of—Lane's Garden—Spencer's Breakfasting House—Sadler's Wells Theatre—Sadler's Music House—Discovery of the Well—Water of—Miles's Music House—Ward's Poem thereon—Murder committed there—Francis Forcer—His Son—Garbott's Poem on this place—Description of the old House and the Well—Song on Sadler's Well—Presentment by the Grand Jury—Mr. Rosoman—His Alterations—Signor Grimaldi—Alterations of the Theatre—Thomas King—Joe Grimaldi—"The Little Devil"—"La Belle Espagnole"—Wroughton—Performing Dogs—Pantomimes and Amusements—Various Performers—The Theatre changes Proprietors—Jack Bologna—Marriage of Grimaldi—The Theatre changes Proprietors again—Interior is Rebuilt—The Dibdins—Edmund Kean—Carey Family—Accident to Grimaldi—Belzoni, the Pantagonian Samson—Water is brought into the Theatre—The Aquatic Stage—Lines thereon—Catastrophe in the Theatre—Grimaldi and his Songs—His Son—Grimaldi's disagreement with Charles Dibdin—Purchases a share in the Theatre—Becomes Stage Manager—Howard Payne—The Theatre Let to Egerton—Grimaldi Resides on the Premises—Use of Water for Stage purposes discontinued—Theatre Altered—Grimaldi's Farewell Benefit—Mr. Campbell—Thomas Dibdin, Manager—Samuel Phelps and Mrs. Warner—The Legitimate Drama. MYDDELTON-SQUARE:—Thomas Dibdin—His Description of the neighbourhood—Dr. Jabez Bunting—Dr. S. L. Giffard. MYLNE-STREET:—William Chadwell Mylne—Robert Mylne.

In the "London Gazette," No. 18,540, p. 65, St. Mark's district was described as follows:—"The line beginning at the south end of Penton-street, and passing along the middle of it in a northern direction as far as White Lion-street, and proceeding east along the middle of that street to the parish of St. Mary, Islington, where it takes a south-easterly direction along the boundary of the parishes of St. James, Clerkenwell, and St. Mary, Islington, as far as Wynyatt-street, where it crosses the Islington road, and passes along the middle of Myddelton-street and of Exmouth-street, nearly in a straight line, to the middle of the road leading from Coppice-row towards Bagnigge Wells, then turning northward along the middle of the Bagnigge Wells-road to the west end of Penton-place, and from thence in a north-easterly direction by the line of the south boundary of the garden walls belonging to the houses in Penton-place and Owen's-row, which walls are the boundary between Mr. Penton's estate and the estate of the New River Company. It then arrives at the north corner of Myddelton-terrace, and from thence crosses the new road to the first-mentioned point, or south end of Penton-street." In the year 1840, a district was assigned out of the above to the church of St. Philip, Granville-square. The ward of St. Mark, as settled under the provisions of the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855, is now bounded on the north by Pentonville-road, on the east by Goswell-road, on the south by Myddelton-street and Spencer-street, and on the west by Amwell-street and Upper Rosoman-street.

ST. MARK'S CHURCH.

The Church of St. Mark the Evangelist, in Myddelton-square, was erected in the year 1827, from the designs of William Chadwell Mylne, C.E. and architect, at a cost of about £16,000, on the site presented by the New River Company to the commissioners appointed under the Act 58 George III., cap. 45, for building and promoting additional churches in populous parishes. The style of the building is mixed Gothic of a very pleasing character. The west front, built of stone, is the most ornate portion of the exterior. It consists of a square tower, with an open trefoil parapet and crocketed pinnacles at the angles. At its base it is pierced by a lofty entrance arch, embellished with receding columns and mouldings, and externally surmounted by crockets and a finial. Flanking this noble entrance are elegant buttresses enriched with panel work, and terminating with crocketed pinnacles. When approached from Amwell-street the entire front, so harmonious in design and elaborate in its character, at once impresses the observer with its extreme beauty, surpassing any similar edifice in the parish. The side elevations and east end, though not remarkable, are in keeping with the principal front and in unison with the general design.

The height of the tower to the top of the parapet is ninety-four feet, and to the apex of the pinnacles one hundred and six feet. Its walls are three feet in thickness, and its interior diameter is seventeen feet six inches. The present flagstaff, which is surmounted by a metal gilt cross and weathercock, was erected on the 8th of September, 1855, and cost £25, which sum was defrayed by the subscriptions of the inhabitants of the district. The previous flagstaff was splintered by a storm in the month of June, of that year, and the vane was hurled on to the pavement before the church. The flag was the gift of Mr. Jones, one of the churchwardens, in 1854, who, after the memorable battle of Alma, presented this flag to the district of St. Mark on condition that it should not be hoisted until Sebastopol had been taken. This event happened by the fall of the Malakoff tower, on Monday, the 10th of September, 1855. It is a remarkable fact that the flagstaff which was destroyed in June was replaced in September, just in time to carry the flag announcing the final triumph of the allied armies.

The interior of the church, on the whole, is too plain to harmonise with the elaborately wrought exterior. A stranger entering the sacred edifice after contemplating the grandeur of its principal front, would be surprised and disappointed at its general simplicity. There are two ranges of windows on each side, of which the upper ones are lofty and pointed; those of the lower tier are small and square-headed. They are each divided into three lights by mullions of cast iron, and glazed with leaded diamond-shaped panes. The east window was reglazed with painted glass in 1851; it is divided into three compartments. The window which the present one superseded was composed of panes of parti-coloured glass. At the top of the centre compartment were a dove descending in glory, and the initials of Jesus Hominum Salvator; and below, on three panes, were the names and arms of Howley, Bishop of London, and of Mr. Mylne, the architect; and also a record of the churchwardens of the mother church who were in office at the time of the erection of this one. The organ, which is a fine instrument, built by Gray, occupies a central position in the western gallery. It contains twenty-six sounding stops. The church contains sittings for 1915 persons, of which 749 are rented and 1166 free, fourteen sittings being secured to the New River Company.

The church was consecrated on the 1st of January, 1828, by Dr. Howley, Bishop of London—the building alone—it having been expressly stipulated by the New River Company that the surrounding enclosure should not be appropriated as a cemetery. In the "Morning Advertiser" of January 2nd, 1828, there is a detailed account of the ceremony of consecrating this structure. We subjoin a few of its particulars. The journalist, after noticing that there was a "vast assemblage of ladies present," thus proceeds:—

"About 11 o'clock the Lord Bishop arrived and proceeded up the centre aisle, the charity boys and girls, who were placed under the organ, singing Handel's Hallelujah chorus. His lordship having robed in the vestry-room,

declared himself ready to consecrate, and proceeded down the centre aisle and back to the altar, attended by his chancellor, bearing the crozier, and his registrar, the Rev. Thomas Shepherd—the minister and the committee, consisting of the churchwardens, Messrs. Waller and Read, and twenty-four of the principal inhabitants, and several clergymen, alternately repeating the 21th Psalm. The minister then presented to the Lord Bishop the deed of conveyance, and he having ordered his registrar to read the deed of consecration, the ordinary Church Service commenced. The anthem, 'Comfort ye my People' (Handel), was sung by Mr. Pyne, and the service was concluded by a sermon from the Lord Bishop, who took for his text Psalm lxxxiv. 10—'For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand.' In the evening a large party of the respectable inhabitants dined together."

That much respected clergyman, the late Rev. Thomas Mortimer, B.D., was appointed first incumbent, deriving his income from the pew-rents, of which £30 was to be reserved as the salary of the clerk. Mr. Mortimer was lecturer at St. Olave's, and afterwards at Shoreditch. He was a very liberal man, and mainly in charity spent a small fortune. He embarrassed himself by building St. Bartholomew's Chapel, in Gray's Inn-road. He died in his fifty-eighth year, in 1851, at Madeley, his last retreat. His first wife, Letitia, was buried at Hampstead, in the church of which place, near the south wall, is a memorial of her. Her brother was the Rev. Mr. White, of Hampstead. Mr. Mortimer's second wife, a Miss Bevan, survived him. This lady is an industrious authoress for children.

The patronage of the living of St. Mark is vested in the Bishop of London. The present incumbent is the Rev. Francis Michael Maccarthy, M.A., who succeeded the Rev. Mr. Dollman in 1848. The gross income arising from pew-rents is stated to be £600 per annum. In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1829, vol. xcix., part 1, page 767, are a view of St. Mark's Church, and a full description of the same.

CHADWELL STREET (UPPER AND LOWER).

This street, together with others surrounding it, took its name from a place which is connected with the New River, the company of which were the proprietors of the ground on which the houses forming this neighbourhood were built.

Lower Chadwell-street and Upper Chadwell-street were described as unfinished in the year 1828. In the former street is Zion Baptist Chapel, which was erected in the year 1823-4, for a congregation of Calvinistic Methodists, and was at first called Providence Chapel. Being empty and to let in the spring of the year 1827, it was taken for and reopened as a Scotch Church. The Rev. Mr. Herschall, a converted Jew, long preached here. Of late it has been occupied by a congregation of Baptists, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. J. Hazleton.

CLAREMONT SQUARE.

This square was chiefly built between forty and fifty years ago. The range of houses on the south side, which were built in 1828, completed the square, which, on its north side, is open to Pentonville-road. The west side of the square, when first erected, was called Myddelton-terrace. The houses stand upon some portion of that place which, early in the present century, was vulgarly known as the Tub Field, in which, by permission of the New River Company, to whom the field belonged, the old Clerkenwell volunteers were suffered to exercise.[1]

In the midst of the square is one of the New River Company's service reservoirs for supplying the northern districts of London with filtered water. For upwards of two centuries there has been a pond, of oblong shape, for the storage of water at this spot. It was formerly called the Upper, or more commonly, the High Pond. It is depicted in a north view of London, taken in 1730, as being

[1] *Vide* p. 131.

in the midst of extensive fields, and enclosed by a strong wooden rail. In the engraving several persons, attired in the costume of the period, are represented as angling in the pond. In the "Gentleman Angler," published in 1736, we read as follows:—"The principal places for angling near London are Winchmore-hill, Hornsey; the Boarded River, by Awberry Farm, Newington; Camberry House; and the pond near Sadler's Wells. There is also good angling at the Upper Pond, near the Bowling-green, and the back of Islington, for Roach, Dace, and Perch."[1]

In the engraving before referred to, on the south side of the reservoir is shown a wooden erection for conveying the water into this basin from the works at the New River Head. This pleasant state of things did not continue very long, for in 1756 was commenced the erection of a high brick wall around this pond, at such a distance from it on all sides as to admit of spacious walks being laid out, in which only a privileged few were allowed to exercise. This unsightly wall remained until the summer of 1826, when it was demolished, and the present handsome iron palisades were placed in lieu thereof, and the form of the enclosure was altered so that its sides might be parallel with the line of the houses on either side of the square. This improvement was made partly at the cost of the New River Company and the trustees of the turnpike-road, and partly by subscription amongst the inhabitants of the square. The residents on the north side not contributing their quota to the expense, a brick wall was rebuilt opposite to their houses.

The reservoir was formerly elevated a few feet above the iron railings of the enclosure, and in order to raise the water to a sufficient height to supply the houses of Pentonville and Islington, cast iron steam pipes were erected thirty feet above the level of the water. In the year 1856 this reservoir was, in accordance with the Metropolis Water Act of 1852, entirely covered over. The covering consists of brick arches springing from cross ones on brick piers, over which is spread a thin layer of earth, which being sown with grass seed is verdurous in the summer time. The bottom of the reservoir is also composed of a series of brick arches; and the basin, about one hundred and eighty feet square, is crossed by walls which support the top arches, and are perforated by arched openings to allow the water to flow evenly over the whole space. About four millions of bricks were used, nearly forty thousand being laid in one day. All the brickwork was built in hydraulic lime. The external walls were rendered air tight by several feet of puddle and a strong embankment of clay. This reservoir has an area of thirty-one thousand square feet, and is capable of containing three millions five hundred thousand gallons of water. It is one hundred and twenty-six and a half feet above the Thames high-water mark, and the mean depth of water in it is twenty-one feet. The cost of covering the reservoir was £21,000, the expense being much increased by the necessity of supplying the tenants from the reservoir while the works were in progress, which required the construction of cross dams. During the excavations, some remains of the old wooden pipings and plugs were found embedded in the mud.

GARNAULT PLACE.

This place was erected in 1825-6. It received its name from Mr. Samuel Garnault, late treasurer of the New River Company, who died March 11th, 1827, at the advanced age of seventy-six, and lies buried in Enfield churchyard, near the south door of the church, under a sarcophagus of white marble, which was afterwards erected to his memory. Grimaldi, the clown, resided from 1829 to 1832 at No. 23 in this place. While manager of Sadler's Wells he lived at No. 8, Exmouth-street. In a letter of his, dated the 23rd of April, 1829, he writes, "I have moved to 23, Garnault-place, about two hundred yards from where I did live." This residence he left at Michaelmas, 1832, and took a small house, No. 6, Prospect-row, Woolwich.

[1] *Gentleman Angler*, p. 115, ed. 1736.

GREEN TERRACE.

This is a neat row of houses facing the New River Head. It was erected in the year 1827, on a plot of ground, the leasehold property of the New River Company. It was named in compliment to the memory of Mr. John Grene, who was many years clerk to the before-mentioned company, and who married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Sir William Myddelton, the son and heir of the great Sir Hugh Myddelton. Mrs. Grene died in 1675, aged forty-three years; and was buried in her husband's vault in the north aisle of Enfield Church. The following epitaph is on a tablet of black marble in a square frame of white marble, on the north wall:—"In a vault beneath lies the body of the vertuous and piously charitable Elizabeth, wife of Mr. John Grene, who dyed in travell the ninth of December, 1675, and left two sons and two daughters, Giles, William, Elizabeth and Katharine; she was the eldest daughter of Sir William Myddelton, son and heyre of the renowned Sir Hugh Myddelton, baronett, who brought the New River from Ware throughe this parish to the Cityes of London and Westminster. God in mercy give us his grace soe to follow her example that as we come to dye our soules may meete her in a joyful resurrection. Anno ætatis suæ 43." Arms:—Azure, three stags trippant or; Grene. Impaling azure, on a bend vert three griffins' heads, erast A; Myddelton. The pretty enclosure in front of Green-terrace includes a portion of that which was formerly called the Spa-green.

LLOYD'S ROW.

This place was named from a former possessor of the Baker estate, on a part of which it stands, forming the north-east side of the same area. The estate, early in the present century, belonged to William Lloyd Baker, Esq.[1] Part of it was leased to the New River Company, but the greater part of this row, and the erections called Eliza-place and Charlotte-street, with the Islington Spa and gardens in the midst, were retained by their owner. The gardens anciently comprised the entire plot referred to and were quite unencumbered with buildings.

ISLINGTON SPA, OR NEW TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

The proximity of Islington Spa to the town of the same name, at a time when it was comparatively remote from the town of Clerkenwell, occasioned its receiving the appellation which it bore. It is not certainly known at what time this spa was first known and the gardens planned and opened to the public. The similarity in composition of the mineral waters at this place to those of Tunbridge[2] led to its being called, with some propriety, "New Tunbridge Wells." In the "London Gazette," of September 24th, 1685, there appears a somewhat curious advertisement having reference to a sale of this place, and which serves to show that the Spa was opened to the

[1] The Rev. William Lloyd Baker, of Stouh Hill, Gloucestershire, married Mary, the daughter of the Rev. John Lloyd, Rector of Ryton, Durham, a descendant of Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, Lichfield, Coventry, and Worcester, by whom he had issue an only son, Thomas John Lloyd Baker, of Hardwicke Court, Gloucestershire, who was born May 17th, 1777; he married in May, 1800, Mary, the daughter of William Sharpe, Esq., of Fulham, Middlesex. Mr. Baker was magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Gloucestershire, and filled the office of high sheriff in 1824.

[2] Tunbridge water yields upon analysis per pint:—Gases: Nitrogen, 0.59 cubic inches; carbonic acid, 1; slight traces of oxygen, —. Solids: Carbonate of lime, 0.03 grains; sulphate of lime, 0.17; chloride of sodium, 0.30; hydrochlorate of magnesia, 0.03; ditto of lime, 0.05; protoxyde of iron, 0.28. The component parts of this water are:—Iron in its mildest state of solution, being in combination with carbonic acid gas, or fixed air, with a slighter trace of earthy salts than is usually met with in spring water. The quantity of carbonate, or rather proto-carbonate of iron, in a gallon of water, amounts to about three grains and a half; that of saline substances in combination, four and a half grains, making eight grains of solid matter in a gallon.

public anterior to that time:—"Whereas Mr. John Langley, of London, Merchant, who bought the Rhinoceros, and Islington Wells, has been represented by divers of his malicious adversaries to be a person of no estate or reputation, nor able to discharge his debts, which evil practices have been on purpose to ruin and destroy his reputation," &c.

Other advertisements which appeared in the "Gazette" at intervals from 1690 to 1692, informed the public that the Spa was open. In May, of the former year, the following announcement was made:—

These are to give Notice, That the Well near Islington call'd New Tunbridge, will be open on Monday next, the 25th instant, during the whole Season for drinking the Medicinal Water, where the Poor may have the same Gratis, bringing a Certificate under the hand of any known Phisician or Apothecary. The Coffee-house within the Garden there is to be Lett at a reasonable rate.

The price of admission to the gardens at this time was threepence. The place was called "The Islington Wells, or the Threepenny Academy," in a low burlesque poem, published in 1691, supposed to have been a production of Ned Ward's pen.[1] The author of this amusing poem dedicates his production to such as "With their presence do honour famed Islington Wells." Seven o'clock in the morning was the time of our author's visit to

Islington's renowned Wells,
Where twice or thrice a week most duly,
In the months of May, June, August, July,
.
Lawyers, Divines, Civilians, and Quakers,
The Tradesman and his lovely spouse,
Th' enamoured Youth and 's dear Queen Blouze,
Taylors and other trades which rack
Invention to adorn the back,
Go there to make their observation,
Upon the dresses of the nation,
Of either sex whole droves together,
To see and to be seen, flock thither
To drink, and not to drink the water.

After ridiculing the vices and extravagant fashions of the *bon ton*, the author tells us of,

Others who cheap pleasures choose
To *Coffee-house* to read the news
Retire, and there devoutly prate
Of Luxemburgh and Catinat.
.
While others of plebean fashion,
Who hither come for recreation,
In Arbours closely shaded o'er
With climbing shrubs and Sycamore,
In mighty state themselves regale
With fly plumb cakes and windy ale.

Our poet continues his walk through the midst of the male and female throng "Saluted by the fragrancy of Powder de Orange, Jessamine, Pulvil," etc., and next,

—— arriv'd at the rails which hem in
This famous *Well*, where two old women
Do kindly give the Water gratis,
(What nothing costs at under-rate is),
There cooling of their brains or blood,
A knot of sparks and ladies stood.
.

[1] *Vide* page 196.

The Musick plays, and 'tis such musick
As quickly will make you or me sick ;
But they to give the thing a grace
Had got three trebles and a basse,
With which (as Apes are often seen
To imitate the acts of men)
So vainly these pretend to play
Some lessons in the Opera.
'Twas now about the hour of Ten,
Precisely just the minute when
To Wells the Hackney coaches trot
As fast as wasps to honey pot.

After spending six hours in observing the company, which time he complains of as lay thrown away

In what was neither work or play,

the poet takes leave of this noisy dressing Academy,

This place of empty boyish prattle,

and goes with a friend to crack a bottle.

A few years after he again burlesqued the company which frequented the Spa, in a poem entitled, "A Walk to Islington, with a Description of the New Tunbridge Welles, Sadler's Music House, &c.," folio, London, 1699 ; in which poem he describes the entrance to the gardens by

A gate
Where abundance of rabble peept in at the grate,

And speaking of the walks he says,

Where lime trees were placed at a regular distance,
And *scrapers* were giving their woful assistance.

In the course of his walk in quest of amusement he entered a large shed built on purpose for dancing, and visited other buildings "for raffling and lotteries, and such sort of trade."

—— I stood by for a while,
See the gamesters all frown, and the Lot'ry man smile,
Some scratching their ears, others biting their nails.

Of the characters which he singles out for description, the Beau is perhaps the most amusing, and is an exquisite piece of verbal portraiture. He was attired in the fashion of the period, and wore a wig,

So bushy, so long, and so fair,
That he looked (as a body may modestly speak it)
Like a calf with a bald face peeping out of a thicket
His locks drudg his coat, which such filthiness harbours,
Tho' made of Black Cloth 'tis as white as a Barber's;
His *Sword* I may say to my best of belief,
Was as long as a spit for a Sir-loin of Beef,
Being graced with a ribbon of *Scarlet* or *Blue*,
That hung from the hilt to the heel of his shoe.
Thus proud, as a Turkey cock spreading his plumes,
He stalks thro' the walks, so enriched with perfumes.

Again in one of the sheds the poet

Saw a parcel of Grave Paralitical Heads,
Sit sipping of coffee and poring on paper ;
And some smoaking silently round a wax taper ;
Whilst others at *Gammon* grown peevish with age,
Were wrangling for Pen'worths of tea made of sage.

The obscenities of this poem are of so gross a character as to oblige us to refrain from giving more than these few select quotations from it.

In the "Postman," of April 27th, 1700, appeared the following announcement of the opening of the Wells for that season:—"These are to give notice, that New Tunbridge Wells, at Islington, will be opened the 5th day of May, where will be music for dancing all day long every Monday and Thursday during this summer season. No masque admitted."

In less than thirty years afterwards the Islington Spa had become a fashionable resort of the aristocracy, of whom was the celebrated Lady Mary W. Montague, who claims for herself the merit of having made the efficacy of these waters known to the *beau monde*.

The waters must have been very potent, for this accomplished lady, writing of them in 1758, says that she received benefit from them, but with this drawback, that they affected her head so powerfully that she was unable to write until late at night, and even then a headache remained.[1] We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1820, that—"Ever since Lady Mary Wortley Montague's idea that 'mineral waters which are provided by nature are the best, perhaps the only remedies,' has grown pretty general, English watering places have become receptacles to which shoals of people rush."[2]

In 1733 the Spa was in the *acme* of its reputation, and in the month of June of that year the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, daughters of George II., frequented the gardens daily for the purpose of drinking the waters. Such was the concourse of nobility and others upon these occasions that the proprietor took above £30 in one morning. On the birthday of the princesses, as they passed through the Spa Field, which was generally filled with carriages, they were saluted with a discharge of twenty-one guns, a compliment which was always paid them on their arrival; and in the evening there was a great bonfire, and the guns were again discharged several times. We read in the "Daily Courant," that on the 1st of June, 1732, "his Royal Highness the Prince, and the Princess Royal, and Amelia, accompanied by a great number of persons of distinction, went to New Tunbridge Wells, and drank the waters, where was a large assembly of nobility and gentry." In "Fogg's Journal," of the 2nd of June, 1733, was the following:—"Wednesday morning the Princess Amelia, having gone to New Tunbridge Wells to drink the waters, at her entrance was saluted under the discharge of several small pieces of cannon, and likewise received the compliments, on account of her birthday, from the assembly on the walks."

In another newspaper, of the same date, we read—"Last Monday morning the Rt. Honble. the Lord Viscount Cobham, being at New Tunbridge Wells, near Islington, had his pocket picked of a gold repeating watch of great value; which morning there was it is said at least 1600 persons who paid for drinking at those Wells, besides many others who were only spectators."

In another newspaper, of the 8th of June, 1733, was the following:—"The Surveyor of the New River Waterworks hath been to wait upon Richard Arundel, Esq., Surveyor General of the King's Works, about making a commodious passage in the Cold Bath fields for her Royal Highness the Princess Amelia to go to New Tunbridge Wells."

On ceasing to visit the gardens, the Princess Amelia presented the master with twenty-five guineas, and each of the water-servers with three guineas, and one guinea to each of the other attendants.

In "The Humours of New Tunbridge Wells,"[3] a lyric poem printed in 1734, the visits of the princesses are again referred to; and in the opening stanzas, the poet, Lockman, has alluded to the mixed company then resorting to the Spa for health and pleasure, and, as if surprised at such plebeian and patrician associations, he asks,—

> Whence comes it that the shining great,
> To titles born and awful state,
> Thus condescend, thus check their will;
> And send away to Tunbridge Wells,
> To mix with vulgar beaux and belles?

[1] *Chronicles of Fashion*, vol. ii., p. 276.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1820, p. 398.

[3] *The Humours of New Tunbridge Wells at Islington*: a Lyric Poem, with songs, epigrams, &c. Also Imitations from French, Gascoon, Italian, Latin, and Chinese Poets; and an Ode, from a manuscript of Mr. De Voltaire. *Vides meliora probsque, deteriora sequor*. London: Printed for I. Roberts, at the Oxford Arms in Warwick-lane. 1734. Price 1s. 6d. 8vo.

Ye sages, your famed glasses raise,
Survey this meteor's dazzling blaze,
And say, portends it good or ill.

Soon as Aurora gilds the skies,
With brighter charms the ladies rise,
To dart forth beams that save or kill.
No homage at the toilette paid,
(Their lovely features unsurvey'd),
Sweet negligenee her influenee lends,
And all the artless graees blend
That form the tempting dishabille.

Behold the walks, a ehequer'd shade,
In the gay pride of green array'd,
How bright the sun! the air how still!
In wild eonfusion there we view
Red ribbons grouped with aprons blue,
Scrapes, eurtsies, nods, winks, smiles, and frowns;
Lords, milkmaids, dutchesses, and clowns,
In their all-various dishabille.

Thus in the famous age of gold,
(Not quite romantiek tho' so old)
Mankind were merely Jack and Gill:
On flow'ry banks by murmuring streams,
They tatl'd, walk'd, had pleasing dreams,
But dress'd, indeed, like aukward folks,
Not steeple-hats, surtouts, short eloaks,
Fig leaves the only dishabille.

Among the visitors to the garden were, as the poem informs us,

Light fingered knaves, who poekets drill,
Wits, eaptains, politieians, trulls,
Sots, devotees, pimps, poets, gulls.

The poem is embellished with a well engraved frontispiece, giving a view of the gardens, coffee room, &c. Among the company the following personages, as the notes inform us, are represented—viz., "Mr. Martin, by some called the Tunbridge Knight, an inoffensive gentleman, known chiefly by the yellow cockade in his hat and the hawk he carried upon his fist; he gave the name of 'Royal Jack' to that bird, out of respect, as he said, to the royal family." The knight appears to be engaged in pleasant conversation with the Honourable Miss H. (the lady in the riding habit), behind whom is Beau Nash, with the cards and dice-box dropping from his pocket; near him is Hannah, the Water Nymph, who is being addressed by some nobleman, as appears by the star on his breast. In front of the balustrade enclosing the well is Dr. Misaubin, a sort of physician, famed for his pills, who being refused his doctor's degree at Cambridge, vowed, with a noble indignation, he would ruin that University, for his son should go to Oxford. Above, in a car, supported by clouds, and drawn by a butterfly and cricket, in a parti-coloured habit, with a weathercock in her cap, is Caprice, blowing bubbles. Beside those already described, there are engraved portraits of the following persons—viz., the Princesses Caroline and Amelia, and the Honourable Miss Vane, who, as the note tells us, met with very rude treatment in this place. The poem commences with verses, which are set to music in an accompanying sheet, and each one concludes with the word dishabille.

That the fashionable beauties who frequented the Spa at this time might have a prospect of the Wells ever before their eyes, an enterprising fan-maker offered for sale "An Accurate and Curious Draught of the New Tunbridge Wells; of House, Well, and Walks, and Company walking therein; being a pleasant and agreeable Landskape, finely done on a Fan-mount. By Jonathan Pinchbeck, Fanmaker, at the Fan and Crown, in New Round-court, in the Strand, and sold by him, and at the fan shops of London and Westminster."

In the month of August, 1750, it was advertised that at the "New Tunbridge Wells the strictest care is, and always will be taken, to preserve the most perfect decorum, and no person of a bad or exceptional character will be admitted into the ball room. Tickets for the ball and public breakfast 1s. 6d. each."

On the 8th of April, 1751, was announced :—

"NEW TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
NEAR THE NEW RIVER HEAD, ISLINGTON,

Are open'd for the ensuing Season, the Gardens, &c., being much enlarg'd and beautified. Breakfasting every morning at the usual prices.

"N.B.—Any Gentleman of the Faculty, or others, who are desirous of examining, by proper experiments, the Qualities or Strength of this Chalybeat Water will be readily indulg'd therein."

On the 1st of April, 1752, the following advertisement appeared :—

"NEW TUNBRIDGE,
NEAR ISLINGTON.

"The Season for drinking the Chalybeate Mineral Waters of this place being now commenced, on Wednesday, the 8th instant, the Rooms will be open'd, and there will be a public Breakfasting. To be continued every Wednesday during the ensuing Season ; on which Days there will be no attendance at the Well after Eleven o'clock.

"Proper Musick will be provided for those Gentlemen and Ladies who chuse Dancing, and will attend from Eleven o'clock to Three.

"N.B.—Tickets will be deliver'd at the Gate at 1s. 6d. each ; and no persons of ill repute, or of exceptionable or improper characters, will on any account be admitted."

In the "Public Advertiser," of April 13th, 1754, appeared the following advertisement :—

"ISLINGTON SPA, commonly call'd New Tunbridge.—The season for drinking the Mineral and Chalybeate waters, commencing at this time, it is thought proper to inform the public the waters are in full perfection. Attendance will be given every day till two o'clock except Wednesday, when it ceases at 11. Accommodation for breakfasts as usual. There are convenient and pleasant lodgings for such as chuse to reside on the spot."

In the next year appeared the following :—

"ISLINGTON SPA,
COMMONLY CALLED NEW TUNBRIDGE. APRIL 10, 1755.

"The extraordinary efficacy of the Chalybeat Mineral Waters of this place, exemplified in almost every instance of those who have tried it for the last two years, (viz., since the restoring the Spring to its original purity) in the cure of the Jaundice, Nervous, and all other Weaknesses, Fluxes of Blood of every kind, Gravel, &c., renders it proper to inform the Public, so early, that the Water is now in full Perfection, and that one attendance is given at the Well for serving it.

"N.B.—The Great Relief this Water affords, in the wandering and irregular Gout, as also in removing the weakness and stiffness of the Joints left by severe fits of that Disorder, not having been hitherto generally known, those who may be interested in the Truth of the Fact, may be satisfied of it, by indisputable Evidence, on applying to the Proprietor.

"There are pleasant and commodious Lodgings for such as chuse to reside on the spot, while they drink the waters."

The Spa and its conveniences, and the efficacy of the water in curing a variety of disorders, were again advertised in 1760, as follows :—

"ISLINGTON SPA,
COMMONLY CALLED NEW TUNBRIDGE, NEAR THE NEW RIVER HEAD, ISLINGTON.

"The season for drinking the Mineral waters of this place being begun, the Rooms and Gardens have been repaired and beautified at a great expense, and are now ready for the reception of company as usual, and daily attendance is given at the Spring for serving the water.

"The great virtues and efficacy of these waters are so well known, and have been so happily experienced by the relief received from them by many thousands of persons now living (many of whom are of the highest rank and distinction), that it would be endless to particularise all the cases wherein they are serviceable. It is sufficient to say they are particularly useful as Restoratives, in all cases of Weakness or decay, in all Nervous disorders, in the Green Sickness, and in all kinds of Obstructions, in Palsies, Numbness, Convulsions, Asthmas, Hysterics, Vapours, Dropsies, and Swellings of the Legs ; Rheumatism, Scurvy, Jaundice, and all disorders of

the Liver; King's Evils, lost Appetite, Want of Digestion, Gravel, Gout, Strangury, and in Numbers of other Disorders wherein either Restorative or Deobstruent Medicines are required or serviceable; and in wandering gout repeated experience has shown that two glasses of this water are sufficient to expel the Disease from the Stomach into the Extreme parts. These Waters are of the same Virtue and Efficacy as those of Tunbridge, in Kent; and according to Observations and Experiments made on them by Mr. Boyle, in 1684, and since often repeated, are found to be some degrees more strongly impregnated with the Mineral or Medicine Quality than those of Tunbridge, in Kent; and are very nearly, if not quite, as those of the German spa. The present proprietor has taken effectual care to have everything provided for the Accommodation of the Company, who come either to drink the waters or to breakfast, or drink Tea and Coffee at other times of the day; and Ladies and Gentlemen may depend on having the best Teas, Coffee, and Chocolate, with due Attendance and the most civil and obliging treatment.

"*** Ladies and Gentlemen who come from Hanover and Grosvenour Squares, and Parts adjacent, may come to this place without going over the stones by striking into the New Road from Portland Street to Islington, which makes it an exceedingly pleasant airing from all that part of the town and neighbourhood.

"N.B.—There are very pleasant and commodious Lodgings to be lett, with the conveniency of walking in the gardens, which are laid out in an agreeable and elegant taste, and boarding if required. The prices for breakfasting are ninepence each person, and for drinking Tea in the Afternoon, sixpence, and Coffee Eightpence; and no other liquors are sold at this place, which enables the proprietor to keep out all bad and improper Company."[1]

In 1770, Mr. Henry Holland, from the Assembly House, Walton Bridge, who was then the proprietor of the Tunbridge Wells, Islington, announced to the public that the waters were "in their utmost perfection, and the apartments entirely new furnished, for the better accommodation of those persons who chuse to reside on the spot during the drinking of them." And a few years after he stated that the number of persons daily receiving benefit from the waters was scarcely to be credited. The Spa at this time was declining in repute, and in the year 1777 the failure of its proprietor was Gazetted. Prior to this date the gardens were closed. The writer of the "Sunday Ramble," 1774-5, tells us that "Islington Spa was esteemed one of the genteelest tea-gardens about the metropolis, and was still more eminent for a remarkable fine mineral, but at the time of our perambulation it was not open to the publick (the proprietor's lease being out, as we were given to understand, and the whole undergoing a thorough repair)." The lease, which had yet thirteen years to run, was sold by Mr. Skinner in September, 1778, to Mr. John Howard, who gave notice that the gardens, which were "pleasurably disposed in a very agreeable style," were open every morning for drinking the waters and in the afternoon for tea; "the subscribers for the season one guinea; non-subscribers drinking the waters, 6d. each morning;" and among other novelties introduced by the new proprietor were a bowling-green, and what was termed a Minor Vauxhall, together with astronomical lectures during Lent, accompanied by an orrery, &c.

In a comic piece, first acted in 1776, entitled the "Spleen; or, Islington Spa," by George Colman, Mrs. Rubrick thus commends the elegancies of the place to her friend Mrs. Tabitha:—"The Spa grows as genteel as Tunbridge, Brighthelmstone, Southampton, or Margate. Live in the most sociable way upon earth—all the company acquainted with each other. Walks, balls, raffles, and subscriptions. Mrs. Jenkins, of the Three Blue Balls; Mrs. Rummer and family, from the King's Arms; and several other people of condition, to be there this season! And then Eliza's wedding, you know, was owing to the Spa. Oh, the watering places are the only places to get young women lovers and husbands."

About 1783 the success of the place was temporarily revived. "The virtues of the waters," says "The Diary," in that year, "have been found so efficacious, as to have greatly established themselves in public opinion; so many have been the cures they have latterly performed, that we cannot be surprised should we hear of Tunbridge, in Kent, being entirely deserted the ensuing season." These anticipations were not realised; the Islington Spa's best days were over, for no more did the gentry and ladies of the west-end resort to it either for health or amusement. It was, however, advertised as usual. In 1788 appeared the following puff:—"The variety of disorders which the waters of the New Tunbridge Wells are known to have cured, has given this charming spot of beautiful rusticity

[1] *London Chronicle*, April, 1766

the greatest reputation; for while the valetudinarian drinks the waters for the restoration of his health, he is charmed with the simplicity and elegance the gardens display for his enjoyment. How provident it is that we should have such efficacious waters so near the City! which, like other populous cities, must always be afflicted with every disorder that arises from foulness of air, grossness of food, and the habits of luxury and intemperance. It seems as if Providence had particularly adapted the qualities of the New Tunbridge Wells waters to eradicate. Subscription one guinea for the season. Lodgings to lett, furnished."



ISLINGTON SPA, 1833.

The proprietor, finding all his efforts to revive the faded glories of this once fashionable resort vain and useless, caused the chief part of the old coffee-room to be pulled down, and curtailed the extent of the gardens by erecting the houses in Charlotte-street; and about the year 1810 the old entrance to the gardens, which was formerly where the house No. 6, Eliza-place, now stands, was removed. The Spa well still remained open to the public. A new entrance was made in Lloyd's-row, and the proprietor lived in a house adjoining. In the spring of 1826 the gardens were re-opened as a spa only; the walks were well arranged, and the trees and shrubs so planted as to impart a pleasing effect. About the gardens were statues and inscriptions recording the healing virtues of the waters. The well was enclosed by grotto work, and to it there was a winding descent of several steps. In a little cell constructed in the grotto work were testimonials of the virtues of the spring. One ran thus:—"The two following lines were curiously cut in the bark of one of the trees in the walks, but now defaced:—

'Obstructum reserat; durum terit; humidam siccat;
Debile fortificat, si tamen artebibas.'"

Of this couplet there was underneath a poor paraphrase by a gentleman who was restored to health by the water, after enduring an extreme ill state of constitution for more than thirty years, and drinking almost all other mineral waters without effect. The same gentleman left the following lines in his apartment here when he left after his cure:—

For three times ten years I travelled the globe,
Consulted whole tribes of the physical robe;
Drank the waters of Tunbridge, Bath, Harrogate, Dulwich,
Spa, Epsom (and all by advice of the College),
But in vain; till to *Islington* waters I came
To try if my cure would add to their fame.
In less than six weeks they produced a belief
This would be the place of my long-sought relief;
Before six weeks more had finished their course,
Full of spirits and strength I mounted my horse,
Gave praise to my God, and rode cheerfully home,
Over-joyed with thoughts of sweet hours to come.
May thou, great Jehovah, give equal success
To all who resort to this place for redress.

A small portion of the old coffee-room remained at this time. This room was originally forty feet long, and contained an orchestra for morning concerts. It was pulled down during the year 1840, at

which period the attractions of the place having failed to induce the patronage of the public, the gardens were leased to a builder, and two rows of houses, called Spa-cottages, were erected upon their site.

Mr. Molloy, a surgeon, who succeeded Hardy in the possession of the Spa, and resided in the compoed house adjoining, which, by a bold inscription below the coping-stone, informs the passer-by that here is the New Tunbridge Wells, or Islington Spa, offered by circular its salubrious waters to invalids of all descriptions. The terms of subscription were—one year, £1 1s.; half-year, 15s.; quarter, 10s. 6d.; one month, 5s.; visitors, 6d. each (quantity not limited); or delivered at 6d. per gallon. The Spa-house is at present a private residence. The well is contained in an out-building, attached to the dwelling-house on the east side. It still continues to flow, and the water may still be had by those who have faith in its curative properties. We are not aware of any modern analysis of the water of the Islington Spa. In 1684 the Hon. Robert Boyle ascertained its specific gravity, and found it to be two grains lighter than the waters of Tunbridge Wells, Kent, and seven grains lighter than common water.[1] About the year 1733 a synthetical analysis was made of the water by Dr. Russel, who says, "It has a taste of iron, and is a little styptic, with some degree of quickness, both in smell and taste, especially in summer; it is apt to make some that drink it giddy or sleepy, which may be easily remedied by the addition of a little pure common water. It will lather with soap, and will turn a little milky, with a large proportion of oil of tar; it will not let fall any sediment with volatile alkalies, but will grow whitish and curdle a little with sugar of lead; oil of vitriol dropped into it produces a fermentation with heat and smoke, and syrup of violets changes it to green. Galls at the fountain-head turn it first of a light crimson, which gradually changes to a reddish purple, and at length to a muddy, thick black. It is observable that a fat, unctuous matter, which is always concomitant with iron ore, lines the inside of the glass used in drinking this water, and it throws up a copper-coloured scum. A gallon of it yielded from ten to thirty grains of reddish earth at different trials, which fermented with oil of vitriol. After a very exact analysis of this water, it appears to be a light, and comparatively pure chalybeate, of considerable strength, at the fountain-head, where it ought to be drank." Dr. Buchan, in his well-known work on domestic medicine, commends the waters of this Spa as "a pleasant, clear, light chalybeate," serviceable to restore the appetite, brace relaxed habits, and to raise the spirits; hence it may be of use in hypochondriac, paralytic, and other nervous disorders. It is further recommended in female weaknesses, and in gravel, palsy and diseases of the skin. "It deserves," says the doctor, "much more of the public regard than it has lately met with."

A view of New Tunbridge Wells appeared in Bickham's "Musical Entertainer," 1737. George Daniel in his "Merrie England in the Olden Time," 1840, vol. i., p. 31, says, "These once beautiful tea-gardens (we remember them as such) were formerly in high repute. In 1733 their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Amelia and Caroline frequented them in the summer time for the purpose of drinking the waters. They have furnished a subject for pamphlets, poems, plays, songs, and medical treatises, by Ned Ward, George Colman the older, Bickham, Dr. Hugh Smith, &c. Nothing now remains of them but the original chalybeate spring, which is still preserved in an obscure nook, amidst a poverty-stricken and squallid rookery of misery and vice."

MYDDELTON PLACE.

This is a paved avenue on the south side of Sadler's Wells Theatre, from which it is separated by the New River, the left bank of which at this place was formerly adorned with a row of lofty poplars, but which were removed a few years since after attaining nearly a century's growth. At the western extremity of this thoroughfare stands the Sir Hugh Myddelton Tavern, erected in the year 1831, on the site of an old place of entertainment known as the Myddelton's Head, which was built in 1614,

[1] *Boyle's Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of Mineral Waters.* 1684.

and noted as a place of resort for many dramatic celebrities of bygone times—Macklin, Rosoman, Dibdin, the facetious Joey Grimaldi, and others. For more than two centuries it was a favourite rendezvous of the Londoners, who resorted thither in the summer time to inhale fresh air, and enjoy a pipe and glass. In Hogarth's picture of "Evening," published in the year 1738, there is in the left-hand corner a view of part of the old house, with a portrait of Myddelton on its projecting signboard. Only a gable end of the house is shown in the engraving, and from this it appears to have been covered with a weather boarding, against which a vine is trained; and the inimitable artist has depicted it laden with luscious fruit, while at an open window a group of persons are carousing. The satire of the picture, however, is upon a rotund City madame, who, abroad in the fields on a warm summer's evening, is fanning herself, attended by her uxorious spouse, who is burthened with an infant, and significantly wears the "horn" upon his forehead.[1] Malcolm, who visited this neighbourhood in 1803, when collecting materials for his "London Redivivum," alludes to the old house by saying, "a few paces northwards (from Islington Spa) conducts the passenger under a portrait of Sir Hugh Myddelton (tolerably well painted), who faces his river adorned with tall poplars, graceful willows, sloping banks and flowers." At the bar of this house is a picture, of which the following is a description:—

"THE NAMES, &c.,

OF THE

GENTLEMEN WHOSE LIKENESSES ARE EXHIBITED IN THE PICTURE

PLACED WITHIN THE BAR OF THE

SIR HUGH MYDDELTON'S HEAD TAVERN,

NEAR SADLER'S WELLS.

COMPILED BY THE LATE

MR. MARK LONSDALE,

Formerly Manager of that Summer Theatre.

"The portrait of Mr. Rosoman, the then manager of Sadler's Wells, forms the centre. Then proceeding to the gentleman on his left Hand: and so round the Table, as they sit. The seven gentlemen who are standing up are taken the last, beginning with Mr. *Maddocks*, the Wire Dancer, and so on, with the remaining six in the order they stand.

"The Gentleman with one hand upon the Pug Dog is Mr. *Rosoman*, manager of Sadler's Wells.

"On his left hand is Mr. Justice *Keeling*, a Brewer.

"Mr. *Romaine*, a Pipe Maker, is distinguished by his having a Handful of Pipes, and is in the act of delivering one to Mr. Justice *Keeling*.

"Mr. *Copeland*, the Tobacconist, is also distinguished by his having a Paper of Tobacco in his hand, on which is written '*Copeland's* Best Virginia.'

"The Gentleman with his hand upon the Greyhound is Mr. *Angier*, a carver in Long-acre.

"On his left is Mr. *Cowland*, a Butcher in Fleet-street.

"At Mr. *Cowland's* right Hand is Mr. *Seabrook*, a Glazier in Cow Cross.

"The Name of the next Gentleman, who is pointing his Finger to his Nose, is forgotten; he was a dancer at Sadler's Wells, and went by the nickname of *Bug Nose*, from the circumstance of his Nose being much troubled with Warts.

"The Gentleman at Mr. *Bug Nose's* right Hand, having his hand upon the Neck of a Bottle, is Mr. *Smith*, a Carcase Butcher in Cow Cross.

"The next, who has his fingers upon a glass of wine, is Mr. *Ripley* of Red Lion-street.

"Mr. *Cracraft*, a Barber, in the same Street, sits at his right Hand, and is filling his pipe out of a Paper of Tobacco.

"At his right Hand is Mr. *Holtham*, Scene Painter at Sadler's Wells.

"The Gentleman who sits higher than the rest of the Company, and who is in the attitude of Singing, having a Bottle under his Arm, is Mr. *Ranson*, a Tailor at Sadler's Wells, known by the name of Tailor Dick.

"Mr. *Bass*, a Plasterer in Cow Cross, sits at his right hand, and is in the attitude of putting a Punch Ladle into the Bowl.

"At his right Hand Mr. *Chalkill* a Poulterer in Whitecross Street.

"At Mr. *Chalkill's* right Hand is Mr. *Norris*, a Salesman in the Sheep Skin Market. When he died he left £2000 in hard cash in his Chest.

[1] A copy of this engraving was given in the *London Spy*, 353.

"At his right Hand is Mr. *Davis*, a Walksman at the New River Head.

"The name of the Gentleman at Mr. *Davis's* right Hand is forgotten.

"Mr. *George*, a Tallow Chandler, in Islington, sits at the right Hand of the unknown Gentleman. He married the late Alderman Hart's mother.

"The Gentleman next to him is Mr. *Davenport*, Ballet Master at Sadler's Wells, and was Master to *Charles Matthews*.

"Next to him is Mr. *Greenwood*, Painter, Father of the Scene Painter.

"The Gentleman at Mr. *Rosoman's* Right Hand is Mr. *Hough*, his Partner.

"The Gentleman in a Blue and Gold Theatrical Dress, with one hand upon Mr. *Davis's* Shoulder, is Mr. *Maddocks* the Wire Dancer, who was Drowned.

"The one standing by in a cocked Hat is Mr. *Thomas Banks*, a Carver and Arts' Master in Bridewell; also Harlequin and Clown at Sadler's Wells.

"*Billy Williams*, a tumbler, is standing between *Tailor Dick* and Mr. *Bass*.

"*Peter Garman*, a Rope Dancer and Tumbler at Sadler's Wells, is between Mr. *Holtman* and *Tailor Dick*; and is in the attitude of blowing the smoke from his Pipe into *Tailor Dick's* face.

"The next standing Figure is Mr. *John Collier*, a Watch Finisher in Red Lion-street.

"A Cheesemonger (Name forgot) is at the left Hand.

"Mr. *Talmash*, Vestry Clerk of St. James', Clerkenwell (a mighty great Man in Red Lion Street), is at the back of the Chair of Mr. *Bug Nose*."

All the above seem to have composed an assemblage of the select friends of Mr. Rosoman in his connection with Sadler's Wells. Mr. Rosoman was also builder and owner of the estates in Clerkenwell which still retain his name.[1] The picture, from the above circumstance, is curious and interesting.

Most of the houses in Myddelton-place were erected between thirty and forty years ago. A considerable portion of ground in their rear, extending to St. John-street-road, was formerly a garden cultivated by an eccentric named Lane, and called from him Lane's garden. The chief part of the ground was afterwards taken by the New River Company, and excavated to serve as a reservoir for the supply of the City.

Daniel, in his "Merrie England in the Olden Time," says:—"A century ago, the advantages of early rising to the citizen were far more numerous than at present. A brisk walk of ten minutes brought him into the fields from almost any part of the town; and after luxuriating three or four miles amidst clover, sorrel, butter cups, aye, and corn to boot! the fresh breeze of morn, the fragrance of the flowers, and the pleasant prospect, would inspire happy thoughts: and as nothing better sharpens the appetite than these delightful companions, what was wanting but a substantial breakfast to prepare him for the business of the day? For this, certain frugal houses of entertainment were established in the rural outskirts of the metropolis." Spencer's Breakfasting House (a small wooden hut with benches outside) stood near the end of Myddelton-place, and succeeded well; but an opposition shop being opened, prompted the following advertisement, which appeared in the "Daily Advertiser" of May 6th, 1745:—

"Spencer's Breakfasting House.—This is to give notice to all ladies and gentlemen, at Spencer's original breakfasting hut, between Sir Hugh Myddelton's Head and St. John-street-road, by the New River side, fronting Sadler's Wells, may be had every morning, except Sundays, fine tea, sugar, bread, butter, and milk, at fourpence per head; coffee at three-half-pence per dish. And in the afternoon, tea, sugar, and milk, at threepence per head, with good attendance. Coaches may come up to the farthest garden door, next to the bridge in St. John-street-road, near the Sadler's Wells back gate. *Note.*—Ladies, &c., are desired to take notice that there is another person set up in opposition to me, the next door, which is a brick house, and faces the little gate by the Sir Hugh Myddelton's, and therefore mistaken for mine; but mine is *the little boarded place* by the river side, and my back door faces the same as usual: for

I am not dead, I am not gone,
Nor liquors do I sell;
But, as at first, I still go on,
Ladies, to use you well.

No passage to my hut I have,
The river runs before;
Therefore your care I humbly crave,
Pray, don't mistake my door.

Yours, to serve, S. Spencer."

[1] *Vide* page 167.



THE NEW RIVER HEAD, CLERKENWELL.

To an advertisement of his Breakfasting Hut, in 1753, Spencer appends as a note, "Fine Hyson Tea at Sixpence per head. Likewise a cat with two legs to be seen gratis." He was not particular to observe the Sabbath, but kept his hut open on Sundays, as appears from a book entitled "Low Life; or, One-half of the World does not know how the other half lives," first published in 1760, wherein it is stated that "from nine till ten o'clock on Sunday morning the New Breakfasting Hutt, near Sadler's Wells, is crowded with young fellows and their sweethearts, who are drinking tea and coffee, telling stories, repeating love songs and broken scraps of low comedy, and toying away the time till towards dinner." This house, which was of celebrity in its day, with the cow lair and the wooden fence that surrounded the greater part of the ground, are laid down in a plan of the New River Head and its vicinity, executed in 1753.

We read in the "Public Advertiser," July 24th, 1765:—

"This evening, and every evening during the Summer season, at the long room opposite to Sadler's Wells, will be delivered the celebrated

"Lectures on Heads (by Mr. Geo. Alex. Stevens).

"Part 1.—Introduction.—Alexander the Great, Cherokee chief, Quack doctor, Cuckold, Lawyer, humorous oration in praise of the law, Daniel against Dishclout, Horse jockies, Nobody's, Somebody's, Anybody's and Everybody's coats of arms, Family of Nobody, Architecture, Painting, Poetry, Astronomy, Music, Statues of Honesty and Flattery.

"Part 2.—Ladies' Heads, Riding Hood, Ranelagh Hood, Billingsgate, Laughing and Crying Philosophers, Venus's girdle, Cleopatra, French night cap, Face painting, Old maid, young married lady, Old Batchelor, Lass of the spirit, Quaker, two hats contrasted, Spittlefields weaver.

"Part 3.—Physical wig, Dissertation on Sneezing and snuff taking, Life of a Blood, Woman of the Town, Tea Table critic, Learned critic, City politician, humorously described, Gambler's three faces, Gambler's funeral and monument, Life and death of a wit, Head of a well-known methodist Parson, with tabernacle harangue. The doors to be opened at five, begin exactly at six.

"Front seats 1s. 6d. Back seats 1s."

In the same newspaper, for July 25th, we read,

"On Tuesday last an august personage, attended by a noble duke and marquis and a foreigner of great distinction, went incog. to hear the Lecture on Heads at Islington, and testified their great satisfaction at the performance by the most unbounded marks of applause."

SADLER'S WELLS THEATRE.

This popular place of amusement is the oldest theatre in London.[1] Some time before the year 1683 a wooden building, called Sadler's Music House, stood on the north side of the New River about this spot. Sadler, as well as being the proprietor of this establishment, was a surveyor of the highways. In the year last mentioned his servants, while digging in his garden for gravel, discovered a well of mineral water, which shortly afterwards became very celebrated for its curative properties, so that it was visited by five or six hundred people every morning, as we learn from a pamphlet, entitled, "A true and exact Account of Sadler's Wells; or, the new Mineral Waters lately found at Islington: treating of its Nature and Virtues. Together with an Enumeration of the Chieftest Diseases which it is good for, and against which it may be used; and the manner and order of taking it. Published for publick good by T. G. (Thomas Guidot), Doctor of Physick. London: printed for Thomas Malthus, at the Sun in the Poultry, 1684." This pamphlet, which was probably a mere puff, says, "The new Well at Islington is a certain spring in the middle of a garden belonging to the Musick-house built by Mr. Sadler, on the north side of the great cistern that receives the New River water near Islington." The water is described as of a ferruginous nature, though not so strongly impregnated with iron as that of Tunbridge Wells, which, however, it much resembled. The writer

[1] An account of Old Sadler's Wells Theatre appears in *The Mirror*, No. 971, vol. xxxiv., page 218. *Vide* also Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, pp. 306-378. An engraving of Old Sadler's Wells is in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1812, New series, vol. xviii, p. 68.

also states that, before the Reformation, it was "very much famed for several celebrated cures performed thereby, and was thereupon accounted sacred and called Holy-well. The priests belonging to the priory of Clarkenwell using to attend there, made the people believe that the vertues of these waters proceeded from the efficacy of their prayers. But upon the Reformation the well was stopped up upon the supposition that the frequenting it was altogether superstitious, and so by degrees it grew out of remembrance and was wholly lost, until found out and the fame of it revived again by the following accident:—Mr. Sadler, being made surveyor of the highways, and having good gravel in his garden, employed two men to dig there, and when they had dug pretty deep, one of them found his pickaxe strike upon something that was very hard, whereupon he endeavoured to break it, but could not; whereupon, thinking within himself that it might, peradventure, be some treasure hid there, he uncovered it very carefully, and found it to be a broad flat stone, which having loosed and lifted up, he saw it was supported by four oaken posts, and under it a large well of stone arched over, and curiously carved; and having viewed it, he called his fellow-labourer, and asked him whether he should fetch Mr. Sadler and shew it him, who, having no kindness for Mr. Sadler, said 'No'; but as they found it, they should stop it up again and take no notice of it; which he that found it consented to at first, but after a little time found himself strongly inclined to tell Sadler of the well, which he did one Sabbath-day in the evening. Sadler, upon this, went down to see the well, and observing the curiosity of the stone-work, and fancying within himself that it was a medicinal water formerly held in great esteem, but by some accident or other lost, took some of it in a bottle and carried it to an eminent physician, telling him how the well was found, and desiring his judgment of the water; who, having tasted and tried it, told him to brew some beer with it and to carry it to some person to whom he would recommend him, which he did accordingly; and some of those who used it have it of him in bottles, found so much good by it that they desired him to bring it in roundlets."

The writer of the pamphlet further states:—"There are few physicians in London but have advised some one or other of their patients to drink it, by which means it is so frequented that there are five or six hundred people there constantly every morning. The water has a kind of ferruginous taste, somewhat like Tunbridge, but not altogether so strong of the steel. It is no way offensive or unpleasant; so that a man may drink more of it than he can possibly drink of any other liquor. It is not yet certainly known what minerals it runneth through, but it is supposed to partake of several, and to have more of nitrous sulphur than those of Tunbridge, for which reason it moves the person to stool at the first taking, and leaves the body open and cool, which the other does not; and where it meets with a very foul stomach, provokes to vomit." Then follow an account of the various maladies which the "water is good for," and the directions to be observed by those who drink it; concluding by remarking that "those who please may eat carraways while they drink the water, and a glass of Rhenish or White wine after them: and it is very convenient for those who smoke tobacco, to take a pipe or two whilst their water works."

This pamphlet is referred to by Sir John Hawkins and Lysons, in relation to Sadler's Wells; but the latter appears to have been led into error by it. In his "Environs" he confounds Sadler's Wells with New Tunbridge Wells, and describes them as one and the same spring. He says, "The well-known place of public amusement, called Sadler's Wells, takes its name from a spring of mineral water, which they now call Islington Spa, or the New Tunbridge Wells. This spring was discovered by one Sadler, in 1683, in the garden belonging to a house which he had then just opened for the public reception as a music house. A pamphlet was published in 1684, giving an account of this discovery, with the virtues of the waters, which is there said to be of a ferruginous nature, and much resembling in quality and effects the water of Tunbridge Wells; this is confirmed by Dr. Russel in his account of mineral springs. The author of the pamphlet says, that the well at Islington was famed before the Reformation for its extraordinary cures, and called the Holy-well; but that it had been stopped up many years when it was discovered by Sadler."[1] The error of Lysons was

[1] Lysons's *Environs*, 1795, p. 169.

perpetuated by several other writers; until it was exposed in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for December, 1813. Boyle in his "Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of Mineral Waters," 1684, states that he found the water of some of the Islington springs lighter than common water. The glass being filled with several liquors to the same height and weighed in the same balance, showed that

	Oz.	Dwt.	Grs.
Islington water, from the musick house, weighed	3	4	43
Tunbridge water	3	4	38
Common water	3	4	43

Malcolm notices a petition from the proprietor of Sadler's Wells to the House of Commons, stating that the site was a place of public entertainment in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. If this be correct, Sadler was certainly not its first possessor for musical purposes and water drinking.

The success of Sadler's Wells excited considerable jealousy among the proprietors of other Spas, and they had not been opened long before there appeared an abusive broadside, entitled, "An Exclamation from Tunbridge and Epsom against the new found Wells at Islington, London; Printed for John How, 1684," wherein the publication of the discovery is denounced as "a devilish, a damnable, a horrid plot to persuade people, not that Bobbing is Salamanca, or Forty-one Eighty-three, but that Sadler's Musique House is Southborrow, and Clarkenwell Green Caverly Plain; That Abana and Pharphar (Rivers of Damascus) are equal to old Jordan; That Islington forsooth is commenc'd Epsom per saltum, as Fools become Physitians, and golden Dunces wooden doctors at Leiden; That the juice of a few cowturds mixt with a sham of Steel dust, and steept in a new vamp'd well, that in all liklyhood was an old House of Office, can bee effectual as our wonder working fountains that tast of cold iron and breath pure Nitre and Sulphur. Audacious and unconscionable Islington! was it not enough that thou hast time out of mind been the Metropolitan Mart of Cakes, Custards, and Stewed Pruans? The chief place of entertainment for Suburb Bawds, and Loitering Prentices, Famous for Bottled Ale that begins the Huzza before one drinks the Health, and Statuable Cans, 9 at least to a Quart? That thou flowest with delicious Milk extracted from rotten Turnips and Hogwash Grains? Renowned for Middleton's pipes, and putting forth both Calves and Bastards to Nurse? Could not all these Advantages satisfie thee without invading our priveledges? But suppose their Waters could be conceited somewhat comparable, where is the Air? Where the Diversions? Where the Conveniences? Is trotting to Islington on foot with a dull husband, or a froward wife, a durty fisted Prentice, or a blabbing Maid, for two or three hours comparable to the delights of being Jog'd and Jolted in a Coach, and with brave Company trundled down Madamscourt Hill or over Bamsted Downs?" About the same time Sadler's Wells was satirised in a publication, entitled "A Morning Ramble, or Islington Wells Burlesqt."[1]

People may talk of Epsom Wells,
Of Tunbridge Springs which most exeells,
I'll tell you plainly by my ten years' practice
Those are good but for one disease;
To all distempers this gives ease.

It was sought in various ways to bring Sadler's Wells into contempt, thus in the prologue of Nahum Tate's farce, "The Duke and no Duke," 1685, is the following:—

I thought this season to have turned physician,
But now I see small hopes in that condition,
Yet how if I should hire a black flowered jump,
And ply at Islington, doctor to Sadler's pump!

In the month of June, 1686, Sadler's Wells were visited by John Evelyn, who thus records his visit in his journal:—June 11th, "I went to see Middleton's receptacle of water, and the New Spa

[1] London, printed by George Croom for the author, 1684, single half sheet.

Wells near Islington." How long Sadler remained here after his discovery of the well has not been clearly ascertained. The following advertisement appeared in the "Post Boy" and "Flying Post," for June, 1697:—

"Sadler's excellent Steel Waters, at Islington, having been obstructed for some years past, are now opened and current again, and the waters are found to be in their full vigour, strength, and virtue, as ever they were, as is attested and assured by the physicians who have since fully tried them. They have been for several years known and experimented to be very effectual for the cure of all hectick and hypochondriacal heat, for beginning consumptions, for melancholy distempers, the scurvey, diabetes, for bringing away gravel, stones in the kidneys and bladder, and several other diseases. The well will be opened on Monday next, the 21st instant."

In the "Postman," No. 465, we read that "At Sadler's Wells, on the 23rd of May, 1698, will be performed a concert of vocal and instrumental music, composed of violins, hautboys, trumpets, and kettledrums, and will continue every Monday and Thursday during the season of drinking the waters, beginning at ten and ending at one."

The Wells were again advertised in the "Postman" for 27th of April, and 9th of October, 1700. In the year 1699 the building was called "Miles's Music House." A picture of the frequenters appears in No. 3 of a dramatic piece, entitled, "The Weekly Comedy, as it is daily acted at most Coffee-houses in London," written by Ned Ward,[1] and published periodically in half-sheets folio. The first number appeared in May, 1699. It was afterwards inserted in Ward's Miscellaneous Works, under the title "The Humours of a Coffee-house." This dramatic piece is accompanied by a relation of a man eating a live cock here, which occasioned "abundance of Inns of Court beaus mingled with an innumerable swarm of the blew-frock order," to flock into Miles's Music-house. "We mixed with the herd and jostled into the house amongst 'em, which was as full as if an Elephant had been to dance a jigg, or the Salamanca Doctor to have preached a sermon. With much difficulty we crowded upstairs, where we soon got intelligence of the beastly scene in agitation. At last a table was spread with a dirty cloth in the middle of the room, furnished with bread, pepper, oil, and vinegar; but neither knife, plate, fork, or napkin; and when the beholders had conveniently mounted themselves upon one another's shoulders to take a fair view of his Beastlyness's banquet, in comes the lord of the feast, disguised in an Antick's cap and with a smutty face like a country hangman attended by a train of Newmarket executioners. When a chair was set, and he had placed himself in sight of the whole assembly, a live cock was given into the ravenous paws of this ingurgitating monster," which after trifling with for some time he ate up, feathers and all. A relation of this disgusting feat appears in Dawk's "Protestant Mercury" of May 24th:—"On Tuesday last a fellow at Sadler's Wells, near Islington, after he had dined heartily on a buttock of beef, for the lucre of five guineas, eat a live cock, feathers, guts, and all, with only a plate of oil and vinegar for sawce, and half a pint of brandy to wash it down, and afterwards proffered to lay five guineas more that he could do the same again in two hours time. This is attested by many credible people who were eye-witnesses of the same." On a former occasion this gourmand is stated to have eaten a live cat at the Music House, St. Katherine's, January 24th.

The "Walk to Islington," by Ward, a low burlesque poem, published in 1699, which also appeared in his Miscellaneous Works, 1703, and again in 1717, 8vo., affords some account of the performers and amusements here. The author describes a gallery, the front of which was painted with the stories of Apollo and Daphne, Jupiter and Europa, &c.:—

> Without side of which, the spectators to please,
> Were Gods painted roving in clouds and in seas,
> A nymph in a fright running over the water,
> And Neptune to kiss her riding post after.

The gallery appears to have been reserved for the genteeler portion of the company frequenting the

[1] *Vide* p. 196.

house, and may therefore have been analogous to the boxes of a modern theatre. In the pit there used to assemble "butchers and bailiffs, and such sort of fellows"—

—— mixed with a vermin trained up for the gallows,
As Bullocks and files, housebreakers, and padders,
With prizefighters, sweetners, and such sort of traders,
Informers, thief-takers, deer stealers, and bullies.

A motley company, who until the musical performance began were

—— dancing and skipping, some ranting and tearing;
Some drinking and smoking; some lying and swearing.

We are told that this rough company was attentive when

—— Lady Squab, with her moonified face,
By the side of the organ resumes her old place.

The audience consume ale, cheesecakes, and tobacco; and the female vocalist is followed by "a fiddler in scarlet," said to resemble Mars more than Orpheus, who

—— runs up in *alt* with a hey-diddle-diddle,
To shew what a fool he can make of a fiddle.

Then follows a damsel, aged eleven years, "armed amazon-like," who performs a sword-dance.

And further the mob's admiration to kindle,
She turns on her heel like a wheel on a spindle.

Next appears another juvenile performer—

A young babe of grace,
With mercury in his heels, and a gallows in his face.
In dancing a jig lies the chief of whose graces,
And making strange musick-house, monkey-like faces.

Lastly, in the dress of a clown, comes "honest friend Thomas," who supports the double character of buffoon and waiter.

The state of things described by Ned Ward is abundantly confirmed by the reminiscences of Edward Macklin, the actor, who remembered the time when the admission here was but threepence, except to a few places scuttled off at the sides of the stage at sixpence, which were reserved for people of fashion, who occasionally came to see the fun. "Here we smoked and drank porter and rum and water as much as we could pay for." Of the audience Macklin says, "Though we had a mixture of very odd company there was little or no rioting; there was a public then that kept one another in awe."[1]

In "A Packet from Wells," 1701, we read:—

"Some time since there was brought to Miles's Music House at Islington a strange sort of monster that does everything like a monkey; mimics man like a jacknapes, but is not a jacknapes; jumps upon tables and into windows, on all fours, like a cat, but is not a cat; does all things like a beast, but is not a beast; does nothing like a man, but is a man! He has given such wonderful content to the butchers of Clare Market that the house is every day as full as the Bear gardens, and draws the city wives and prentices out of London much more than a man hanged in chains. It happened lately upon an holiday, when honest men walked abroad with their wives and daughters, to the great consumption of hot buns and bottled ale, that the fame of the mimick had drawn into the music room a crowd of spectators as great as the *Clinch of Barnet* ever drew to the theatre. The *frape* being thus assembled in the lower room, and the better sort being climbed into the gallery, a little creature who before walked erect and bore the image of a man, transformed himself into a monkey, and began to entertain the company with such a parcel of pretty pug's tricks and mimical actions, that they were all as intent upon the baboon's vagaries as if a mandrake had been tumbling through an hoop, or an hobgoblin dancing an antick. Whilst the eyes and ears of the assembly were thus deeply engaged, the skin of a large alligator stuffed with hay hanging within the top of the house, and the rats having burrowed through the ceiling could come down at pleasure and sport upon the back of the monster; one of the revengeful vermin, to put a trick upon his fellows, who were

[1] *European Magazine*, vol. xl., p. 16.

enticed by the smell of the hay to creep down the serpent's throat, his jaws being distended, gnawed the cord in two, and down comes the alligator with his bellyfull of rats upon the head of the monkey and laid him sprawling, giving some of the spectators a wipe with his tail, the rats running out of his mouth in a wonderful hurry, like so many sailors from between decks at midnight when a ship has struck upon a rock."

The Wells continued to be a meeting-place for low characters during many years following. In June, 1711, the "Inquisitor" spoke of it as "a nursery of debauchery." In 1712 was published a tract, entitled, "God's Judgment against Murderers; or, an Account of a Cruel and Barbarous Murther committed on Thursday Night, the 14th of August, at Sadler's Music-House, near Islington, on the body of Mr. Waite, a Lieutenant of a Man of War, by one Mr. French, a Lawyer of the Temple; showing how they quarrell'd about Women. With an Account of his Examination before the Worshipful Justice Ward, and his Commitment to Newgate." The writer of this tract says, "This famous Place called Sadler's Wells, otherwise Miles's Musick-House, is so well known to most people in Town, that I need not describe it. It is a daily Meeting or Rendezvous of People who go thither to divert themselves; and tho' 'tis in many very Innocent, and in the People of the House only getting an Honest Livelihood, yet the Method of so doing is apt to draw many unaccountable and disorderly Persons to frequent it."

Subsequent to this melancholy occurrence the house appears to have been closed for a time, as in the "Weekly Journal" of March 15th, 1718, we read that, "Sadler's Wells being lately opened, there is likely to be a great resort of strolling damsels, half-pay officers, peripatetic tradesmen, tars, butchers, and others musically inclined."

Macklin says there were four or five exhibitions in a day, and that the duration of each performance depended upon circumstances. The proprietors had always a fellow outside to calculate how many persons were collected for a second exhibition, and when he thought there were enough he came to the back of the upper seats, and cried out, "Is Hiram Fisteman here?" This was a cant word between the parties to know the state of the people without, upon which they concluded the entertainment, and dismissed the audience with a song, and prepared for a second representation.[1]

We read in "Parker's London News," April 15th, 1724, "Mr. Miles, who diverted the town, and was the favourite of Beaux, Butchers, Bawds, &c., by his entertainments at Sadler's Wells, is lately dead."

According to Sir John Hawkins, the owner of the Wells and Music-house, after Sadler, was not Miles, but "one Francis Forcer, a musician, and the composer of many songs printed in the Theatre of Music, published by Henry Playford and John Carr, in the years 1685, 6, and 7."[2] Lysons says, "Sadler's Music-house came after his death to one Francis Forcer, whose son was the first who exhibited there the diversions of rope dancing and tumbling. To these have for many years been added musical interludes and pantomimes, the machinery of which is in general extremely well managed."[3] But it is clear that Miles was proprietor before Francis Forcer *the younger*, and might therefore have been an intermediate possessor. Forcer, junior, had received a liberal education; and, on leaving Oxford, entered Gray's Inn, and was afterwards called to the bar, where he practised for a short time. He was very gentlemanly in his manners, and in person remarkably tall and athletic. In 1735, from having been disturbed by legal interference, or some other cause, he petitioned Parliament for a license for Sadler's Wells, stating that "the place had been used for music, rope-dancing, a short pantomime, and the sale of liquor, for forty years before," thus referring the commencement of these entertainments to 1695. His application, however, was rejected. Forcer died at an advanced age, in April, 1743, at the Wells, which for many years had been his place of residence. A sketch of his character is given in "The New River, a Poem, by William Garbott," printed in 8vo, without date, but probably about 1725, by voluntary subscription. The author says of Forcer—

> All things conspire to please the best they can,
> Walks, waiters, river, liquor, and the MAN.
>

[1] *European Magazine*, vol. xl., p. 16.

[2] HAWKINS's *History of Music*, vol. iv., p. 380.

[3] LYSONS's *Environs*, 1795, p. 169.

Miles in his way obliging was, we know,
Yet F—r's language doth the softer flow;
Behaviour far genteeler of the two,
By birth a gentleman, and breeding too.

The author describes the Music-house, with the gardens and amusements, as follows:—

Thro' Islington then glides my best-loved theme,
And Miles's garden washes with his stream;
Now, F—r's Garden is its proper name,
Though Miles the man was who first got it fame:
And tho' it's own'd, Miles first did make it known,
F—r improves the same, we all must own.
There you may sit under the shady trees,
And drink and smoak, fann'd by a gentle breeze;
Behold the fish how wantonly they play,
And catch them also, if you please, you may.
Two noble Swans swim by this garden-side,
Of water-fowl the glory and the pride;
Which to the Garden no small beauty are;
Were they but black they would be much more rare:
With ducks so tame, that from your hand they'll feed,
And, I believe, for that they sometimes bleed.
A noble Walk likewise adorns the place,
To which the river adds a greater grace:
There you may sit, or walk, do which you please,
Which best you like, and suits most with your ease.
Now to the Show-room let's awhile repair,
To see the active feats performed there.
How the bold Dutchman on the rope doth bound,
With greater air than others on the ground:
What capers does he cut! how backward leaps!
With Andrew Merry eyeing all his steps:
His comick humours with delight you see,
Pleasing unto the best of company.
.
The famous Tumbler lately is come o'er,
Who was the wonder of the other shore;
France, Spain, and Holland, and High Germany,
Sweden, and Denmark, and fam'd Italy,
His active feats did with amazement see,
Which done by Man they thought could never be.
Among the rest, he falleth from on high,
Head-foremost from the upper gallery;
And in his fall performs a somerset,—
The women shriek, in dread he'll break his neck;
And gently on his feet comes to the ground,
To the amazement of beholders round.
Black Scaramouch, and Harlequin of fame,
The Ladder-dance, with forty I could name,
Full as diverting, and of later date,
You may see there, at a much cheaper rate,
Than at THE HOUSE, as well performed too;
You only pay for liquors, not for show;
Such as neat Brandy, Southam Cyder fine,
And grape's true juice as e'er was press'd from vine.

By "The House" in the above lines was probably meant the New Wells, Spafields.[1]

[1] *Vide* page 169.

Forcer greatly extended and improved the pantomimes, rope-dancing, tumbling, &c. He continued to be lessee of Sadler's Wells until the time of his death; and he directed by his will that the lease of the premises, together with the scenery, implements, stock, furniture, household stuff, and things thereunto belonging, should be sold for the purpose of paying his debts. This direction was carried out soon after his decease.

Stephen Monteage, in his MS. diary, has left a record of the many visits which he made to his friend Mr. Forcer, at Sadler's Wells. One visit is noteworthy:—Jan. 25, 1738, "Mr. Woolaston, the painter, called; with whom I went to see Mr. Forcer at Sadler's Wells."

In the "London Daily Post," April 27th, 1736, we read, "The Diverting Performances at Sadler's Wells, near Islington Turnpike, will begin this day between one and two o'clock, and again at five in the evening. To be continued as usual during the summer season, with a new entertainment



NORTH VIEW OF OLD SADLER'S WELLS, 1730.

called Harlequin in Turkey." In the same newspaper, for March 20th, 1738, we read, "Sadler's Wells. This is to give notice that the usual diversions at Sadler's Wells will begin on this evening, Monday, 20th inst., at 5 o'clock; to be continued every day during the season."

There is a view of old Sadler's Wells, as a headpiece, in a quarto volume of songs, with music, called "Universal Harmony, or the Gentlemen and Ladies' Social Companion," which was published periodically during 1745 and 1746. The boundary of the premises, towards the river-head, was a wall, occupying the place of the present iron rails; and near the river was a gate, inscribed under a pediment, "Sadler's Wells." Towards the south the building had in the first story seven windows, four of them with ancient casements, and three having modern sashes; the last were probably an addition made to the Music-house by Forcer, for the purpose of habitation. The Well-house, it has been supposed, might be the smaller building, under a distinct roof, which stands near where the entrance gates by the River-head are now erected. We are told by Malcolm that the old well "was accidentally discovered some time since, in the space between the New River and the stage-door, and is said to have been encircled with stone, with a descent of several steps." Cromwell, writing in 1828, says, "Persons who have had an intimate acquaintance with the theatre for the last half-century, have no recollection of this discovery; and as it is known that springs yet exist under the orchestra and stage, it seems probable that the ancient healing fountain might be traced to that situation." In the foreground of the picture to which we have just now referred, the New River is

introduced, with a couple of swans on it. A tolerably exact copy of this view was appended to one of the modern theatre, from the south-west, taken from a drawing by R. C. Andrews (many years the excellent scene painter), in 1792, and published in Wilkinson's "Londina Illustrata," 1819. The latter view exhibited the situation of the theatre on the banks of the New River, comprehending in perspective the house of Mrs. Hughes, the entrance to the boxes, pit, and gallery; and in the distance the residence of Mr. C. Dibdin, the manager. Hogarth introduced part of a building, inscribed "Sadler's Wells," in his painting called "Evening," published in 1738.

The musical piece to which the view which we have described forms a head-piece, is called—"A New Song on Sadler's Wells, set by Mr. Brett."

At eve, when Silvan's shady scene
Is clad with spreading branches green,
And vary'd sweets all round display'd,
To grace the pleasant flow'ry mead;
Then those who are willing joys to taste,
Where pleasures flow and blessings last,
And God of Health in transport dwells,
Must all repair to Sadler's Wells.

There pleasant streams of Middleton
In gentle murmurs glide along;
In which the sporting fishes play,
To close each weary'd Summer's day:
And Musick's charms in lulling sounds
Of mirth and harmony abounds;
While nymphs and swains, with beaus and belles,
All praise the joys of Sadler's Wells.

The herds around o'er herbage green,
And bleating flocks are sporting seen;
While Phœbus, with its brightest rays,
The fertile soil doth seem to praise:
And Zephyrs with their gentlest gales,
Breathing more sweets than flow'ry vales,
Which give new health, and heat repells;
Such are the joys of Sadler's Wells.

The "London Daily Post," of July 17th, 1740, contained the following advertisement:—

"Sadler's Wells.—The usual diversions at Sadler's Wells, adjoining to the new river head, Islington, will begin this day at five o'clock with a variety of rope-dancing, tumbling, singing, and several new grand dances, both serious and comic. With a new entertainment, call'd 'The Birth of Venus; or, Harlequin Paris.' Concluding with 'The Loves of Zephyrus and Flora.' The scenes, machines, dresses, and musick, being entirely new."

And the same newspaper for July 3rd, 1742, contained the following:—

"Sadler's Wells.—At Sadler's Wells, adjoining to the new river head, Islington, this evening at five o'clock, will begin the usual diversions. Consisting of rope-dancing by Madam Kerman, Mr. Bodin, just arrived from Holland, and others. Tumbling by Mons. Dominique, Mr. Kerman, Mr. Bodin, Mr. Williams, and others; Singing by Mr. Hemskirk and Mr. Brett; variety of dances (both serious and comic) by Mons. Dumont, Mons. Baudouin, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Osbeldiston, Mr. Rayner, Mrs. Bullock, Mrs. La Font, Mrs. Rayner, Mrs. Phillips, Miss Story, Master Matthews, and Miss Wright. With several extraordinary performances by M. Henderick Kerman, the famous ladder dancer."

Dr. Doran, referring to Drury Lane Theatre in and previously to the year 1743, says that it "had fallen to a level with Sadler's Wells—tumblers and rope-dancers being put forward as the chief attractions."[1] The Grand Jury of the county, in May, 1744, presented this establishment as a place of "great extravagance, luxury, idleness, and ill fame." The presentment ran thus:—"The Proprietors of the House and Diversions called Sadler's Wells, adjoining to the New River Head, in or near Islington, late one Forcer's, now pretended to be opened and carried on by John Warren,

[1] Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants*, vol. i, p. 477.

within this county, where there is frequently a resort of great numbers of loose, disorderly people." This presentment was followed by no apparent detriment to the concern; and in 1751, this, and all other places of the like kind, acquired a more permanent character by the music and dancing licensing act, 25 George II. c. 36.[1] In 1746 Messrs. Rosoman and Hough were the joint proprietors of the Wells; and to the "usual diversions of the place" each person was admitted for a pint of wine.[2] This year a ballet, founded on the then recent battle of Culloden, was a great favourite; also Hogarth's "Harlot's Progress," with songs by Lampe, which became as popular with the lower classes as those of the "Beggar's Opera." In 1747 were the usual diversions of rope-dancing, tumbling, &c., but during this season the excellence of Sadler's Wells ale was much more vaunted than the amusements of the place. Thus in the "General Advertiser" for May 14th, 1747, we read:—

Ye cheerful souls who wou'd regale
On honest, home-brew'd British ale,
To Sadler's Wells in troops repair,
And find the wished-for cordial there;
Strength, colour, elegance of taste,
Combine to bless the rich repaste;
And I assure ye to my knowledge
'T has been approv'd by all the Colledge,
More efficasious and prevailing
Than all the Receipes of Galen.
Words scarce are able to disclose
The various blessings it bestows;
It helps the younger sort to think,
And wit flows faster as they drink;
It puts the ancient a new fleece on
Soon as Mædea did to Eson;
The fair with bloom it does adorn,
Fragrant and fresh as April morn;
Haste thither, then, and take your fill,
Let Parsons say whatever they will,
The ale that every ale excells
Is only found at Sadler's Wells.

☞ The usual diversions of Rope-dancing, Tumbling, &c.

In 1756 the performances commenced at six o'clock in the evening, and the prices of admission were—to the boxes, 2s. 6d., and to the pit or gallery, 1s. 6d. The diversions during this season were of a novel and interesting character, as will appear from some allusion to them in a contemporary periodical, the "Connoisseur," of July 29th, 1756, wherein the writer, after mentioning "the surprising feats of activity" that he witnessed, remarks that he was "most taken by the ingenious artist, who, after fixing two bells to each foot, the same number to each hand, and with great propriety placing a cap and bells upon his head, played several tunes, and went through as regular triple peals and bob-majors as the boys of Christ's Hospital, all which he effected by the due jerking of his arms and legs, and nodding his head backwards and forwards." Later in the year a fuller programme of the evening's diversion at Sadler's Wells appeared in the "Public Advertiser," September 17th, 1756, wherein it is stated that "Mr. Maddox will exhibit sundry curious Equilibres on the slack wire for the entertainment of the Public. Particularly he will toss twelve balls on the wire, he will likewise kick the straw on the wire in the same manner he does on the ground. Also he takes a wine glass and holds it in his mouth, then kicks the straw, which he catches in the glass in a balance, after which he tosses it out of the glass and catches it on the edge." Mention is then made of the surprising performances of Signora Catarina, and the most singular kind of diversion, or eight hand bells, by Mr. Franklyn. To conclude with a new entertainment of music and dancing,

[1] This act, which at first was enacted only for three years, was made perpetual by 28 George II. c. 19.
[2] *General Advertiser* April 1st, 1746.

called "The Contrivances." Maddox, the equilibrist, entertained the public for several seasons by his "balances on the wire," and his fame was celebrated by a song set to music, entitled "Balance a Straw," which for a time was very popular. A similar feat was afterwards performed at the Wells, by a Dutchman, with a peacock's feather, which he blew into the air and caught as it fell on different parts of the wire, at the same time preserving his equilibrium upon it. The same performer used to balance a wheel upon his shoulder, his forehead, and his chin, and afterwards, to show his skill as an equilibrist, balanced two wheels together with a boy standing on one of them.[1]

In the "Public Advertiser," we read:—

"Sadler's Wells.—This day, the 23rd of April, 1757, Mr. Maddox and many ingenious persons employed by Mr. Rosoman at Sadler's Wells, will use their best efforts to entertain the Nobility and Gentry this evening. The whole takings of the house being to be given by Mr. Rosoman to the Marine Society for the cloathing of boys for the sea, and as no tickets will be given out the prices of the boxes will be 5s., pit and gallery 2s. 6d., for this night, nor will any wine or tobacco be permitted in the house. A Horse patrole will also be sent in the New Road this night by Mr. Fielding for the protection of the nobility and gentry, who go from the squares and that end of the Town. The road towards the city will also be properly guarded."

In 1758, Mr. Rosoman, the proprietor of Sadler's Wells, offered to Sir John Fielding, a famous Bow-street magistrate, the use of the house for one night for a benefit to assist him in carrying out his plan for an asylum or refuge for orphans and other deserted girls of the poor, and ladies were desired by advertisement to secure the boxes early, and were apprised that, for their safety, there would be a horse patrol that night, armed, on the New-road between Sadler's Wells and Grosvenor-square.[2]

In 1761 it was advertised that a Mr. Matthews would perform on the wire without putting his feet on it, stand on a pint bottle in full swing, quitting the wire with his hands, balance half a pound weight on the top of a straw, and a boy on the top of a ladder, and turn round on the wire fifteen times in ten seconds; this he effected by laying himself along the wire and holding it with his hands and feet, the latter being crossed; it was called "roasting the pig."[3]

Foote, the comedian, in his prologue to "All in the Wrong," facetiously refers to the Wells and the amusements there by saying,—

> If at Sadler's Wells the wine should be thick,
> The cheesecakes be sour, or Miss Wilkinson sick,
> If the fumes of the pipes should prove powerful in June,
> Or the tumblers be lame, or the bells out of tune,
> We hope that you'll call at our warehouse at Drury,
> We've a good assortment of goods I assure you.

An engraving of Miss Isabella Wilkinson dancing on the wire is extant, *vide* "Bromley's Catalogue of Engraved Portraits," p. 456.

In 1765, Mr. Rosoman, in the short space of seven weeks, pulled down the old wooden building, and erected the Theatre on an enlarged scale and in its present form, at an expense of £4225. The seats had backs with ledged shelves at the top, for the bottles and glasses of each row of visitors in succession. In a bill of the Theatre in 1773 we read, "Tickets for the boxes 3s., which will entitle the bearer to a pint of Port, Mountain, Lisbon, or Punch. Ticket for the pit 1s. 6d. Ticket for the gallery 1s., either of which, with an additional sixpence, will entitle the bearer to a pint of either of the aforesaid liquors. Any person choosing a second pint may have it at 1s., the price paid at every other public place." At benefits the performers, relying on their own merits to fill the house, usually announced, "boxes 3s., pit and gallery 1s. 6d. Those who chuse wine may have it at 2s. a bottle." There was a temporary revival of the custom of giving the audience liquor tickets during the seasons of 1803, 4, and 5; when wine was supplied at 2s. the bottle, and 1s. the pint. In an advertisement announcing the opening of the house for the season of the latter year, it is stated that "notwithstanding the new duties on foreign wine it will be continued at 2s. 6d. per bottle."

[1] Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 178, ed. 1801.
[2] *Public Advertiser*, May 21th, 1758.
[3] *Public Advertiser*, Sept. 1761.

In the bills which announced the opening of Sadler's Wells Theatre at Easter, 1763, and 1764, Signor Grimaldi appears as Maître de Ballet, and chief dancer. Giuseppe Grimaldi, commonly called "Iron Legs," was the father of the illustrious clown Joe Grimaldi.[1] He was originally a pantomime actor at the fairs in Italy and France. He first appeared on the English stage in 1758, at Drury Lane Theatre, the dancers of which were, in Garrick's time, from Easter to Michaelmas, attached to Sadler's Wells Theatre. On May 1st, 1764, Signor Grimaldi, and an English dancer named Aldridge, of considerable eminence in his profession, jointly had a benefit here; Shakespeare's "Tempest" was performed, as also the pantomime of "Fortunatus;" Harlequin by Signor Grimaldi. In the September of the same year, at Sadler's Wells, the Signor had another benefit.



CHIEF ENTRANCE TO SADLER'S WELLS THEATRE, AS IT FORMERLY APPEARED.

"For the benefit of Signor Grimaldi, at Sadler's Wells, Islington, on Wednesday, September 19, 1764, will be exhibited a variety of new performances. Dancing both serious and comic, viz.:—1. 'The Miller's Dance,' by Signor Duval, Signor Amoire, Signora Mercucius, Mrs. Preston, and others.—2. 'The Shoemakers,' by Signor Grimaldi, Signor Amoire, Miss Wilkinson, and others.—3. 'The Country Wedding,' by Signor Duval, Signor Amoire, Signora Mercucius, Miss Wilkinson, and Signor Grimaldi, and others. And by particular desire, for that night only: A double hornpipe by Master Cape and Miss Taylor. Tumbling by Mr. Sturgess, Signor Pedro and Mr. Garman. Singing by Mr. Prentice, Mr. Cooke and Miss Brown. With a variety of curious performances, by the Venetian and his children. The Wire by Master Wilkinson. The musical glasses by Miss Wilkinson, accompanied by Master Wilkinson. The whole to conclude with a new entertainment of music and dancing, called Don Quixote. Harlequin, Mr. Banks. Don Quixote, Mr. Niepeker. Sancho, Mr. Warner. Columbine, Miss Wilkinson. The paintings, music and habits are all entirely new. Pit and boxes, 2s. 6d. Gallery, 1s. 6d. To begin exactly at six. Vivant Rex et Regina. Tickets and places to be had of Signor Grimaldi, at the New Tunbridge Wells; and he begs the favour of those ladies and gentlemen, who have already taken places, to send their servants by half-an-hour after four o'clock."

The Signor continued at Sadler's Wells until the close of the season of 1767, and never afterwards was employed there.

In the seasons of 1775 and 1776 James Byrne, the famous Harlequin of Drury Lane Theatre, and the father of Oscar Byrne, was employed at Sadler's Wells. He died December 4th, 1845, aged eighty-nine. In 1775 Signor Rossignoll gave his imitations of the notes of various birds at Sadler's Wells, and in addition accompanied the orchestra on a fiddle without strings.[2]

In 1778 the whole interior of Sadler's Wells Theatre was taken down and materially improved, the ceiling being considerably raised, and the ascent both of the boxes and pit increased. In May in this year their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester honoured the theatre with their presence.[3] About the same period, if not some years earlier, Charles Dibdin the elder, composed several extremely clever and very favourite pieces for this establishment, which was frequently referred to in the daily papers, under the head of "Intelligence from Sadler's Wells." The music was popular, the dances novel, and the pantomimes celebrated for their comic tricks and changes. At Easter, 1772, Rosoman was succeeded in the property of Sadler's Wells by the famous comedian, Thomas King, familiarly known as Tom King, who continued the management here until the close of the season, 1782; when, on Sheridan's resignation as manager of Drury Lane, King succeeded him in September, 1782. *En passant* we may add that King was born of good family, who sent him to a grammar-school in the country, whence he was removed to London, and articled to an attorney. He,

[1] For a full account of Joe Grimaldi, particulars of his father, and information relating to their connection with Sadler's Wells Theatre, see *The Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi*, by "Boz," edited by Whitehead, 1846, Bentley.

[2] *Morning Post*, June 19th, 1775.

[3] *Public Advertiser*, 1778.

however, left his profession, accompanied Shuter, and joined a strolling company. Tate Wilkinson says that King played under Garrick in 1748. In that year he performed George Barnwell, and next year appeared in Dublin as the Roman Father. He then obtained an engagement at Bath, where he made the acquaintance of Miss Baker, a dancer, whom he married. He was next employed at Drury Lane, but in inferior parts. He, therefore, quitted that theatre, and went to Ireland, where he succeeded well. He was now engaged by Garrick to perform in England, and was brought out as Tom in the "Conscious Lovers." He afterwards gained great applause for his performance of Lord Ogleby in the "Clandestine Marriage." On the death of Mr. Powell, in 1765, King purchased his share of the Bristol Theatre; this he afterwards sold, and purchased the property of Sadler's Wells; but this not being so productive as he wished, he disposed of it to Mr. Wroughton. King next appeared at Drury Lane as Sir Peter Teazle in "The School for Scandal," and took the management of the theatre under Sheridan. He wrote "A Dramatic Olio," an interlude; "Love at First Sight," a ballad farce, acted at Drury Lane in 1765; and "Wit's Last Stake," another farce, played at the same house in 1769. He was an inveterate gambler, and lost all his earnings at play; but he was induced by Garrick to resist the temptations of this vice. It was said that he executed a bond for a sum of money to Garrick, under penalty of forfeiture in case he ever gamed. King kept his resolution, but upon the death of his friend he joined a club at Miles's, about the year 1784, and again took to gambling, by which he impoverished himself. He resigned his engagement at Drury Lane, and in 1788 went to Dublin. On his return he performed at Covent Garden, and finally resumed his situation at Drury Lane. He was an unrivalled comic actor.

Dr. Doran says of King:—"He is remembered now, chiefly, as the original representative of Sir Peter Teazle, Lord Ogleby, Puff, and Dr. Cantwell. He began his London career at the age of eighteen, in 1748, on Drury Lane stage, as the Herald in 'King Lear,' and made such progress, that in the next year Whitehead selected him to play Valerius in his 'Roman Father.' By 1756 he was an established favourite, and he remained on the London stage, with hard summer work during the holidays, till the 24th of May, 1802, when he took his leave in Sir Peter, to the Lady Teazle of Mrs. Jordan. At the end of upwards of half a century he withdrew, to linger four years more, a man of straitened means—one whom fondness for 'play' would not at first allow to grow rich; nor, after that was accomplished, to remain so. I have noticed a few of his principal original characters; of others, his Touchstone has not been equalled, nor his Ranger, save by Garrick and Elliston. He was a conscientious actor, and a prime favourite during the greater part of his career; but the once rapid, clear, arch, easy, versatile Tom King remained on the stage somewhat too long." [1]

Joe Grimaldi (who was born out of wedlock on the 18th December, 1778, in Stanhope-street, Clare-market, his mother being Rebecca Brooker, who had been from her infancy a dancer at Drury Lane, and subsequently at Sadler's Wells played old women, and made herself generally useful) made his first appearance at Sadler's Wells in 1781, in the character of a monkey. The announcement bill for the opening of this theatre on April 16th, Easter Monday, in that year, tells us of dancing by Mr. Le Mercier, Mr. Languish, Master and Miss Grimaldi, and Mrs. Sutton. It will be seen that Grimaldi made his public appearance very young. He alluded to this fact in his farewell address, on his last appearance at Sadler's Wells as follows:—"At a very early age, before that of three years, I was introduced to the public, by my father, at this theatre." As a child he became a member of the regular company here, where he remained (one season only excepted) until the termination of his professional life, forty-nine years afterwards.

In 1782, Signor Grimaldi had a benefit at Sadler's Wells, probably in consideration of his children, Master and Miss Grimaldi, being employed there, for at that time he was not. The benefit took place on Thursday, September 12th, in that year; but he did not take any part in the diversions of the evening. The bills announced "Tickets and places to be had only of Mr. Grimaldi, at No. 5, Princes-street, Drury-lane, and opposite Sadler's Wells gate." Signor Placido's night followed on Monday, September 16th, when, with other new amusements, was introduced "A new Pantomime

[1] Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants*, vol. ii., page 468.

Dance, for the first time, called 'The Woodcutter; or, the Lucky Mischance;' characters by Mr. Dupuis (then principal dancer at the Wells), Mr. Meunier, Mr. Grimaldi, Mrs. Sutton, Signor Placido, and the Little Devil, being their first pantomimical performance in this kingdom." This was the only appearance of Signor Grimaldi at the Wells in 1782, for which, probably, he was paid by Placido.

"The Little Devil," or "Le petit Diable," above referred to was Paulo Redigé, who made his first appearance at Sadler's Wells with Placide, the French Voltigeur, under the Italianised name of Signor Placido, on Easter Monday, 1781, on the same night with young Joe. La Belle Espagnole, whom Angelo describes as "a very beautiful woman," made her first appearance at the same theatre, on April 1st, 1785, having, as the bills expressed it, "been celebrated at Paris all the winter, for her very elegant and wonderful performances." She soon after became the wife of the "Little Devil." Paulo, the clown, was their son, and might be almost said to have been born within the walls of this theatre. The attentions of Mr. Wroughton, the manager, to this beautiful Spaniard, were the cause of much jealousy to his wife.

In 1783 a Mr. Saunders announced that on his benefit night he would stand upon his head on a pint bottle on the wire in full swing, without holding with his hands, and discharge a brace of pistols at the same time, and also that he would balance a French horn upon his lips, and sound a minuet on it without touching it with his hands, the wire in full swing.[1]

About the same time a dance, called the Egg Dance, as old as the time of Elizabeth, if not more ancient, was revived at this theatre. A dozen or more eggs were placed at certain distances marked upon the stage, the dancer taking his stand was blindfolded, and a hornpipe being played in the orchestra, he went through all the paces and figures of the dance, passing backwards and forwards between the eggs without touching one of them. Dubois, the clown, who was famous for dancing the egg hornpipe, did it with a pair of wooden clogs on his feet. In an old comedy, written in the reign of Elizabeth, we read—

> Upon one foot pretely I can hoppe,
> And dance it trimely about an egg.

About this time a hare beat upon a tambourine in the presence of the public at Sadler's Wells. A hare is mentioned by Jonson in his comedy of "Bartholomew Fayre," acted at the commencement of the seventeenth century, as having beat the tabor.

After King relinquished the management of Sadler's Wells, as before mentioned, he was succeeded by Messrs. Arnold, Sarjant, and Wroughton, who purchased it for £12,000. Their term commenced at Easter, 1783. While the theatre was conducted by them occurred the "dog-mania," which was thus described by the dramatist, Frederick Reynolds, in his "Life and Times:"—

"A subordinate but enterprising actor of the name of Costello, collected at the great fairs of Frankfort and Leipsic a complete company of Canine performers, and arriving with them in England, Wroughton, then manager of Sadler's Wells, engaged him and his wonderful troop. They were fourteen in all, and unlike those straggling dancing dogs still occasionally seen in the streets, they all acted respondently, and conjointly, with a truth that appeared almost the effect of reason. The star, the real star of the company, was an actor named Moustache; and the piece produced as a vehicle for their first appearance was called the Deserter. As, formerly, all London flocked to Goodman's Fields to see Garrick, so now the rage was to visit Spa Fields to see Moustache and his coadjutors. The night I was first present at this performance Sadler's Wells, in point of fashion, resembled the Opera House on a Saturday night, during the height of the season; princes, peers, puppies, and pickpockets all crowding to see what Jack Churchill, with his accustomed propensity to punning, used to term the illustrious dog-stars. The actors were so well dressed, and so much in earnest—Moustache particularly, as the Deserter, in his little uniform, with smart musket and helmet—that, in a slight degree, they actually preserved the interest of the story and the illusion of the scene. By the temptation of a hot supper, which was unseen by the audience, they were made, among other feats, to ascend scaling ladders, and storm a fort, and, on a retreat being sounded, to rush down again as in panic and dismay."

[1] *Public Advertiser*, September, 1783.

The house cleared not less than £10,000 by the season in which the canine exhibitors were introduced. The concern had been just previously at so low an ebb as to give occasion for the remark, that if "Wroughton had not brought the dogs to the theatre, the theatre would have gone to the dogs." In June, 1783, the advertisements and bills of the performances at Sadler's Wells announced that "Patroles, horse and foot, are stationed from Sadler's Wells gate along the new road toTottenham Court turnpike, &c., from the hours of 8 to 11. A horse-patrole will be sent in the new road at night, for the protection of the nobility and gentry who go from the squares and that end of the town; the road also towards the city will be properly guarded."

At Easter, 1784, Joe Grimaldi again appeared at Sadler's Wells. About that time Sieur Scaglioni's troop of dancing dogs exhibited here. The pantomime of this season was entitled "The Enchanted Wood; or, Harlequin's Vagaries;" this was followed by a dance called the "Fricassee;" and the whole concluded with the "Death and Revival of Harlequin," which ran a considerable time.

On Easter Monday, April, 1786, Pietro Bologna first appeared at Sadler's Wells, when the bills announced—"New Comic and Entertaining Performances on the Slack Wire, by Signor Pietro Bologna; being his first appearance in this kingdom. Rope Dancing by the Little Devil, Mr. Casamire, and Madame La Romaine, being also her first appearance in this kingdom. Clown to the Rope, by Signor Pietro Bologna." Miss Romanzini, afterwards the distinguished ballad vocalist, Mrs Bland, appeared also on the same evening.

At a meeting of Parliament, held March 11th, 1788, Mr. Mainwaring moved the second reading of Sadler's Wells licensing bill. Mr. Sheridan opposed the motion, as no reasons had been offered in support, and he moved that the second reading be postponed. His motion was carried by a majority of nine.

Joe Grimaldi appeared as usual at Sadler's Wells, in 1788, but at that time his salary of fifteen shillings a week was reduced to three, on which pittance he remained for three years, making himself generally useful. In 1788 Joe's father died. In the register of Northampton Chapel, Exmouth-street,[1] is recorded, "March 23, 1788, Mr. Joseph Grimaldi, from Lambeth, aged 75." No stone or other memorial marks the spot where his ashes lie.

The season of 1788, at Sadler's Wells, was very interesting. On Whit Monday, May 12th, in a musical piece, entitled "Saint Monday; or, a Cure for a Scold," Mr. Braham, then or previously Master Abrahams, made his first appearance.[2] He is named in the bills, of August 18th, but appears soon after to have left Sadler's Wells. Miss Shields, who appeared at Sadler's Wells in the same piece on Whit Monday, became, towards the end of May, Mrs. Leffler. Two Frenchmen, named Duranie and Bois-Maison, as pantomimists, eclipsed all their predecessors on that stage. Boyce, a distinguished engraver, was the Harlequin, and from all accounts he was the most finished actor of the motley hero, either in his own day or since. On the benefit night of Joseph Dortor, Clown to the rope, and Richer, the rope dancer, Miss Richer made her first appearance on two slack wires, passing through a hoop, with a pyramid of glasses on her head; and Master Richer performed on the tight rope, with a skipping rope. Joseph Dortor, among other almost incredible feats, drank a glass of wine backwards from the stage floor, beating a drum at the same time. Lawrence threw a summerset over twelve men's heads, and Paul Redigé, "The Little Devil," on October 1st, threw a summerset over two men on horseback, the riders having each a lighted candle on his head. Dubois, as Clown, had no superior in his time; and the troop of Voltigeurs were pre-eminent for their agility, skill, and daring.

On July 13th, 1789, the bills announced performances on the Tight Rope by the "Little Devil,"

[1] *Vide* page 111.

[2] In Peter Cunningham's *Hand Book of London*, ed. 1850, under title "Goodman's Fields Theatre," the appearance of Braham as a boy in 1787 is mentioned, with the addition that "in the bill Braham is called 'Master Abrahams.'" In an advertisement which appeared in the newspapers of August 17th, 1787, announcing the entertainments on that evening at the Royalty Theatre, Well-street, near Goodman's Fields, the name of "Master Braham" occurs twice. This theatre was opened for the first time on June 20th, 1787, so that if Braham was ever named as "Master Abrahams" it must have been between that date and August 17th.—*Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., v., p. 318.

Master Bologna, and "La Belle Espagnole." This was the first public appearance of John Peter Bologna, professionally known as "Jack Bologna."

In April, 1792, the performances on the opening of Sadler's Wells were distinguished by "Extraordinary Exhibitions of Postures and Feats of Strength, by Signor Bologna and his children;" these were his sons, John and Louis. Bologna and his family left the Wells at the close of the season, 1794; and at Easter, 1795, the whole were employed at Jones's Royal Circus. In the pantomime of "The Magic Feast," in September, Signor Bologna played Pantaloon; his son, John, afterwards distinguished in the bills as Mr. Bologna, jun., played Harlequin; and the Signor's wife a fishwoman.

We have seen that in 1783 Sadler's Wells became the property of Wroughton and others. The theatre subsequently became the joint property of that gentleman; Mr. Siddons (husband of the great tragic actress); Richard Hughes, proprietor of several provincial theatres; Coates, a linendraper; and Mr. Arnold, junior.

In 1794 Joe Grimaldi's salary at Sadler's Wells had risen from three shillings per week to four pounds, he having gained the favour of the public.

On Easter Monday, 1796, Sadler's Wells opened with Tom Dibdin's Serio-Comic Entertainment called "The Talisman of Orosmanes; or, Harlequin made Happy." Grimaldi acted the part of the Hag Morad; the principal characters in the action being King, Dibdin, the author, his second season; Dubois, Master Grimaldi, as he was then designated on the bills; and Mrs. Wybrow. Having in such company made a hit in this part, Grimaldi's fame rapidly increased; and in the new Harlequinade Burletta, entitled "Venus's Girdle; or, the World Bewitched," produced on the 1st of August in that year, Master Grimaldi played the part of the Old Woman; his mother, Mrs. Brooker, Lady Simpleton. These entertainments ran through the whole season.

In 1797, Robert Gomery, or "Friend Bob," as he was called by his intimates, was employed at Sadler's Wells, where he personated, on May 29th, one of the Spahis, in Tom Dibdin's "Sadak and Kalasrade."

On Easter Monday, April 9th, 1798, Sadler's Wells opened with a Prelude, entitled "Easter Monday; or, a Peep at the Wells." The prolocutory characters by Dubois and Mrs. Davis; in the concluding scene were introduced the whole company, and a Ballet Divertissement; the dances by the Misses Bruguiers, their first appearances, and by Mr. King. The amusements of the evening concluded with an entirely new Harlequinade, called "The Monster of the Cave; or, Harlequin and the Fay." Principal characters by Mr. King, Mr. Grimaldi, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Dubois; Miss Bruguier, and Mrs. Roffey. Joe for the first time, on the bill of the day, had the distinction of Mr. prefixed to his name. On Monday, July 30th, was produced a new Grand Comic Spectacle and Harlequinade, called "Blue Beard, Black Beard, Red Beard, and Grey Beard;" in which the motley hero of Pantomime, it was announced, would respectfully endeavour to keep up the spirit of the old English adage,

'Tis merry in Hall, when Beards wag all,

in the novel character of Harlequin Dutch Skipper. Harlequin Skipper, Mr. King; Plutus, Blue Beard, Mr. Barnett; Mars, Black Beard, Mr. Davis; Saturn, Grey Beard, Mr. Grimaldi; Mynheer Red Beard, Mr. Gomery; Dutch Clown, Mr. Dubois; and Columbine, Miss Bruguier. The Pantomime was very attractive, and exhibited, amongst other excellent scenes, one in moving perspective, showing the effect of a balloon descending among the clouds.

Dr. Doran, writing of the latter half of the eighteenth century, says—"Off the stage there were performers whose fame was extended by the second skill of a brother player, as was the case with Deighton, of Drury-lane, who (like Emery) was a clever painter, and was the first who exhibited slightly-caricatured likenesses of his colleagues,—enough to indicate some queer peculiarity, but not enough to give offence. These used to attract the public round his shop-window, in Charing Cross, till Deighton (or Dighton, as the Sadler's Wells bills used to record) had to make his *exit*. The 'Hundred Guilder Print,' by Rembrandt, was missing from the British Museum; and to that print

access had been given by Beloe, the keeper of the prints, to Deighton. There was a scandal which sent the actor into exile, and cost the translator of Herodotus his place."[1]

In 1800 Joe Grimaldi married Miss Maria Hughes, eldest daughter of Richard Hughes, proprietor of one-fourth of Sadler's Wells, of which theatre he was also resident manager. On October 18th, in the same year, she died in child-birth, aged twenty-five. She was interred in the graveyard of St. James's, Clerkenwell. The following was inscribed on a tablet at her request:—

Earth walks on earth like glittering gold,
Earth says to earth we are but mould,
Earth builds on earth castles and towers,
Earth says to earth all shall be ours.

Early in September, 1801, the serio-comic spectacle of "The Great Devil; or, the Robber of Genoa," was produced at Sadler's Wells, and on the 14th of that month was performed for C. Dibdin's benefit. Nicola, by Grimaldi; Bridget, by Mr. Davis; Gattie, some years afterwards distinguished for his performance of Mons. Morbleu, at Drury-lane, had also a singing part in the piece. Among the extraordinary events of this season was the appearance, in June, of the distinguished tragedian, Edmund Kean, as "Master Carey, the Pupil of Nature," who was announced to recite Rolla's celebrated address from the tragedy of "Pizarro." There was something appropriate in his first appearance at the Wells; his great grandfather, Henry Carey, the illegitimate son of George Saville, Marquis of Halifax,[2] and the author and composer of the ballad of "Sally in our Alley," wrote and composed many of the musical pieces for Sadler's Wells.[3] We may here mention that George Saville Carey was his posthumous child; at first a printer, he abandoned that calling for the stage, but he was not successful, and he became a lecturer, and associate with Moses Kean in his imitations of popular actors, and Lectures on Mimicry. Carey had a daughter, Nancy; and Moses Kean, a brother, Edmund Kean, an architect. He was the father of the great tragedian, of whom Nancy Carey was the mother. She called herself "Mrs." Carey, and played first tragedy woman at Richardson's booth. George Saville Carey died in great distress, July 14th, 1807; after which Master Carey adopted his father's name, Edmund Kean, and subsequently became a great actor.

"It is, perhaps, not generally known," says Macaulay, when closing his narrative of the death of the great Lord Halifax, in 1695, "that some adventurers who, without advantages of fortune or position, made themselves conspicuous by the mere force of ability, inherited the blood of Halifax. He left a natural son, Henry Carey, whose dramas once drew crowded audiences to the theatres, and some of whose gay and spirited verses still live in the memory of hundreds of thousands. From Henry Carey descended that Edmund Kean who, in our own time, transformed himself so marvellously into Shylock, Iago, and Othello."

"Honest Merry Harry Carey" was the author of a ballad-opera, of which two editions were published in 1736, with different title pages, as follows:—1. "A Wonder; or, an Honest Yorkshireman. A Ballad Opera as it is perform'd at the Theatres with Universal Applause." London: printed for Ed. Cook, 8vo., 1736. 2. "The Honest Yorkshireman. A Ballad Farce. Refus'd to be acted at Drury Lane Playhouse: but now perform'd at the New Theatre in Goodman's Fields, with great applause. Written by Mr. Carey. London: printed for L. Gilliver and J. Clarke, 12mo., 1736. Price threepence." From the preface to the latter it seems to have been acted for one night only at Drury Lane, in 1735. In the great Spanish War, Carey produced the popular interlude of "Nancy; or, the Parting Lovers," which was subsequently revived at Covent Garden Theatre under the title of "True Blue." He also published "The Musical Century, in one hundred English Ballads, the words and music of the whole by Henry Carey," 2 vols., fol., London, 1737-40; 2nd edition, 1740; 3rd edition, 1743. This work is not a uniformly printed book, but merely a collection of songs struck off from plates published by Carey at different periods from about the year 1720. The anthem of "God Save the King" is claimed for Carey, upon doubtful authority. And it is said that

[1] Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants*, vol. ii., p. 433.

[2] Henry Carey's mother's name is still a query.

[3] *Vide* page 189.

he wrote the melody, but could not put a proper bass to it, which was done for him by Handel's copyist, J. C. Smith. It is alleged that Carey wrote it and sung it at a tavern in Cornhill in 1740, for the victory of Vernon at Portobello. Some information on this subject, and many interesting notes on Carey, will be found in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. 65, part ii., pages 907, 991, 992, 993, 1071; vol. 66, part i., pages 118, 206; part ii., page 1075; and in "Chappell's Popular Music of the Olden Time, vol. ii., page 701, *et seq.* Carey was the author of "The Most Tragical Tragedy that ever was Tragedized by any Company of Tragedians, viz., 'Chrononhotonthologos,'" in which drama occurs that formidable and breath-exhausting word "Aldiborontiphoscophornio." Appended to this work (12mo. 1777) was a poem by the same author, called "Namby Pamby," in ridicule of Ambrose Phillips. Carey wrote also the "Dragon of Wantley," a burlesque opera founded on the old ballad of that name; "The Dragoness," a sequel to the "Dragon," &c. Carey was the principal projector of the fund for decayed musicians, their widows and children, which was held, when first established, at the Turk's Head, once a tavern of great note in Gerrard-street, Soho. There is an engraving of this author by Faber, in 1729, from a painting by Worsdale (the celebrated Jemmy), which is rare. In the "Daily Post," of December 3rd, 1730, is the following reference to Henry Carey's benefit at Drury Lane Theatre:—"At our friend Harry Carey's benefit to-night, the powers of music, poetry and painting assemble in his behalf, he being an admirer of the three sister arts; the body of musicians meet in the Haymarket, whence they march in great order, preceded by a magnificent moving organ in form of a pageant, accompanied by all kinds of musical instruments ever in use from Tubal Cain to this day; a great multitude of booksellers, authors, and printers, form themselves into a body at Temple-bar, whence they march with great decency to Covent Garden, preceded by a little army of printer's devils, with their proper instruments; here the two bodies of Music and Poetry are joined by the brothers of the pencil, when, after taking some refreshment at the Bedford Arms, they march in solemn procession to the theatre amidst an innumerable crowd of spectators." *Vide* Hone's "Year Book," p. 1163, for a notice of Henry Carey.

Dr. Doran says:—"A posthumous son of Henry Carey, well known as George Saville Carey, inherited much of his father's talents. After declining to learn the mystery of printing, he tried that of playing;—produced little effect, but by singing, reciting, and above all by his imitations, lived a vagabond life, and managed to keep his head above water, with now and then a fearful dip into the mud below, for forty years; when paralysis depriving him of the means to earn his bread, he contrived to escape further misery here, by strangling himself. He was a man of great genius not unmixed with a tendency to insanity. He was cursed in one fair and worthless daughter, 'Nance Carey,' whose intimacy with Aaron Kean,—a tailor,—or as some say, Edmund Kean, a builder, but at all events brother to Moses Kean, a tailor, and as admirable a mimic as George Carey himself,—resulted in her becoming the mother of a boy, her pitiless neglect of whom seems to have begun even before his birth. Whether that event took place in an otherwise unoccupied chamber in Gray's Inn, or in a poor room in Castle-street, Leicester-square, or in a miserable garret in Ewer-street, Southwark, —for all of which there are respective claimants, Miss Carey's son had a narrow escape from being born in the street. But for Miss Tidswell, the actress, and another womanly gossip or two, this would have happened. It seemed all one to 'Nance Carey,' who having performed *her* part in this portion of the play, deserted her child, and left him to the cruelty, caprice, or humanity of strangers. Little Edmund Kean, born in 1787, or in the following year, for the date is uncertain, had a hard life of it from the first." After various vicissitudes he earned money by dancing, tumbling, and the like; and then when he was becoming a bread-winner, he was "claimed by his evil genius, Nance Carey. His mother has been a stroller; she is a vagabond still; tramps the country with pomatums, and perfumes, and falballas, and her son is her pack-horse." Passing through many troubles, Edmund Kean rose to eminence as an actor; and then "old Nance Carey turned up, to exact £50 a year from her not too delighted son, and to introduce a Henry Darnley, who would call Edmund 'dear brother.'" Edmund Kean died May 15th, 1833, and was soon followed by his worthless mother.[1]

[1] Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants*, vol. ii., pp. 523-526.

In 1802 Sadler's Wells changed proprietors. Mr. Hughes retained his fourth share; Charles Dibdin, junior, and Thomas Dibdin, his brother, author of "The Cabinet," &c., purchased Mr. Siddons's fourth for £1400; Barford and Yarnold bought the fourth previously held by Mr. Thomas Arnold, of the First Fruits Office; Reeve, the composer, purchased the eighth hitherto the property of Mr. Wroughton; and Mr. Andrews, the scene-painter, the eighth previously held by Mr. Coates. The interior of the theatre was wholly rebuilt after the close of the season in 1801, at a cost of about £1500. Some years prior to that event, the proscenium had borne in succession the appropriate mottoes, "Hence, loathed Melancholy," and "Mirth, admit me of thy crew." The last was succeeded by drop-boards, communicating the titles of the successive pieces as they were acted; a plan which reminds us of one of the most ancient usages of the English theatre, that of nailing upon a pole, near the centre of the stage, the name of the drama under performance. Malcolm, the topographer, who was, as his old friend John Britton informs us, an *habitue* of the Wells, going there regularly every night, states that the salaries of the principal performers here about this time were nine guineas a week, and that as much as twelve guineas had been paid. Sadler's Wells was opened on Easter Monday, April 19th, 1802, with an occasional Burletta Prelude, entitled "Old Sadler's Ghost;" a new comic dance, called "The Jew Cobbler," in which M. Joubert, from Paris, as principal dancer, made his first appearance in England; the Serio-Comic Pantomime of "The Great Devil," with alterations and new dresses; and an entirely new Comic Pantomime, called "Harlequin Greenlander; or, the Whale Fishery." In the "Great Devil," Bologna, junior, after an absence of eight years, played the part of Satini, the Great Devil; Rudolpho, Mons. Gouriet; Nicola, Mr. Grimaldi; Count Ludovico, Mr. Hartland; Bridget, Mrs. Davis; the Countess, Madame St. Amand. The "Great Devil" ceased to be played at Sadler's Wells the last week in May, 1802. On the 14th August in this year Grimaldi met with an accident from an explosion of fire-arms on the stage. It happened on the last night of the pantomime of "St. George," in which it was announced would be presented several unexampled and unparalleled combats, exclusive of the combat with the Dragon, which involved St. George in a shower of fire. The bill of Monday, August 30th, mentions the performance of the new serio-comic pantomime of "Zoa," in which would be performed an extraordinary combat of six, by Bologna, jun., Grimaldi, Gattie, Hartland, and others, to conclude with, fourth time, "The Wizard's Wake; or, Harlequin's Regeneration." Harlequin, Mr. Bologna, jun.; Merlin, Mr. Gattie; Clown, Mr. Grimaldi.

Sadler's Wells re-opened on Easter Monday, April 11th, 1803. This season appeared here the celebrated traveller, Signor Gianibattista Belzoni, as the Patagonian Samson, in which character he performed prodigious feats of strength; one of which was to adjust an iron frame to his body, weighing 127 lbs., on which he carried eleven persons. The frame had steps or branches projecting from its sides, on which he placed eleven men in a pyramidical form, the uppermost of whom reached to the border of the proscenium. With this immense weight he walked round the stage, to the astonishment and delight of his audience. On one occasion a serio-comic accident occurred, which might have proved fatal not only to the mighty Hercules but also to his pyramidical group. As he was walking round the stage with the vast load attached to his body, the floor gave way and plunged him and his companions into the water beneath. A group of assistants soon came to the rescue, and the whole party marched to the front of the stage, made their bows, and retired. On Belzoni's benefit night he attempted to carry thirteen, but as that number could not hold on, it was abandoned. His stature, as registered in the books of the Alien Office, was six feet six inches. He was of good figure, gentlemanly manners, and great mind. He was an Italian by birth, but he early in life quitted his native land to seek his fortune.

On Easter Monday, April 2nd, 1804, Sadler's Wells produced a novel entertainment, called "Naumachia." An immense tank was constructed under the stage, and extending beyond it, which was filled by a communication with the New River, and could be emptied again at pleasure. On this aquatic stage, the boards being removed, was given a mimic representation of the Siege of Gibraltar, in which real vessels, of considerable size, bombarded the fortress, but were subdued by the garrison, and several of them in appearance burnt. The success of this novelty, though at first doubtful, was,

after a time, prodigious, and might be said to constitute a new era in the annals of Sadler's Wells, which for many seasons following was generally called the Aquatic Theatre, and was patronised by royalty, and the nobility, amongst whom was the Duke of Clarence, Lord High Admiral of England, afterwards William IV. A variety of pieces were subsequently produced, concluding with a grand scene for the *finale* on "real water." Thomas Greenwood, a scene painter at the Wells, thus records the water successes in his "Rhyming Reminiscences" :—

> Attraction was needed, the town to engage,
> So Dick[1] emptied the River, that year, on the stage ;
> The House overflowed, and became quite the ton,
> And the Wells, for some seasons, went swimmingly on.

Among the apparently perilous and appalling incidents exhibited were those of a female falling from the rocks into the water, and rescued by her hero-lover; a naval battle, with sailors escaping by plunging into the sea from a vessel on fire; and a child thrown into the water by a nurse who was bribed to drown it, but rescued by a Newfoundland dog.

On Easter Monday, March 30th, 1807, Sadler's Wells opened with a new pantomime, entitled "Jan Ben Jan; or, Harlequin and the Forty Virgins." Ridgway made his first appearance as Harlequin, Bologna, jun., having left the theatre. Among other debutants on that night were Pyne, the singer, and also Mrs. M'Cartney, who subsequently became Mrs. Pyne. Grimaldi, as usual, was clown in the pantomime, which had a long and successful run. In the scene of the interior of Pidcock's menagerie, at Exeter Change, he spoke and sang "the Exhibitor's Chaunt," which became very popular. On the evening of Thursday, October 15th, in this year, a set of pickpockets and other low characters had taken their station in the pit; and during the performance of the last piece, "The Ocean Fiend," in order to create confusion which would facilitate their designs, got up a sham battle amongst themselves. To increase the alarm two or three of the party exclaimed "a fight!" and made a pretence to leave the house. The cry was generally mistaken for that of "fire!" and in an instant all was consternation. An universal rush was made towards the doors. In vain the managers appeared upon the stage, and assured the audience that neither light nor smoke was anywhere visible. Some clambered from the pit into the boxes, others threw themselves from the boxes, and even from the gallery, into the pit. The pressure that ensued was dreadful; particularly on the gallery stairs, which, being narrow, were crammed to actual suffocation. Here eighteen persons met with death; two others were with difficulty recovered; and many more received serious injuries. In the whole twenty-three people were killed. This accident happening on the last night but four of the season, it was deemed prudent not to re-open the house that year. But it was re-opened for two nights, on Monday, November 2nd, and Tuesday, November 3rd. The whole proceeds were given to the relations of the deceased and to the maimed sufferers on the night of the accident. The entire company engaged in the theatre gave their services gratuitously. The two nights' representations produced £290 7s. The following declaration was made by the magistrates, who acted upon the occasion :—

"We, the magistrates who have acted upon this occasion, feel it incumbent upon us to express to the public our approbation of the conduct of the proprietors of Sadler's Wells, who used, as it appears, every possible exertion at the time, and have shown every attention to alleviate, as much as was in their power, the distress occasioned by so melancholy an event; and at the same time we feel a pleasure in bearing our testimonies to the grateful deportment of those who have experienced the attention, the humanity, and the liberal relief which has been afforded them.

"A. Cumming.
W. Wix.
Richard Lendon.

"Sadler's Wells, Nov. 27, 1807."

During the season of 1808, Grimaldi had two bumping benefits at Sadler's Wells. His parts this year were clown in the pantomimes of "Harlequin's Lottery," and "Harlequin Highflyer;

[1] Richard Hughes.

or, Off She Goes." In the former he sang the afterwards popular ditty of the "Smithfield Bargain; or, Will Patty;" in the latter, the songs of "Oh! my deary!" and "A Bull in a China Shop." The season, which continued until November 1st, concluded with a Grand Aquatic Romance, called the "Magic Minstrel;" in which piece Grimaldi played Mulock. In the pantomime of "Harlequin's Lottery," in which Mrs. Cawse personated Fortune, the chief scene had reference to Bish's famed lottery offices.

On Easter Monday, April 3rd, 1809, Sadler's Wells opened with the pantomime of "Fashion's Fool; or, the Aquatic Harlequin," in which Grimaldi played clown, and sang the songs of "Odd Fish," and the "Whip Club." On Whit Monday, May 22nd, he played the Wild Man in the Aquatic Melo-Dramatic Romance of the "Wild Man; or, Water Pageant." On July 31st a new harlequinade called "Castles in the Air; or, Columbine Cowslip," was produced. Grimaldi played clown, with the song of "Looney's Lamentation for Miss Margery Muggins," and a quartetto caricatura, called "Cut and Come Again; or, the Clown's Ordinary." On Mrs. C. Dibdin's night, October 16th, Grimaldi sang three new songs, in addition to those belonging to "Castles in the Air."

On Easter Monday, April 15th, 1811, Sadler's Wells opened with "Dulce Domum;" clown, Grimaldi, with two new songs, "A Peep at Turkey," and "Massena's Retreat." "Harlequin and Blue Beard" followed on July 15th, in which Grimaldi, as clown, sang the song of "Mr. Greig and Mrs. Snap; or, Bubble, Squeak, and Pettitoes." The season extended until October.

In October, 1812, Grimaldi's second benefit at Sadler's Wells produced him £225.

In 1813, Grimaldi produced here a comic dance, called "Fun and Physic," which was very successful. On August 9th was first performed the drama of "Kaloe; or, the Pirate Slave;" Kaloe by Grimaldi. In August, 1813, was published, by Whittle and Laurie, of Fleet-street, an engraving of the "Aquatic Theatre, Sadler's Wells." The picture shows the south and south-eastern sides of the building; along the former is a veranda; on each side of the New River is a low, strong, wooden railing; and on the theatre side of it is a row of tall trees.

On Easter Monday, April 11th, 1814, the season at Sadler's Wells commenced with the dance of "Fun and Physic," and the pantomime of "Rival Genii; or, Harlequin Wild Man," in which Ellar made his first appearance as Harlequin, the clown being Grimaldi, who introduced a new song, called "Frost Fair; or, the Disasters of Mr. Higgins and Mrs. Wiggins." His first benefit this year brought him £216, and his second, £263 10s., the latter being the best he ever had at this house. On the 20th December Mr. Richard Hughes died.

In 1815, Grimaldi's first benefit of the season at Sadler's Wells produced him £231 14s. Upon that occasion he played the part of Don Juan; and his son that of Scaramouch, being his second appearance.

In 1816, the principal novelty of the season at Sadler's Wells was a very successful drama, called "Philip and his Dog." At this time Grimaldi's salary here was £12 a week.

In 1817, Grimaldi did not appear at Sadler's Wells, in consequence of a disagreement between him and Charles Dibdin about the terms of his engagement. Paulo was employed in his place. The theatre opened with "Philip and his Dog," and a new harlequinade, called, "April Fools; or, Months and Mummery."

In 1818, Grimaldi purchased an eighth share in Sadler's Wells Theatre from the Hughes family, and accepted an engagement there on his old terms. This and the two following seasons were profitable; but that of 1821 was attended by loss, Grimaldi's portion of the loss, by reason of his eighth share, being about £90. The subsequent losses of Mr. Hughes, Grimaldi's brother-in-law, at Sadler's Wells, exceeded £5000.

On Easter Monday, April 12th, 1819, Sadler's Wells opened with a pantomime, the scenes being selected from successful harlequinades at this theatre, commencing with the opening from that of "The Talking Bird;" Clown, Grimaldi, with a new song, "Hot Codlins," composed by Mr. Whitaker; Columbine, Miss Tree, from Drury Lane. A melancholy accident happened on this night. An immense crowd had collected about the gallery door, and upon its being opened a general rush took place; several were trodden upon and injured while ascending the stairs, and a lad running down the

benches to gain the front seat was trampled to death by those who followed; and one or two were precipitated into the pit. In the midst of this confusion Grimaldi ascended the slips, and succeeded by his speech in producing a degree of order. On April 19th, the "Great Devil" was revived; Nicola, Grimaldi; the Lady Matilda, Miss Tree; and on Whit Monday, May 31st, the new harlequinade, called the "Fates; or, Harlequin's Holiday," was produced under Grimaldi's immediate direction. He played the Clown; Bologna as the Harlequin made his first appearance that evening after a ten years' absence; Barnes, Pantaloon; Widdicomb played the West Indian; and Miss Tree the Columbine. This pantomime continued uninterruptedly until August 9th, when an announcement was made that it would be withdrawn for a short time, to re-embellish the scenery, machinery, and dresses, and that it would then be reproduced with additional scenes. On August 2nd, Grimaldi sustained the part of Friday in the burletta of the "Bold Buccaneers," which was successfully repeated during the season. The Duke and Duchess of Kent visited Sadler's Wells on August 27th. On September 13th, Grimaldi played Scaramouch, in "Don Juan;" Donna Anna, Miss Tree; when the bills announced a change of entertainments, on September 20th, for Grimaldi's benefit. In this year Charles Dibdin relinquished his post of acting stage manager, and Grimaldi had to fill his place temporarily.



JOE GRIMALDI, AS CLOWN IN "HARLEQUIN AND FRIAR BACON."

On Easter Monday, April 3rd, 1820, Sadler's Wells opened under the management of Mr. Howard Payne, the author of "Brutus," a tragedy, with the best playing company ever assembled within its walls, but it proved to be a very unprofitable undertaking. The stage business was arranged by Grimaldi; and in the first piece, the pantomime of "Goody Two Shoes," Bologna played Harlequin; Grimaldi, Clown; Barnes, Pantaloon; Mr. Wood, the husband of Miss Paton, afterwards Lady Lennox, the Farmer, with a song; Miss Vallancey, Columbine. On Whit-Monday, May 22nd, was produced a splendid Persian pantomime, entitled "The Yellow Dwarf; or, Harlequin King of the Golden Mines." Harlequin, Mr. Bologna; Columbine, Miss Vallancey; Pantaloon, Mr. Barnes; Grim, afterwards Clown, with a song, "London Cheats; or, there never was such Times," by Grimaldi; the Yellow Dwarf, afterwards Yellow Harlequin, Mr. Guerint; Ubrino, his attendant Genie, afterwards Yellow Clown, Mr. Grimaldi, junior, his first appearance this season. On July 3rd, was revived the pantomime of "Don Juan." Don Juan, Mr. Bolgna; Scaramouch, Mr. Grimaldi, with the song of "Tippity Witchet;" Donna Anna, Miss Vallancey. Grimaldi's benefit, Thursday, July 27th, presented a crowded house; the entertainments were "Kaloc; or, the Slave Pirate;" Kaloc, by Mr. Grimaldi; "Ko and Zoa," in which Bologna played Ko; Grimaldi, Ravin; and the "Yellow Dwarf;" and the success which they received induced a repetition on the two following nights. "Raymond and Agnes" was revived on August 7th, when Grimaldi played Robert the Bandit. On Howard Payne's night, October 5th, after T. Dibdin's melo-drama of "Douglas," followed a harlequinade, compiled by Grimaldi from the best scenes of the last popular pantomimes, entitled "Scraps; or, Fun for the Gallery." Bologna, Guerint, Grimaldi, young Grimaldi, Barnes, and Miss Vallancey, performed the parts; and the bills stated that, on this occasion, Mr. Grimaldi would appear

for the last time this season, and introduce one of his most celebrated comic songs, and with Mr. Bologna a grotesque dance, the Pas-de-Deux, from "Mother Goose." On this night a panic seized the audience upon an alarm of fire being given by a man in the gallery, who shouted "fire" on perceiving a spark to fall from a candle or lamp upon the stage. A timely address from one of the performers reassured the spectators, who resumed their seats. C. M. Westmacott, who was scene-painter and composer of the pantomimes this season at Sadler's Wells, had a benefit on October 11th, the bills for which invitingly asked the reader "Will you come for nothing?" The prices of admission were as usual; but to every person in the boxes and pit was presented an excellent portrait of Grimaldi, engraved after Wageman's drawing, by Blood; and to every person in the gallery a book of the songs of the evening.

Sadler's Wells was let at Easter, 1821, for the ensuing three seasons, to Mr. Egerton, of Covent Garden Theatre; in 1821 it was honoured by the presence of Queen Caroline, the wife of George IV.; and Her Majesty's box and its appointments were exhibited daily to the public for a week afterwards. In 1822, in a piece called "Tom and Jerry," pony races were introduced, a course having been formed by laying a platform on the stage and pit. Upon the expiration of Egerton's term the Wells were let to Mr. Williams, of the Surrey Theatre, the son of the proprietor of the boiled beef house, in the Old Bailey. He employed one half of his company in the earlier part of the evening at Sadler's Wells, and then transferred them to the Surrey to finish there; and at that theatre he adopted the same course, the performers being conveyed between the two houses by special carriages. Williams's speculation turned out a complete failure.

In 1823, the use of water for scenic purposes was discontinued at this theatre. The tank for containing the water was destroyed, and the stage was lowered three feet. We read in Wilkinson's "Londina Illustrata," that in the year 1819 the following were the dimensions of this theatre:—Across from wall to wall, fifty feet in the clear; depth of stage from orchestra to back wall, seventy-four feet; across from box to box, thirty-three feet; height of proscenium, twenty-three feet; orchestra, thirty-six by six feet; from orchestra to the back of pit, forty-seven feet. Reservoir for aquatic spectacles, in length ninety feet, breadth thirty feet. Lower tank, ninety feet by thirty-six feet. Upper tank, fifteen feet square by five feet. Leather hose, four inches calibre, and it could be conveyed to any part of the theatre with the greatest ease. The water was always on at the main, from which a large bore was laid from the steam engine, which filled the tank in twenty-six hours. The water rose a perpendicular height of thirty-seven feet to the top of the house.

In 1825 the proprietors of Sadler's Wells (Mr. Hughes, principal proprietor of Vauxhall Gardens, Mr. Jones, a solicitor, Mr. Dixon, of the horse repository, Barbican, and Grimaldi), resolved to open the theatre on their own account, with which view they engaged T. Dibdin as acting manager. At this time Mr. Jones, who had married Mr. Reeve's only daughter, and thus became possessed of the share in Sadler's Wells which had been purchased by him, was one of the proprietors. Grimaldi, as one of the shareholders, was employed at a salary of four pounds per week, to reside on the premises, and superintend them. The season was commenced with much spirit; the old dwelling house at the end, next the New River Head, which had been the residence of King, Wroughton, and others, was turned partly into wine rooms, and partly into a saloon, box office, and passages. Half-price was taken, which had never been done here; and the season was extended from six months to twelve. This last innovation originated in the immense growth of the neighbourhood around the theatre, which had been gradually increasing during Grimaldi's time. The season of 1825 ended with a loss of £1400.

At Christmas, 1825, the public were invited to Sadler's Wells by a lively handbill, of which the following is a copy:—

"Sovereigns will be taken, during the Christmas holidays, and as long as any body will bring them to Sadler's Wells; nay so little fastidious are the Proprietors of that delectable fascinating snuggery that, however incredible it may appear, they, in some cases, have actually had the liberality to prefer Gold to Paper. Without attempting to investigate their motives for such extraordinary conduct, we shall do them the justice to say, they certainly give an amazing quantum of amusement, All in One Night, at the House on the Heath, where, besides

the Three Crumpies, and the Baron and his Brothers, an immense number of fashionables are expected on Merlin's Mount, and some of the first Cambrian families will countenance Harlequin Cymraeg, in hopes to partake of the Living Leek, which being served up the last thing before supper, will constitute a most excellent Christmas carminative, preventing the effects of night air on the crowds who will adorn this darling little edifice. In addition to a most effective Light Company engaged here, a very respectably sized Moon will be in attendance to light home a greater number of Patrons than ever this popular petted Palace of Pantomime is likely to produce. We say nothing of warmth and comfort, acquired by recent improvements, because these matters will soon be subjects of common conversation, and omit noticing the happiness of Half-price, and the cheering qualities of the Wine Rooms, fearful of wounding in the bosom of the Manager that innate modesty which is ever the concomitant of merit; we shall therefore conclude, by way of invitation to the dubious, in the language of an elegant writer, by asserting that the Proof of the Pudding is in—Verbum Sat."

In 1826 the expenditure of the theatre was greatly reduced. The death of the mad elephant at Exeter Change[1] this year was thought by the proprietors of Sadler's Wells to be a fit subject to attract full seats; and a piece was written and produced by Mr. Campbell, bearing the deceased's name, "Chuneelah," which was successfully acted many nights. "During the present season," says T. Dibdin, "the intense and prolonged heat of the weather, which was injuring every theatre in the metropolis, inspired my 'governors' with the idea that, in order to make our pieces run, it would be a good speculation to procure a few handsome ponies who should run with them. Our audience were therefore pleasantly seated in the shade, till the sun had lost its power, and then had no objection to enter the theatre artificially cooled for their reception."[2] "The races were extremely well conducted, and their attraction was considerably beyond our most sanguine expectations." Boards were erected on every side to conceal them from the view of the public in general. To give publicity to this amusement the high mettled racers, with flags and bugles, in proper costume, paraded the streets daily, distributing bills descriptive of cups, plate, bits, and other taking articles of jockeyship. It was advertised on September 27th, 1826—"Sadler's Wells. This evening the race-ground will be opened at five, and the races begin at half-past five, with some well contested pony races for fifty guineas, including the highly comic and very laughable race between Tom, Jerry and Logic, and Jemmy Green." Between Easter and Whitsuntide the proprietors cleared by these pony races a sum equal to their losses of the preceding year. In Hone's "Every Day Book," vol. ii., p. 1561, the pony racing at Sadler's Wells is noticed.

On September 5th, 1826, the proprietors of Sadler's Wells published the following notice:—

"Serious Notice, in Perfect Confidence.—The following extraordinary comic performances at Sadler's Wells, can only be given during the present week; the proprietors, therefore, most respectfully inform that fascinating sex so properly distinguished by the appropriate appellation of the Fair! and all those well inclined gentlemen who are happy enough to protect them, that the amusements will consist of a romantic tale, of mysteries, horror, and broad grin, never acted, called 'The Enchanted Girdles; or, Winki the Witch, and the Ladies of Samarcand;' A most whimsical burletta, which sends people home perfectly exhausted from uninterrupted risibility, called 'The Lawyer, the Jew, and the Yorkshireman.' With, by request of seventy-five distinguished families and a party of five, that never to be sufficiently praised pantomime, called 'Magic in Two Colours; or, Fairy Blue and Fairy Red; or, Harlequin and the Marble Rock.' It would be perfectly superfluous for any man in his senses to attempt anything more than the mere announcement in recommendation of the above unparalleled representations, so attractive in themselves as to threaten a complete monopoly of the qualities of the magnet; and though the proprietors were to talk nonsense for an hour, they could not assert a more important truth than that they possess the only Wells from which you may draw wine, three shillings and sixpence a full quart. Those whose important avocations prevent them coming at the commencement, will be admitted for half price, at half-past eight. Ladies and gentlemen who are not judges of the superior entertainments announced, are respectfully requested to bring as many as possible with them who are. N.B.—A full moon during the week."

On September 21st, 1826, young Grimaldi had a benefit, when Planché's melo-drama, entitled "The Caliph and the Cadi," was revived, and in order to introduce both father and son, a new scene and duet were written by Mr. Dibdin, at Grimaldi's desire; their appearance in the same piece produced considerable effect. The season of 1826, at Sadler's Wells, ended on October 2nd, with a benefit for Mrs. Fitzwilliam.

[1] Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol ii., page 322.

[2] *Reminiscences of Thomas Dibdin*, vol. ii., p. 316.



THE NEW RIVER HEAD WORKS, CLERKENWELL.

At this time the ceiling of the theatre was painted and gilt in panels, with a circular centre, representing Cupids flying with flower-wreaths. On the proscenium were the royal arms. The theatre consisted of a pit, a single tier of boxes, and a gallery. The fronts of the two latter were tastefully painted in panels, with gilt mouldings. There were ten private, and two stage boxes. The number of spectators which could be accommodated was about two thousand. The prices of admission were—boxes, 4s.; pit, 2s.; gallery, 1s.

On Monday, March 17th, 1828, Grimaldi took his farewell benefit at Sadler's Wells. The bill announcing it stated:—"The entertainments will commence with the successful romance of 'Sixes; or, the Fiend;' Hook (a drunken prisoner), by Mr. Grimaldi. After which, the favourite burletta of 'Humphrey Clinker;' to which will be added the popular farce of 'Wives and Partners;' and the whole to conclude with a Grand Masquerade on the stage, in the course of which several novelties will be presented: Mr. Blackmore on the Corde Volante; Mr. Walbourn's dance as 'Dusty Bob;' Mr. Campbell's song of 'Bound 'Prentice to a Waterman;' Mrs. Searle's skipping-rope dance; Mr. Payne's juggling evolutions; and the celebrated dance between Mr. J. S. Grimaldi and Mr. Ellar. After which, Mr. Grimaldi will deliver his farewell address: and the whole will conclude with a brilliant display of fireworks, expressive of Grimaldi's thanks." The receipts of this benefit were £230. Shortly after this time Mr. T. Dibdin left Sadler's Wells. He was succeeded in the capacity of stage-manager by Mr. Campbell, who retained the situation for several years, until the establishment was again let.

Subsequently Mr. Thomas Dibdin became the manager of Sadler's Wells. He, treading in the footsteps of his father and brother Charles, and inheriting all the family dramatic genius, was the inventor and writer of a variety of pieces which were produced here. Most of them were ballets, pantomimes, musical pieces, and melo-dramas. Mr. Kemble says:—"When I was a boy they used at Sadler's Wells, and Astley's, and Hughes's, now the Surrey, to give a certain entertainment which they designated burlettas;" these entertainments were accompanied always by a pianoforte, the person playing in the orchestra, and were written in a sort of doggrel verse; it was in short entirely a recitative without dialogue, accompanied by instruments in the orchestra.

In 1832, Sadler's Wells was let out for one season to Mrs. Fitzwilliam and Mr. W. H. Williams. They retained Grimaldi in their service for a short time, until he quitted it finally. The aqua dramas were revived at intervals; thus in 1832 a musical piece entitled "The Little Red Man" was produced, "with fountains of real water." On the 14th of November, in this year, Mr. T. P. Cooke made his first appearance at this theatre, as William, in "Black-eyed Susan." This piece was performed one hundred nights at Sadler's Wells.

The season of 1833 was an attractive one to playgoers. "A serio-comic romantic aqua drama," entitled "The Island," embracing the principal events of the mutiny of the Bounty, in 1788, had the run of the season. The *denouement* of the piece was a general attack on the "real water," with Captain Bligh's ship, the offing being brilliantly illuminated. To obviate a delay of twenty minutes complained of in the preparation of the last scene of these aquatic dramas, the stage and its scenery were made to ascend to the roof of the house in view of the audience. In the month of May the bills of the house announced that there would be, for the diversion of the audience, a stupendous representation of the Russian Mountains, executed from models by Mr. Copping. This amusement, which is indulged in by the Russians during the winter season, consists in sliding down at a break-neck risk in cars a highly inclined plane of wood, previously over laid with blocks of ice united into a compact mass by water thrown purposely over them. The introduction of a Russe-Montagne into Sadler's Wells Theatre was an entire novelty, it never having been attempted elsewhere. The cars descended with great velocity an inclined plane from a considerable height at the extremity of the stage across the orchestra to the back of the pit.

In the month of August were given the athletic performances of the renowned French Hercules, Monsieur Esbrayat, who lifted a weight of 1800 lbs. with the greatest ease, and carried men in his hands round the stage; and Monsieur Decour, who supported himself by two quart bottles standing on a table.

An aquatic spectacle, entitled "The Chieftain's Oath," dramatised, from Ossian's poems, by the celebrated Douglas Jerrold, was produced for the first time on the 2nd of August, the last scene of which was "The moon rising (as in nature) large and red, decreasing in size and becoming paler as she ascends, her beams being reflected on the lake of real water peculiar to this theatre." There was also an exhibition, entitled "The Royal Fantoccini Theatre," varied every evening by the original inventor, Mr. Grey. And once was shown a grand display of Chinese fireworks on the water.

In 1834, the saloon was re-decorated in a chaste and elegant style, like a Chinese bower. In 1836, the interior was re-painted, and a circle of balcony and dress boxes was added. In 1838, the theatre was repaired and re-decorated, and opened for the season on Whit-Monday, June 4th, under the



SADLER'S WELLS THEATRE AT THE PRESENT TIME.

management of R. Horner, sole lessee. In 1841, a piece was produced here, in which was "the translucent palace of one hundred fountains of real water," which was brilliantly illuminated by a variety of coloured fires. The bills at this time stated that Sadler's Wells was "the only theatre in London where real water can be exhibited." In 1842, June 12th, Mr. Ducrow, the famous equestrian, appeared here in a piece entitled the "Horse of the Pyrenees," with his stud of trained ponies. In this year the theatre was under the management of Mr. Greenwood. In March, 1843, Tom Matthews appeared here, and in October in the same year a troupe of equestrians.

About and since this time a taste for sterling drama arose in the public mind, and the entertainments at this theatre became more intellectual in character. Mr. Samuel Phelps, in conjunction with Mrs. Warner, entered upon the management of Sadler's Wells Theatre on Whit Monday, 1844. In 1846, Mrs. Warner retired from the theatre; and then Mr. Phelps determined to produce there the whole of Shakspeare's plays. He succeeded in representing upwards of thirty of them, which number occupied during the term of his management somewhere about four thousand nights—"Hamlet" alone occupying four hundred of them. Mr. Phelps encountered, and successfully overcame, great difficulties in dealing with such dramas as "Pericles," "Timon of Athens," and "Antony and

Cleopatra;" but he worked in a labour of love, and spared not energy, time, or money. The large expense incurred in the getting up and representation of the plays, and the moderate, indeed low, prices of admission to the theatre, put pecuniary profit on these revivals out of the question. The plays of Shakspeare which Mr. Phelps did not produce were the three parts of "Henry VI." and "Troilus and Cressida," the production of which would have involved so large an outlay that the manager did not feel justified in attempting them, knowing from past experience that he would be a loser to a very large amount if he had presented them to the public. He was therefore unwillingly obliged to relinquish his intention of producing the whole of Shakspeare's plays. When we consider that Mr. Phelps did not receive any patronage from "fashion," or assistance of any kind, he relying entirely upon the support of those who may be termed "the people," it is a matter for astonishment that he was enabled to proceed as far as he did in his great enterprise, and it speaks loudly in praise of the public taste for our great dramatist's sterling works. It is generally supposed that Sadler's Wells Theatre was only locally patronised; this, however, is not the fact. Large numbers of persons came long distances to visit it. But for this circumstance Mr. Phelps could not have held out in his laudable project so long as he did. The situation of the theatre militated very much against pecuniary success: it stands in the suburbs of London, it is an old-fashioned place, and devoid of all modern improvements both before and behind the curtain; and to conceal these defects cost much, both in money and labour, which would have been saved in a better building. During Mr. Phelps's management of Sadler's Wells Theatre he had numerous new plays sent to him for production, and in the oceans of trash he was only occasionally able to find a valuable one. He gave as much as £400 for one which he thought worthy of representation—"John Savile," by the late Rev. James White. Two others, by the same author, "Feudal Times" and "James VI.," were produced at Sadler's Wells Theatre, and were highly successful.

The following old dramatists were represented at this theatre during the management of Mr. Phelps:—Shakspeare, Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher, Otway, and John Webster. The modern were:—Bulwer, Knowles, Byron, Moore, Sheridan, Rowe, Southerne, Kotzebue, Talfourd, Howard Payne Tobin, Home, Shiel, Inchbald, Colman, Vanburgh, Cibber, O'Keefe, Centlivre, Lovel, Holcroft, Cherry, Maturin, Banim, Westland Marston, Morton, and Bickerstaffe. The new plays were by Serle, White, Sullivan, and Spicer. After indefatigable and unremitting labour for eighteen years, Mr. Phelps retired from Sadler's Wells in March, 1862. It is to be regretted that he was allowed to leave that home of the legitimate drama—a home which he had adopted for it, and so ably superintended—without receiving from the play-going inhabitants of the north of London some slight public expression or recognition of his long services for them. Perhaps, however, the old walls of Sadler's Wells Theatre are the best memorial of this great master of tragedy, for as long as they last the space which they enclose must be regarded as classical ground—there Samuel Phelps portrayed the philosophy of Hamlet, the jealousy of Othello, and the guilty fears of Macbeth.

On January 28th, 1862, the lease of Sadler's Wells Theatre (dated February 19th, 1854), was put up for sale by public auction; but it was not sold. The following is a copy of the particulars of sale, describing the theatre, and the interest which the vendors and Mr. Phelps then had in it:—

"Sadler's Wells Theatre.

"Particulars and conditions of sale of the lease of the highly popular establishment and favourite resort of the public, known as the Theatre Royal, Sadler's Wells, situate in a densely-populated and respectable neighbourhood, not exposed to competition, in the full zenith of its fame and success, for an unexpired term of fifty years from Midsummer last; the use of which is granted to Mr. Phelps for seven years from Lady-day, 1860, at the annual sum of one thousand pounds per annum, subject to deductions for ground rent, insurance, &c., which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Beadel and Sons, at the Mart, Bartholomew-lane, London, on Tuesday, the 28th day of January, 1862, at twelve for one o'clock, in one lot. Particulars and conditions of sale may be obtained of Messrs. Tamplin and Tayler, 159, Fenchurch-street, E.C.; at the Mart; and of Messrs. Beadel and Sons, 25, Gresham-street, E.C.

"Particulars.—The first-class long leasehold property known as the Theatre Royal, Sadler's Wells, covers a large area of ground, in a very populous and respectable neighbourhood, and has excellent access from St. John-

street-road and Arlington-street, with a large area or court yard, affording unusual facilities for carriage visitors. The Theatre is brick-built, slated and tiled, admirably arranged, tastefully embellished, and approached by a portico; the auditory is planned so as to secure a good view of the stage, as well as acoustic facilities, and comprises the dress circle, with seats for one hundred and two persons; the boxes, to accommodate one hundred and fifty persons; six private boxes; roomy pit, to accommodate one thousand persons; the gallery, to hold eight hundred to one thousand persons. There are two refreshment saloons, and a good box office. The stage is ample and lofty (the width from fly rail to fly rail being thirty-two feet nine inches), with handsome proscenium, orchestra, and every facility for producing pieces involving scenic effects, and the introduction of a large corps of performers. Over the stage, &c., are the upper and lower flies, carpenter's shop, and barrel loft; and conveniently disposed are the green room, painting room, music room, ladies' private dressing rooms, and general dressing rooms, and gentlemen's ditto ditto; private and general wardrobe rooms, property rooms, cellarage, and other conveniences.

"The property is held on lease for a term of sixty years from Midsummer, 1851, at a ground rent of £277 per annum; the lessees paying the insurance and other outgoings; and its use is granted to Mr. Samuel Phelps, with such of the properties as belong to the proprietors, for seven years from Lady-day, 1860, at the yearly sum of one thousand pounds, payable by ten monthly payments of £100 each, to be made in each and every month excepting July and August; the proprietors reserving to themselves the exclusive right to the use of two private boxes, the right to introduce twenty visitors before the curtain on every night of performance, except on benefit nights, and also to introduce a limited number of persons on the free list. Mr. Phelps is bound to do repairs, except to the main walls, timbers and roof. The proprietors are under covenant to pay the ground rent, insurance, rates and taxes. Also to allow Mr. Phelps a sum not exceeding £350 for permanent repairs and improvements (not decorations) to be made by him; of which sum not more than £116 13s. 4d. is to be deducted in any one year, and to be deducted in equal parts from the several monthly payments; and such permanent repairs and improvements to be subject to the certificate of the proprietors' surveyor. The net annual income derivable from the property may be estimated thus:—

				£ s. d.
Rent payable by Mr. Phelps, per annum				1000 0 0
Subject to the following outgoings, viz.:—		£ s. d.		
Ground Rent	per annum	277 0 0		
Insurance	„	90 0 0		
Sewers' Rate, Taxes, &c.	„	43 6 8		
Poor's Rate	„	50 0 0		
Watchman (18s. per week, half of which is paid by Proprietors)	„	23 8 0		
Repairs to roof (this year)	„	5 8 11—	489 3 7	
Net improved or Profit Rental	„		£510 16 5	

"The high character of the present tenant of the property, and the prestige long attached to it, may be considered as ample security for the safe realization of the above handsome improved rent, and the present opportunity afforded is of infrequent occurrence, enabling as it does a purchaser to effect a sound and lucrative investment of capital, in combination with the acquisition of the attractive privileges above mentioned, as reserved to the proprietors. Such of the fixtures, properties, looking glasses, gas fittings, meters, manuscripts, and effects, as belong to the vendors, will be included in the sale.

"N.B.—The number of persons which the auditory is capable of accommodating is believed to be correctly stated as above; but the vendors will not hold themselves liable to compensate the purchaser for any inaccuracy which may have occurred in this particular. The lease of the property contains certain reservations as to way, passage, and drainage, subject to which the property is offered for sale."

We may mention that in addition to the engravings of Sadler's Wells Theatre, which we have before referred to, a view of the exterior of the building is to be seen in "The Every Day Book," p. 843.

MYDDELTON SQUARE.

At No. 5, in this square, in the year 1827, resided Thomas Dibdin, a son of the celebrated naval song writer. The productions of his pen were prolific, consisting chiefly of comedies, farces, burlettas, and songs, composed for the metropolitan theatres. Here he wrote the history of his own life, in which he has embodied his recollections of the locality now under notice. "The house in which I write this is situated in a spacious square, the centre of which is ornamented by a superb specimen of

architecture in the form of a handsome church. The site of the square and church, not five years since, was an immense field, where people used to be stopped and robbed on their return in the evening from Sadler's Wells; and the ground floor of the parlour where I sit was as nearly as possible the very spot where my wife and I fell over a recumbent cow, on our way home one murky night in a thunder storm, and only regained the solitary path we had strayed from in the dark by the timely aid of a tremendous flash of lightning."[1]

Thomas Dibdin was born in 1771; he had for his godfather the famous Garrick. In 1775, when but four years old, in the pageant of Shakspeare's "Jubilee," he sustained the character of Cupid; the celebrated Mrs. Siddons personating Venus on this occasion. At the age of sixteen, after having spent some time at a school in the North of England, Dibdin was apprenticed to Mr. Rawlings, an upholsterer, in London; but after a servitude of four years he quitted Mr. Rawlings's house, and joined a company of strolling players in Essex, in 1789. After six years had been spent in various theatres, during which time he had performed in every department of the drama, and written more than one thousand songs, he returned to London in 1795, and after writing a number of successful dramas for different minor theatres, he was engaged as an actor at Covent-garden Theatre in the season of 1799. With this theatre, as an actor and author, he was connected for fourteen years. The pantomime of "Mother Goose," which he wrote for Covent-garden, produced more than £20,000 profit to the managers. Another piece, the "High Mettled Racer," realised the proprietors of Astley's £12,000. He lived in intimacy with the most eminent men of his time, but passed the last few years of his life in comparative indigence. At the period of his death he was arranging and compiling a complete edition of his father's sea songs, by order of the Lords of the Admiralty, under the patronage of Lord Minto, for which he received a weekly stipend. Shortly before his death he had bestowed upon him £100 from the Royal Bounty Fund. He died at Pentonville, on September 16th, 1841, leaving children by each of two marriages. Thomas Dibdin's comedies, operas, and farces are very numerous. Many of them were composed for temporary purposes; and many others had little or no success; but there are a few which are still placed upon the stage.

Thomas Dibdin's father, Charles Dibdin, was born in 1745, at Southampton, near which place his grandfather, a considerable merchant, founded a village that bears his name. When Charles Dibdin was born, his mother had reached her fiftieth year, and he was her eighteenth child. He had a brother Thomas, twenty-nine years older than himself, on whose death he wrote the beautiful ballad, "Poor Tom Bowling." This gentleman was captain of an East Indiaman, and father of Thomas Frognall Dibdin, D.D., the most conspicuous English writer on Bibliography in the earlier half of the nineteenth century. Charles Dibdin died in July, 1814.[2]

At No. 30, in Myddelton-square, for many years resided the Rev. Jabez Bunting, D.D., who died on the 16th of June, 1858, aged seventy-nine. He had been fifty-nine years in the Wesleyan ministry, and occupied all the most prominent positions in the connexion; and had been described as the Hercules of modern Methodism. He was a native of Manchester, and had earned his high position in the ranks of his sect by the force of his natural talent and assiduous self-cultivation. He was educated by Dr. Percival, of Manchester, then eminent as a physician and literary man. He numbered among his early religious friends Dr. Adam Clarke[3] and Dr. Coke. He was a man of business views and habits, a good debater, and a clever preacher.

At No. 39, in this square, in the house now occupied by the Rev. Robert Maguire, for some years resided Stanley Lees Giffard, LL.D., a barrister and journalist. He was born about the year 1790, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. On the completion of his studies he came to London for the purpose of pursuing his profession of the law. After some practice as a barrister he became, in 1819, the editor of the "St. James's Chronicle," and in 1827 of the old "Standard," which was originated by him for the purpose of supplying the Protestant party of that time with a daily organ, which should occupy the *hiatus* left in the press by the defection of the "Courier," when that

[1] *Autobiography of T. Dibdin*, vol. ii., p. 323, 1828.
[2] *English Cyclopædia*, Biography, vol. ii., p. 579.
[3] *Vide* page 329.

journal adopted a new creed. Dr. Giffard was a ripe scholar, a diligent Hebraist, and an able Biblical critic. He was related by his first marriage to the widow of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, some years after whose decease Giffard married his cousin, by whom, as by his first wife, he had several children, who survived him. In 1857 he removed from Myddelton-square, and went to reside at Folkstone, Kent, where he died, on the 6th of November, 1858, at the advanced age of seventy. Dr. Giffard wrote several articles on public questions in the "Quarterly Review," and at one time was a leading contributor to the "Morning Herald." For upwards of forty years of his life he was a great book collector, but especially of works in illustration of the history of Ireland. "Since the time of Swift we have had no political writer, who, in force of style and genuine Saxon simplicity of language, has equalled Dr. Giffard."

MYLNE STREET.

This street is so named from William Chadwell Mylne, F.R.S., late engineer and architect of the New River Company, in whose service he was for about fifty years as chief engineer. For ten years previous to that appointment, he was assistant in the same employ to his father, Robert Mylne, C.E. Mr. W. C. Mylne died at Amwell, Herts, on Christmas-day, 1863, in his eighty-third year.

Robert Mylne, his father, was born in Edinburgh, January 4th, 1733.[1] His father, Thomas Mylne, was an architect and magistrate of that city, and was lineally descended from a family which, for ten successive generations, were master masons to the kings of Scotland. In early life Robert Mylne visited Italy, and for five years resided in Rome for the purpose of improving himself by study of the best models of art; and whilst in Italy he became a most distinguished pupil, and he was elected a member of the academies of St. Luke, Rome, and of Florence, and Bologna. Having made a tour of Europe he returned to England at a time when the erection of a bridge over the Thames at Blackfriars was contemplated. Seven years (1753-1760) were consumed in obtaining an act of Parliament to carry forward the work of Blackfriars-bridge, and in discussing the comparative merits of elliptical and semi-circular arches. Mylne, a then almost unknown Scotch engineer, who had recently returned from Rome, and established himself in the Metropolis, suggested the elliptical, and Thomas Simpson, the most celebrated mathematician of his day, the semi-circular arch. Gwyn also advocated the latter; and Dr. Johnson, his friend, wrote three several letters in the "Gazetteer," in opposition to Mylne. Notwithstanding the competition of about twenty others, the appointment of the architect of the bridge was given to the Scotchman. His success was owing, in a great measure, to the untiring exertions of his friend, John Paterson, then the City Solicitor, the original projector of the bridge. This gentleman, being the head of the anti-Wilkite party in the City, unwittingly occasioned the introduction of politics into the strife, which was rendered keener by the fact, that his protégé belonged to the same country as Lord Bute, then the first minister of the crown.

Amidst torrents of abuse and ridicule the unfortunate engineer prosecuted his labours. The first pile of the bridge was driven June 7th, 1760; and the first stone was laid October 31st, 1760. The bridge was made passable as a bridle road on June 19th, 1768; and finally opened for general traffic on November 18th, 1769; and was completed at a cost of £152,840 3s. 10d., being a little under the sum which Mylne had specified in his estimate. Just before the completion of the work, Churchill wrote in his "Ghost," book iv., the following lines, which show the popular feeling against Mylne and Paterson:—

> What of that Bridge, most wisely made
> To serve the purposes of trade,
> In the great mart of all this nation,
> By stopping up the navigation,

[1] There is a short notice of Robert Mylne in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xv., p. 740.

And to that sand bank adding weight
Which is already much too great?—
What of that Bridge, which, void of sense,
But well supply'd with impudence,
Englishmen, knowing not the Guild,
Thought they might have a claim to build,
Till Paterson, as white as milk,
As smooth as oil, as soft as silk,
In solemn manner had decreed,
That on the other side the Tweed,
Art, born and bred, and fully grown,
Was with one Mylne, a man unknown,
But grace, preferment, and renown,
Deserving, just arrived in Town:
One Mylne! an artist perfect quite,
Both in his own and country's right,
As fit to make a bridge as he,
With glorious Patavinity,
To build inscriptions, worthy found,
To lie for ever underground.

The concluding lines refer to the extraordinary Latin inscription to the honour of the first William Pitt, engraved on the foundation stone of the bridge, which was originally named after him. The author of it was Paterson, who by this unlucky scholastic effort exposed himself afresh to the shafts of his enemies. He was nicknamed Bushby Birch; and pamphlets and broadsides in prose and verse were showered upon him. Almost within a century the costly bridge, about which this strong controversy was waged, will have disappeared. At the present time Blackfriars-bridge, which has long been in an unsafe condition, is superseded by a temporary wooden one, which is at the side of it, and is now open to the public. The old bridge is being pulled down, and a new one will be erected in its stead.

There was a toll upon foot passengers using Blackfriars-bridge, of one halfpenny each on week days, and one penny on Sundays. These tolls were ultimately redeemed by Government, on January 22nd, 1785.

In the recent railway clearance on the east side of New Bridge-street, Blackfriars, the premises long known as the York Hotel were removed. Robert Mylne built this house for his own residence: on its southern face, in Little Bridge-street, was a medallion, with the initials, "R. M.," surmounted by his crest and the date MDCCLXXX. The walls of the principal rooms bore several medallions of classic figures, which Mylne might have derived from his professional tour abroad. The street was mostly built in 1765, when the Fleet Ditch was arched over. Mylne well planned his houses in Blackfriars, but many of them were altered and rebuilt for insurance offices.

Some time after the completion of the bridge Mylne presented to the British Museum a model of part of it, exhibiting a plan for a centre frame, invented by himself. In 1762 he was appointed engineer to the New River Company. In 1767 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1770 he married Mary Home, a sister of Mrs. John Hunter, so distinguished by her poetical genius. By this marriage he had nine children. He was appointed surveyor of St. Paul's Cathedral, which office he held for fifty years; and to him is due the noble memorial to Sir Christopher Wren, inscribed on a marble slab over the iron gates at the entrance to the choir:—

"Lector! Si monumentum requiris circumspice."
(Reader! if you seek a monument, look around.)

Mr. R. Mylne built Almack's Rooms, in King-street, St. James's. He died in his residence, at the New River Head, on the 5th of May, 1811, at the advanced age of seventy-nine, and his remains lie buried in the crypt of St. Paul's, near those of his illustrious predecessor, Wren. Robert Mylne left a memorial behind him in the Greyfriars Cemetery, Perth. On the inner face of the north wall

there is this inscription :—"Near this spot lies John Mylne, Master-mason to James VI., who, about two centuries ago, rebuilt the ancient bridge over the Tay, opposite the High Street, which a dreadful inundation swept away, xiv. October, MDCXXI.—Robert Mylne, architect, erected this stone, to restore and perpetuate the memory of his ancestors, MDCCLXXIV." On the ground below, within iron rails, there is what may have been the topstone of a table monument, bearing these lines :—

This stone entombes the dust of famous Mill,
Renounéd cheifly in his tyme for skill
In architecture : his learn'd art did lay
The spatious arches of the bridge of Tay,
Which is dimolisht by a mighty spate,
So was his fabricke by the course of fate
Six lustres since, and more : his progeny
Succeiding to that art, there sire outvy ;
And this asign'd, his worth deservéd on(e)
Of jet or marble, not of common stone.
"TAM ARTE × QUAM MARTE."
Seven foot of ground, clay flour, clay wall,
Serve both for chamber, now, and hall,
To Master Mill, whose squr-builé brain
Could ten Escurialls well containe.
Whill hee breath'd lyfe ; yet in his sonne
And sonn's sone, he leves two for one,
Who to advance Mill's art and fame,
Make stocks and stones speak out his name.

The grandson referred to in the epitaph, Robert Mylne, of Balfargie, master mason to Charles II., rebuilt the Cross of Perth, 1668-9; and we learn from Mr. Cant (notes to Adamson's "Muses' Threnodie") that a progenitor was distinguished by James III., a great patron and encourager of masonry, so that the architectural line stretches down from the third James to the third George.

[1] Meaning an ingenious artist who understands every science.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARK, CLERKENWELL.—Continued.

The New River—London Conduits—Requirements of Water in London—Projects for Supplying same—Russel's Scheme—Mauriee's Scheme—The Corporation of London empowered by Act of Parliament to bring Water to London—Second Act passed—Nothing done thereunder—Hugh Myddelton's offer—Transfer of the Corporation's powers to him—Commencement of the New River—Amwell Spring—The Course of the River—Obstacles in the way—Delays—Time for completion of the work extended—Application for help made to the King—His assistance—The Water is brought to Clerkenwell—The Inauguration Ceremony—Lease of a Service-pipe—Water Carriers—Incorporation of the New River Shareholders—Appointment of Officers—Laws protecting the Water—Grant of the Surveyorship—Extracts from the State Papers relating to the New River—The King's Share granted to Hugh Myddelton—Property in the New River how divided—Proposed River in rivalry of the New River—The River found to be insufficient for the wants of London—Lea River Water Borrowed—Acts of Parliament relating thereto—Agreement made with the Lea River Company—The Gathering Ground—Measurements and general description of the New River—The Boarded River—New River Head—The Ponds—New River Head House—Board Room—The Water House—Plot to damage the New River—Former Meeting-places of the Company's Officers—Dividends paid by the Company—Value of Shares—Seal and Motto of the Company—Theobalds—Progresses of James I.—Accident to him—Robbery at the New River Head—Large Trout caught in the River—Rumour that the River had been poisoned—Vulgar opinion that the New River would not freeze—Bathing in the River—Bursting of a Pipe—Sir Hugh Myddelton's Biography—His Will—His Monument at Amwell—His Statue on Islington-green—Inauguration thereof—His Portrait in Goldsmiths' Hall—His Arms—Myddelton's Family—Pensions Granted to them—Owen-row and Owen-street:—An Hermitage on the Site thereof—Appointment of a Priest thereto by the Knights Hospitallers—Richard Cloudesley's Gift to it—Dissolution of the Establishment—Thomas Wilkes—His Daughter Alice—Casualty to her—Becoming Lady Owen, established Almshouses and Grammar School—MS. relating to Dame Alice Owen—Her Tomb and Epitaph—Royal Letters Patent relating to her Endowment—Her Devise to the Brewers' Company—The Original Almshouses—New ones built—Description thereof—Allowance to the Inmates—Gifts to the Charity—The Master's Stipend—St. John-street-road:—Infested by Thieves—Lady Owen's Almshouses—Old Red Lion Tavern—Thomas Paine—Clown Tavern—Golden Ball Tavern—Goose Farm—Dibdin Family—Vincent de Cleve—Rising Sun Tavern—Stokes's Amphitheatre—Sports there—Announcements of Fights—Market Cross—Wynyatt-street.

THE NEW RIVER.[1]

Water was first brought to London in pipes in 21st Henry III., 1236-7. Nine conduits were erected in 1238 to supply the City. In 1285, the conduit in Cheapside, which had been fifty years in building, was completed. This was castellated with stone and cisterned with lead, and was situate at the east end of Cheap, at the junction with Bucklersbury, opposite Mercers' Hall, then the hospital of St. Thomas d'Acona.

The following seems to be the best list which can be obtained showing the date of the erection of the other London conduits:—

"A.D. 1401, the 'Tun,' in Cornhill, so called from a prison of that name, adjacent. It was

[1] The Editor offers his grateful acknowledgments to the gentlemen composing the Board of the New River Company for the information on the subject of the river, given by them to him for the purposes of this history.

originally a spring, but at the above date was made a cistern of sweet water, conveyed in pipes from Tyburn.

"A.D. 1423, Billingsgate Conduit, opposite the market, where Sir Richard Whittington built a reservoir for the use of the market people. This can be scarcely called a conduit, but a spring running from a 'boss,' in Boss-alley, so named therefrom. A spring which formed part of this water supply may still be seen, together with portions of a Roman residence, in the basement of the present Coal Exchange.

"A.D. 1423, Cripplegate Conduit, St. Giles's-churchyard. Here Sir Richard Whittington made a 'boss of clear water' in the walls of the churchyard; and in 1438, Sir William Eastfield brought water here from Highbury. Near this was a spring called Crowder's Well. In 1433, the priors and canons of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, constructed a conduit for the supply of the monastery, bringing the water from their estate at Canonbury.

"A.D. 1438, Fleet-street Conduit, opposite Shoe-lane, built by Sir William Eastfield, lord mayor this year. This conduit was supplied from Paddington. Stow says that this had a fair tower of stone, was garnished with images of St. Christopher, &c., 'with sweet sounding bells before them, whereupon, by an engine placed in the towers, they divers hours of the day and night chimed such a hymn as was appointed.'

"Aldermanbury Conduit, opposite the south side of St. Mary's Church. This was also erected under the will of Sir W. Eastfield; was destroyed by the Great Fire, and rebuilt; but was removed early in the eighteenth century.

"A.D. 1478, Fleet Bridge Conduit, at the foot of the bridge over the Fleet river.[1] This was erected to receive the overflow of the conduit opposite Shoe-lane.

"A.D. 1491, Gracechurch-street Conduit, nearly midway between Fenchurch-street and Eastcheap.

"A.D. 1498, Holborn Conduit, at the foot of Snow-hill. This was re-built by William Lamb,—the founder of Lamb's Chapel, near Cripplegate,—a citizen and member of the Clothworkers' Company,—in 1577, at a cost of £1,500. The conduit was supplied from a head near the Foundling Hospital, on the east side of Lamb's Conduit-street, close to where the 'Lamb Tavern' now stands.[2]

"A.D. 1500, Stock's Market Conduit, at the Lombard-street corner of the site of the present Mansion House. After its destruction by the Great Fire, the conduit was rebuilt at the cost of Sir Robert Viner, lord mayor.

"A.D. 1505, Bishopsgate Conduit, at the junction of the Wards Within and Without.

"A.D. 1528, Coleman-street Conduit, at the junction with London Ward.

"A.D. 1535, Aldgate Conduit on the site of the present Aldgate Pump. This was originally a well called St. Michael's, converted into a conduit with sweet water from Hackney. This conduit was also destroyed at the Great Fire, and the cost of regaining the water and putting the place into order, is charged at £452 15s. 10d. In this instance, as in many others, the conduit seems to have been erected on some well-known spring or other water supply. The water which has supplied the draughts at Aldgate Pump is from the ancient spring. Many will not be sorry that those City draughts are no longer available.

"Lothbury Conduit, at the west end of St. Margaret's Church.

"A.D. 1568, Dowgate Conduit, opposite Skinners' Hall, first erected in 1508. Stow says that there was in his day recently erected an engine to convey Thames water into Dowgate Conduit. In 1574, the channel from this conduit was so swollen by a storm of rain, that a youth of eighteen was carried by it into the Thames, and was lost in spite of all endeavours.

"A.D. 1582, the Cornhill Standard, at the junction of Cornhill with Gracechurch, Leadenhall, and Bishopsgate streets. This was erected by Peter Maurise, a Dutchman, who conveyed Thames water over the steeple of St. Magnus, London-bridge, by an 'artificial forcier,' to the north-west corner of London-wall, whence it flowed to the Standard, and poured out by four mouths opposite the respective streets. This water supply ran only during the ebb tide, and became at times a nuisance

[1] *Vide* pages 377-379

[2] *Vide* pages 379-382

by reason of its flooding the streets. Pepys refers in his Diary to this conduit eighty years after its erection. It was reduced to ruins by the Great Fire of 1666, and does not seem to have been replaced.

"A.D. 1610, Aldersgate Conduit, without the gate; the precise spot not known.

"Soper-lane Conduit; the date of its erection uncertain; and the same may be said of the Conduit on Old Fish-street-hill. This latter was, however, cisterned with lead, and castellated with stone, for receiving Thames water.

"From the above notes, we may infer that, during the Roman occupation of London, there was a sufficient supply of wholesome water from springs and rivulets, so that the works being unnecessary, we find here no traces of those magnificent aqueducts which are to be met with in various parts of the Continent of Europe. Up to 1236-7, the natural water supplies seem to have been the only means of providing water for the domestic use of the Londoners. Then, from the beginning and towards the end of the fifteenth century, it became needful, in consequence of the increased population, to procure water from other sources. Afterwards the Dutchman's water supply, and Sir Hugh Myddelton's New River water were obtained."[1]

During the reigns of Elizabeth and James many schemes were projected for supplying London with water, the conduits resorted to for that purpose being then found insufficient for the increasing wants of an extending metropolis.[2] London had so increased in magnitude, and its population had become so numerous, that the then existing water supply was found inadequate to the daily requirements of the people, notwithstanding, says an old chronicler, the "sixteene conduits and the great supply from the most delicate and serviceable river of Thames." Moreover the constancy of the supply from these sources was threatened by the springs becoming intermittent in dry seasons. Several projects for furnishing the inhabitants of London with water were brought under the notice of the Government. The first design of bringing a river of water to the northern parts of London originated in the thirteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth, when an Act of Parliament was passed for bringing a river from any part of Middlesex or Hertfordshire to the north side of the metropolis, within the space of ten years,[3] but which statute was never acted upon. About the year 1580, as Stow informs us, a person of the name of Russel communicated to Lord Burleigh a project for bringing the river of Uxbridge, in the county of Middlesex, to the north side of London, by means of a geometrical instrument; and the Lord Treasurer was so much pleased with the design, that he drew with his own hand in Russel's paper the proposed river and the situation of the towns adjacent. The scheme, however, was abandoned, probably on account of the enormous expenditure of capital that it would have entailed.

In 1581 or 1582, Peter Maurise, Maurice, or Morice, a Dutchman, obtained from the City a lease of the first arch of London-bridge on the north side, and erected a water-wheel to be worked by the tide, and a set of force-pumps to raise Thames water for the supply of the neighbourhood. The water was raised to the top of a wooden building, one hundred and twenty feet high, and passed from thence through pipes to supply the houses in Thames-street, New Fish-street-hill, and Gracechurch-street, as far as the Standard, on Cornhill. The water which was to spare after supplying the before-named streets flowed from the Standard through four pipes branching to Bishopsgate, Aldgate, the Bridge, and Walbrook, which supplied the dwelling-houses and cleansed the gutters in these streets. The quantity of water raised was equal to about three millions one hundred and seventy thousand imperial barrels per annum.[4] "The river-pumping leases continued in the family of the Morices until 1701, when the then owner sold his rights to Richard Soams for £38,000, and by him they were afterwards transferred to the New River Company at a still higher price."[5]

We read in Ben Jonson's "Every man in his Humour," 1598, "We have water companies now instead of water-carriers."

In 1605, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of London were empowered by Act of Parliament (3 Jac. I. cap. 18) to bring a "fresh stream of water to the north parts of the city of

[1] *Builder*, vol. xxi., p. 902, No. 1089. [2] Nelson's *Islington*. 1811. [3] Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 18.
[4] *Observations on the Supply of Water to the Metropolis*. [5] Smiles's *Lives of the Engineers*, vol. i., p. 89.

London, from the springs of Amwell and Chadwell, and other springs in the county of Hertford, not far distant from the same, by means of a trench of the breadth of ten feet and not above, on condition of their maintaining and preserving the same; making satisfaction to the owners of the ground through which the new cut or river should be made, and making and maintaining convenient bridges and ways for the passage of the king's subjects over the said river." Not being quite satisfied with this act, in the following year the citizens applied to Parliament, and got a second act passed (4 Jac. I. cap. 12), explanatory of the former, and vesting them with power "to cause in places where need might be, the water to be conveyed in a trunk or vault of brick or stone inclosed, and if necessary raised upon arches rather than in an open trench or sewer." In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610, *temp.* James I., mention is made of an abstract, dated May 26th, 1607, of an Act of Parliament, 4 Jac. I. c. 12, relative to the New River, explaining that of 3 Jac. I. c. 18. From the supineness and want of energy on the part of the Common Council, who were loath to invest any of their wealth in what they afterwards considered a doubtful speculation, the powers granted them by parliament lay dormant for several years, the whole scheme "being branded with a general voice of impossibility," and the people remaining desperate for want of water. "From an entry in the journals of the corporation, dated the 14th October, 1606, it appears that one William Inglebert petitioned the court for liberty to bring the water from the above springs to the northern parts of the City 'in a trench or trenches of brick.' The petition was 'referred,' but nothing further came of it."[1]

"In March, 1608, one Captain Edmond Colthurst petitioned the Court of Aldermen for permission to enter upon the work;[2] but it turned out that the probable cost was far beyond the petitioner's means, without the pecuniary help of the corporation, and that being withheld, the project fell to the ground. After this, one Edward Wright is said to have actually begun the works; but they were suddenly suspended, and the citizens of London were as far from their supply of pure water as ever."[3]

On the 28th of March, 1609, Mr. Hugh Myddelton, a native of Denbigh, and citizen and goldsmith of London, at whose instigation the City had applied for the two before-mentioned acts, magnanimously offered to the Court of Common Council to commence this great work within the space of two months, on condition that they transferred to him the powers they had obtained from Parliament; this they consented to most willingly, and the transfer was made by letter of attorney on the first of April ensuing, and this was further confirmed by indentures made between the parties, and executed on the 21st of the same month. Then "Master Myddelton, with his choice men of art and painful labourers, set roundly to this business." Having made diligent search into the depth of all difficulties, and being invested with legal authority, he commenced a work, which, considering the imperfect mechanical appliances of the time, was one of a most stupendous character. After a minute survey of the principal springs in the counties of Hertford and Middlesex, he selected those of Amwell and Chadwell, which were situated about two miles apart, and little more than twenty miles from London. Howe says, "This spring (Amwell) bubbleth up in the hearte of the towne of Amwell, at the foote of a double steepe hill, and is inferior to the other for abundance, yet superior to it for the excellancy of the waters, which, heretofore sporting itself upon a playne bed of gravell, was wont wantonly to wash the peebles with her christal waters (not above one inche in deepnesse), so, as careless of her own worth, to bury her pearls in the lap of the Lea; but now, being taught to esteem better of herselfe by him who hath raised her name to dignitie, hath been pleased to view herselfe in a faire square pool (at his great charge contrived to that purpose), and there sportfully to wrastle with her sister Chadwell, to try who can outstrip the other in running swiftest to offer their service to our mother cittie." From the report of Mr. Telford on the water supply of the metropolis, made in February 1834, we learn that, "In the valley of the Lea, in the neighbourhood of Ware, two singularly copious springs issue from the foot of the chalk hills. The upper and greater is named the Chadwe

[1] Smiles's *Lives of the Engineers*, vol. i., p. 90.
[2] *Records of the City of London*, 6th James I.
[3] Smiles's *Lives of the Engineers*, vol. i., p. 93.

spring; the other, which is below the town of Ware, the Amwell. The aqueduct is thirty-seven miles in length to the reservoir at Islington, which is eighty-four feet above the River Thames." [1]

To unite the two springs, and to convey their waters to the metropolis, was a work of no mean difficulty in those days, and Myddelton found it expedient, in order to avoid many natural obstacles, to conduct the stream to London by a circuitous route of about thirty-eight miles. "The land over which it was to pass," says Howe, "was in some places oozy and muddy, in other places extreame hard and rockey, where he was constrained to cut his trench thirtie foot deep, and in diuers other low and uncertain grounds compelled to add thereto a second strength by force of art; and at the end of Enfield great park, for the length of about a quarter of a mile, it is carryed with great art over a valley between two high hills through an open trough neere five foote wide, and two foote deepe, supported by arches of wood, fixed in the ground, some whereof are four and twentie foote in heighte." The projector had not only these physical obstacles to surmount, but also the factious opposition of landowners and other influential and interested persons, who pertinaciously resisted this "new cut" as an infringement upon their territorial rights, although ultimately it served to improve and enhance the value of their lands—so short-sighted and impolitic are the men whose spirit of conservatism leads them to oppose every scheme of utility of which they cannot see the immediate benefit. The agitation against the measure was next taken up in Parliament. On June 20th, 1610, a Bill was introduced to repeal the Act authorizing the construction of the New River. A committee was appointed to view it, and report upon it in the next session; but as Parliament was prorogued in July, and did not meet again for four years, the subject is not again mentioned in the journals of the house.[2] In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1611—1618, *temp.* James I., mention is made of the "Effect of a proposed Bill to repeal the Acts 3 and 4 James I. for bringing the New River into London; stating the objections against those Acts, and answers to the objections."

The delays occasioned by this opposition, to which was joined the derision of the vulgar, obliged Myddelton, at the end of twelve months, to apply to the Court of Common Council for an extension of time beyond the stipulated four years. Five years were accordingly granted him; but afterwards, in the year following, not thinking this sufficient time, he renewed his application, and was allowed seven years for the accomplishment of his great work, which then progressed favourably for a time, upwards of six hundred labourers being employed upon it, each receiving half-a-crown per diem. These and other inevitable expenses so exhausted Myddelton's private wealth, that by the time the channel had reached Enfield he discovered to his chagrin that he could not proceed further without pecuniary aid, and for this he applied to the citizens, expecting to find them willing to encourage a work "so directly calculated for their immediate good;" but they declined to risk their capital in so hazardous an enterprise. Half the shares in the undertaking were offered to the Corporation, who refused them, under a plea that they would by accepting injure the water-bearers, who were then very numerous.[3] Myddelton next made application to the King, who agreed to pay half the whole expense, past and present, and to allow the river to pass over the royal manors and lands, without compounding for the same, on condition of a moiety of the concern being made over to him. This Myddelton consented to, provided the interest was kept in a subject and not in His Majesty. This was agreed to by the King, and ratified by grant, dated May 2nd, 1612.[4] "The great addition this stream made to the pleasure of Theobalds encouraged the monarch, who resided there, to have the design compleated. It ran through his park and gardens, which made them more delightful, as it does wherever it

[1] In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv., p. 350, is an account of the discovery of some Roman remains at Ware. The account is contained in a letter which was written by William Chadwell Mylne, Esq., F.R.S., to Henry Ellis, Esq., the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, at a meeting of which society, held on November 17th, 1831, the letter was read. It is dated from the New River Head, October 22nd, 1831, and commences thus:—"On opening ground for the purpose of building a new lock in the valley of the river Lea, about four hundred yards north-west of Ware Priory (in the county of Herts), and fifty yards distant from the left bank of the ancient course of the river, there was found, on or about the 5th of August last, at the depth of three feet, in a stratum of peat, the skeleton of a man of ordinary stature." The letter enters into full particulars of the discovery, and also describes various Roman articles which were found.

[2] Smiles's *Lives of the Engineers*, vol. i., p. 112.

[3] Malcolm, iv., p. 492.

[4] Lib. 8, Jac. 1.

passeth."[1] In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1660-1661, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made of a grant, dated February, 1661, to George, Duke of Albemarle, Anne, his wife, and their heirs, of the manor and park of Theobalds, County Hertford, excepting mines royal, and the passage of the New River. The money was advanced by the Crown as wanted, in instalments, and the gross amount paid to Myddelton out of the King's exchequer, between Easter, 1611, and Michaelmas, 1614, was £7347 4s. 11½d. It appears by the books of the exchequer that the following sums were paid to Mr. Myddelton, on the King's account :—

At Easter, 1611	£569	17	11½
At Michaelmas, in ditto	2242	19	5½
At Easter, Anno 1613	1000	0	0
At Michaelmas, in ditto	2034	7	6½
On the 28th of September, 1614	1500	0	0
Sum Total	£7347	4	11½

Maitland says :—"Whether the above sum was all the money paid by the King on account of the New River I cannot ascertain, because the books immediately following the last payment are missing in the Pell Office."[2] In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1611-1618, *temp.* James I., mention is made of an account dated April, 1616, of moneys paid from the Exchequer to Hugh Myddelton, goldsmith of London, for charges in bringing the water from Amwell and Chadwell to London, by virtue of Letters Patent, dated May 2nd, 1612, the total being £2262 9s. 6½d. In the same Calendar we find, under the last mentioned date, a "grant to Hugh Myddelton of licence to perform all acts to further the bringing of springs and waters into the City of London." There is the following item in an account of the expenses of James I., during the first fourteen years of his reign, published 1651:—"His Majesty's charge towards bringing of the New River for the New Water Works, £7856." The total payments out of the Treasury on account of the New River Works amount to £8609 14s. 6d.

There appears to have been a rival to the New River, for we find in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1611-1618, *temp.* James I., mention made of a letter from Edward Hayes to Salisbury, dated September, 1611, in which the writer makes professions of devotion, and begs leave to continue his water works, which were better than the Amwell waters. He says the City needs both Mr. Middleton's supply and his.

Under royal patronage the New River work proceeded without further interruption, and on the 29th of September, 1613, the water was permitted to flow into the large reservoir at the place since called the New River Head, Clerkenwell, which had been formed for its reception, it having been previously a ducking pond,—"an open, idell pool."[3]

The ceremonial observed at the inauguration of this great work, which had taken five years to complete, and had cost £500,000, is pleasingly narrated by an old chronicler :—"On Michaelmasse-day, in anno 1613, being the day when Sir Thomas Myddelton, brother to the said Hugh Myddelton, was elected Lord Maior of London for the yeere ensuing, in the afternoone of the same daye, Sir John Swinerton, Knt. and Lord Maior of London, accompanied with the said Sir Thomas, Sir Henry Montague, Knt., Recorder of London, and many of the worthy Aldermen, rode to see the cisterne, and first issuing of the water thereinto, which was performed in this manner :—

"A troope of labourers, to the number of sixty or more, well apparelled, and wearing green Monmouth caps, all alike, carryed spades, shovels, pickaxes, and such like instruments of laborious imployment, marching after drummes twice or thrice about the cisterne, presented themselves before the mount, where the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and a worthy company beside, stood to behold them; and one man (in behalf of all the rest) delivered this speech :—

"Long have we labour'd, long desir'd, and pray'd
For this great work's perfection ; and by th' ayd

[1] Salmon's *Hertfordshire*, fol. 1728, p 21.
[2] Maitland's *London*, 1739, Bk. v., p 629.
[3] Howe's *Annales*, 1631.

Of Heav'n, and good men's wishes, 'tis at length
Happily conquer'd, by cost, art, and strength,
And after five yeeres deare expence in dayes,
Travaile, and payne, beside the infinite wayes
Of malice, envy, false suggestions,
Able to daunt the spirits of mighty ones
In wealth and courage. This, a work so rare,
Onely by one man's industry, cost, and care,
Is brought to blest effect, so much withstood;
His only ayme the Cities' generall good.
And where (before) many unjust complaints,
Enviously seated, caused oft restraints,
Stops, and great crosses, to our master's charge,
And the work's hindrance, Favour now at large
Spreads herself open to him, and commends,
To admiration, both his paines and ends,
(The King's most gracious love), Perfection draws
Favour from Princes, and from all applause.
Then, worthy Magistrates, to whose content
(Next to the State) all this great care was bent;
And for the publicke good (which grace requires),
Your loves and furtherance chiefly he desires,
To cherish these proceedings, which may give
Courage to some that may hereafter live,
To practice deedes of goodnesse and of fame,
And gladly light their actions by his name.

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Now for the fruits then: —Flow forth, precious spring,
So long and dearely sought for, and now bring
Comfort to all that love thee: loudly sing,
And with thy chrystal murmurs strook together
Bid all thy wel wishers welcome hither.

"At which words the flood-gates flew open, the streame ranne gallantly into the cisterne, drummes and trumpets sounding in a triumphall manner, and a brave peale of chambers gave full issue to the intended entertainment."

George Bickham published an engraving, entitled "Sir Hugh Middelton's Glory, or the First Issuing of the Water into the New River Head, before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and a Worthy Company, who stood to behold it. Humbly inscribed to the Directors of the New River Company by George Bickham." This engraving represents the waters flowing into a round reservoir, about which are grouped various persons, conspicuous amongst whom is the Lord Mayor on a white horse. On his left is Sir Hugh Myddelton, on the right is his brother, between Sir Thomas and Sir Henry Montague, the Recorder. The following is appended to the engraving:—

"Mr. Middelton undertook to bring a river from Chadwell and Amwell to the north side of London, near Islington, where he made a large cistern to receive it; began 20th February, 1608, finished in five years. It was a work of admirable art, pains, and industry, by reason that all the grounds are not of the like nature, some oozy and very muddy, some stiff and cragy, and stony. The depth of ye trench descended in some places full 30 feet, whereas in other places it was conveyed over valleys in a trough, being borne up by wooden arches, some of them fixed in the ground very deep, rising in heighth above 23 feet.

"Being brought to the intended cistern, but not as yet the water admitted entrance into it, on Michaelmas-day, 1613, being the day when Sir Thos. Middelton, brother to the said Mr. Hugh Middelton, was elected Mayor of the City of London, the Mayor of the City of London, accompanied with Sir Thos. and Sir Henry Montague, Recorder, and many of the Aldermen, rode to see the cistern, and first issuing of the river thereinto, which was performed in this manner:—A company of labourers, to the number of sixty, well drest, and wearing green Monmouth caps, carrying spades, shovels, pickaxes, and such like instruments, march'd after drums, twice or thrice about the cistern, then presented themselves before the mount, where the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and a worthy company of citizens stood to behold them; and one of them (in behalf of the rest) spoke the following speech:—

"Clerk of the works, reach me the book to show,
How many Arts from such a labour flow.

First here's the Overseer, this try'd man,
An ancient soldier and an artizan.
The Clerk next him, Mathematician,
The master of the Timber Work takes place.
Next after these the Measurer, in like ease,
Bricklayer and Engineer, and after these
The Borer and the Pavier, then it shows
The Labourers, next Keeper of Amwell Head ;
The Walkers last, so all their names are read.
Yet these but parcels of six hundred more,
That at one time have been employ'd before.
Yet these in sight, and all the rest will say
That all the week they had their ready pay.
Now for the fruits then : Flow forth precious spring,
So long and dearly sought for, and now bring
Comfort to all that love thee, loudly sing,
And with thy Chrystal murmurs strook together,
Bid all thy true well wishers welcome hither.

"At which words the flood-gates flew open, the stream ran gallantly into the cistern, drums and trumpets sounding in triumphant manner, and a peal of chambers gave full issue to the intended entertainment."

Parker, Bishop of Oxford, in his "Reproof to the Rehearsal Transposed, in a Discourse to its Authour," London, 1673, page 250, says:—"There was nothing to be found amongst them but Joy and Jubilee, the 15th of March was not a more Jovial day, neither was there a greater destruction of cheesecakes in Islington at the opening of the New River." Islington was in early times much celebrated for its cakes and cream; thus in Withers's "Britain's Remembrancer," 12mo, 1628, we read:—

——Hogsdone, Islington, and Tothnam-court,
For cakes and creame had then no small resort.

A work of considerable difficulty had yet to be accomplished with the New River, namely, the distribution of the water to the various parts of the metropolis in which it was needed; "this was done," says an old writer, "with all possible diligence, by pipes of elme and lead, but for the most part elme, from which pipes many high streats and lanes within the city are plentifully served."[1] In Hughson's "History of London," vol. vi., p. 358, is the copy of a lease for twenty-one years, granted in 1616, by Hugh Myddelton to a citizen and his wife "of a pipe or quill of half-inch bore for the service of their yarde and kitchine by means of two swan-necked cockes," in consideration of 26s. 8d., the like sum to be paid yearly. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1629-1631, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a lease dated October 11th, 1630, from Mary Allanson, of Fleet-street, widow, to Thomas Beadle, of Shoe-lane, London, "coque," of a messuage called the Crown, in Shoe-lane, in the parish of St. Bride's, for two consequetive terms of seven years, if the lessor or her son, Edmund Allanson, should so long live, at the yearly rent of £30. In a schedule of fixtures attached are enumerated a "pipe of lead that bringeth Middleton's water, with a cock belonging to it." In the Calendar for 1631-1633, mention is made of a report dated April 23rd, 1631, from the Governors of Christ's Hospital to the Council, "of the means and revenues of the hospital, and how the same are laid out, being an account of the receipts and expenses for the last year." Among the payments is "New River water £4." We read in the fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of Charities, up to 1825, p. 112, that Stafford's Almshouses for ten people in 1651 stood on half an acre taken out of a field called Liquorpond-field. Thirty shillings per annum was then paid to the New River Company for the water taken in there. Such as lived at a distance from the mains were supplied by the water carriers, who carried the water in wooden pails slung from a yoke across their shoulders, and attracted notice by crying aloud, "Any New River water here." In Tempest's "Cryes of London," 1711, is an

[1] E. Howe's *Annales.*

engraving of one of these old water bearers; beneath the picture is inscribed "New River water." "*Qui veut de l'eau.*" "The cry is scarce," says Hone, in 1827, "though scarcely extinct in the environs of London. I well remember the prejudices of old-fashioned people in favour of water brought to the door, and their sympathy with the complaints of the water bearer. 'Fresh water, fair New River water! None of your pipe sludge!' vociferated the water bearer. 'Ah dear!' cried his customers, 'Ah dear! Well what'll the world come to? They won't let people live at all by and by. Here they're breaking up the ground, and we shall be all under water some day or other with their goings on. I'll stick to the carrier so long as he has a pailfull and I've a penny, and when we haven't we must all go to the workhouse together.' This was the talk and reasoning of many honest people, within my recollection, who preferred taxing themselves to the daily payment of a penny and often twopence to the water carrier, in preference to having 'Company's water' at eighteen shillings per annum." [1]



ANCIENT WATER CARRIER.

On the 21st of June, 1619, the shareholders were incorporated by the king, under the title of "The Governor and Company of the New River, brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London." Sir Hugh Myddelton was appointed the first governor; Robert Bateman, of London, skinner, deputy-governor; Rowland Backhouse, of London, mercer, treasurer; all to continue in their offices until Tuesday after the feast of All Saints, 1620. William Lewin to be clerk for life. By the terms of the Royal Charter, on the Tuesday next after the feast of All Saints, or within ten days after, seven or more of the adventurers, whereof the governor or deputy-governor is to be one, are appointed to meet to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and treasurer; and after the decease of the clerk the adventurers are to elect another to continue during the pleasure of the Company. The charter empowers the directors to meet as often as convenient for the purpose of transacting the business of the company. It also makes it a penal offence for any person to cast into the river earth, rubbish, soil, gravel, stones, dogs, cats, cattle, carrion, &c.; and prohibits, "under penalty of the king's displeasure," persons from washing clothes, wool, &c., in it, and from conveying thereto any sink, sewer, ditch, &c.; and forbids the planting of sallows, willows, or elms within five yards of it; and further it makes illegal any attempt to bring to London, Westminster, or Southwark any river or pipe without the company's consent; and finally it grants to the governor and company the river, to hold as of the manor of East Greenwich, in Kent.

In the Collection of State Papers preserved at the New Record Office is a grant, dated the 19th of November, 1619, to Sir Giles Mompesson, of the Surveyorship of the profits of the company of the New River, brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London, with authority to be present at all the meetings of the company, to inspect their accounts, &c., and a grant to him of £200 per annum from the king's moiety of the profits of the said river.[2]

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1629-1631, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a mandate, dated from Whitehall, January, 1630, from the king to Attorney-General Heath, to

[1] *Table Book*, vol. i., p. 734.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, temp.* James I., 1619.

prepare a new commission of inquiry into exacted fees, to be addressed to Sir Hugh Myddelton and others. And on April 17th, in the same year, the king issued a commission directed to Sir Hugh and others, to inquire into exacted fees and offices innovated since the 11th of Elizabeth. In the Calendar for 1631-1633 we find a letter, dated October 4th, 1631, from Justinian Povey[1] to ———. Sir Hugh Myddelton and the writer pray him to make a *constat* under Sir Edward Wardour's hand for £9262 9s. 6d. received out of the Exchequer between 1612 and 1617, according to an account now given, towards bringing the New River from Ware to London, Sir Hugh being now on his account for the same. On October 17th, 1631, Sir James Weston wrote to Sir Edward Wardour, to make a *constat* of sums received by or for Sir Hugh Myddelton, towards the King's part of the charge of the waterworks of the New River from Chadwell and Amwell to London. On November 4th, in the same year, a warrant, dated from Westminster, was granted to remit to Sir Hugh Myddelton £1290 0s. 4d. due to the king for his moiety of the arrears of rents of the waterworks from Amwell and Chadwell to London, Sir Hugh Myddelton having undertaken to Sir James Weston, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, to pay a constant yearly rent of £500 from Michaelmas, 1630. About the year 1631 the affairs of the New River Company became so much embarrassed that it was thought likely that a further call upon the shareholders would be made. Charles I., who then held the royal moiety, was therefore led to dispose of his interest in the concern, lest it might prove burdensome to his Exchequer. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1631-1633, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a grant dated November 15th, 1631, to Sir Hugh Myddelton of the King's moiety of the benefit of the New River Water, on payment of £500 per annum to the crown, £500 for the past year, and an annuity to Mr. Ball for his life, as surveyor of the waterworks, together with a covenant that the council shall assist the New River Company and punish offenders against their privileges. The King covenanted that he would not grant or assign his interest, but that it should for ever continue annexed to the crown. Mention is made in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1611-1618, *temp.* James I., of a grant dated January 19th, 1618, to Edward Ball, above-named, of the office of surveyor of the New River brought from Ware to London, for life.

Sir Hugh Myddelton made the before-named annual rental payable from the king's shares, and burdened only a share and a half of the adventurers' moiety. In consequence of this arrangement, and the exclusion of the holders of the king's shares from the direction, the shares belonging to this moiety are of less value than those of the adventurers. Some of the latter shares have been, by alienation, divided into fractional parts, and more than once one-sixth of an adventurer's share has been sold. In the year 1711, the Lord Chancellor Cowper decreed that the holders of two or more fractional parts of a share might jointly depute a person to represent them in the government of the company, and the person became eligible for election whenever a vacancy occurred in the board of direction.

The property of the New River is divided into seventy-two shares; thirty-six of these were originally vested in Sir Hugh Myddelton, who, through poverty, was obliged to part with them, when they were divided among various persons. These shares are called adventurers' shares.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1660-1661, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made of an order dated from Whitehall, October, 1660, "for a grant to John Robinson, of London, of £500 yearly, for thirty-one years, payable to the king from the warden and company of Middleton's waterworks, that is the New River Company." In the same Calendar we find a grant, dated February, 1661, to John Robinson, of London, for thirty-one years, of the yearly rent of £500, payable by Sir Hugh Myddelton, in consideration of a grant made to him by the late King of a moiety of the profits arising from the New River, brought from Chadwell and Amwell, &c. In the Calendar for 1661-1662, we find a grant in June, 1661, to John Buckworth, merchant, on surrender of John Robinson, both of London, of the rent of £500, payable from the benefit of the New River, brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London. In the Calendar for 1663-1664, we find a reference, dated from Whitehall, July 30th, 1663, to Lord Treasurer Southampton, on the petition of Sir Hugh Myddelton, Bart., for a reversion after Buckworth, of the rent of £500 per annum, reserved to the crown out of the profits on

[1] *Vide* pages 16, 265, 267.

the New River water, which his grandfather first undertook to bring to London. And in the same Calendar we find a petition, dated June 13th, 1664, of Eleanor, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers and Lady Barbara Villiers, his widow, to the King, for a grant to the former, in reversion after Buckworth, of the rental of £500, due from the New River Company; her father died in Ireland in the late king's service, and her mother was so encumbered with debts that His Majesty's gifts have enabled her only to discharge them without further provision. With reference thereon to the Lord Treasurer, and his report, July 1st, against the petition, as passing from the crown an inheritance already in lease for almost thirty-one years. In the same Calendar we find a warrant, dated December 21st, 1664, for a grant to Eleanor, daughter of the late Sir Edward Villiers, of the rent of £500 a year, arising out of the New River waterworks, for forty-one years, in reversion after a previous patent for a grant of the same, for thirty-one years, to John Robinson. There was an additional clause stating that the said patent was granted to John Buckworth on surrender of John Robinson; and we also find a similar warrant, corrected according to the additional clause, and adding that the grant is to be passed as a future interest, not a reversion.

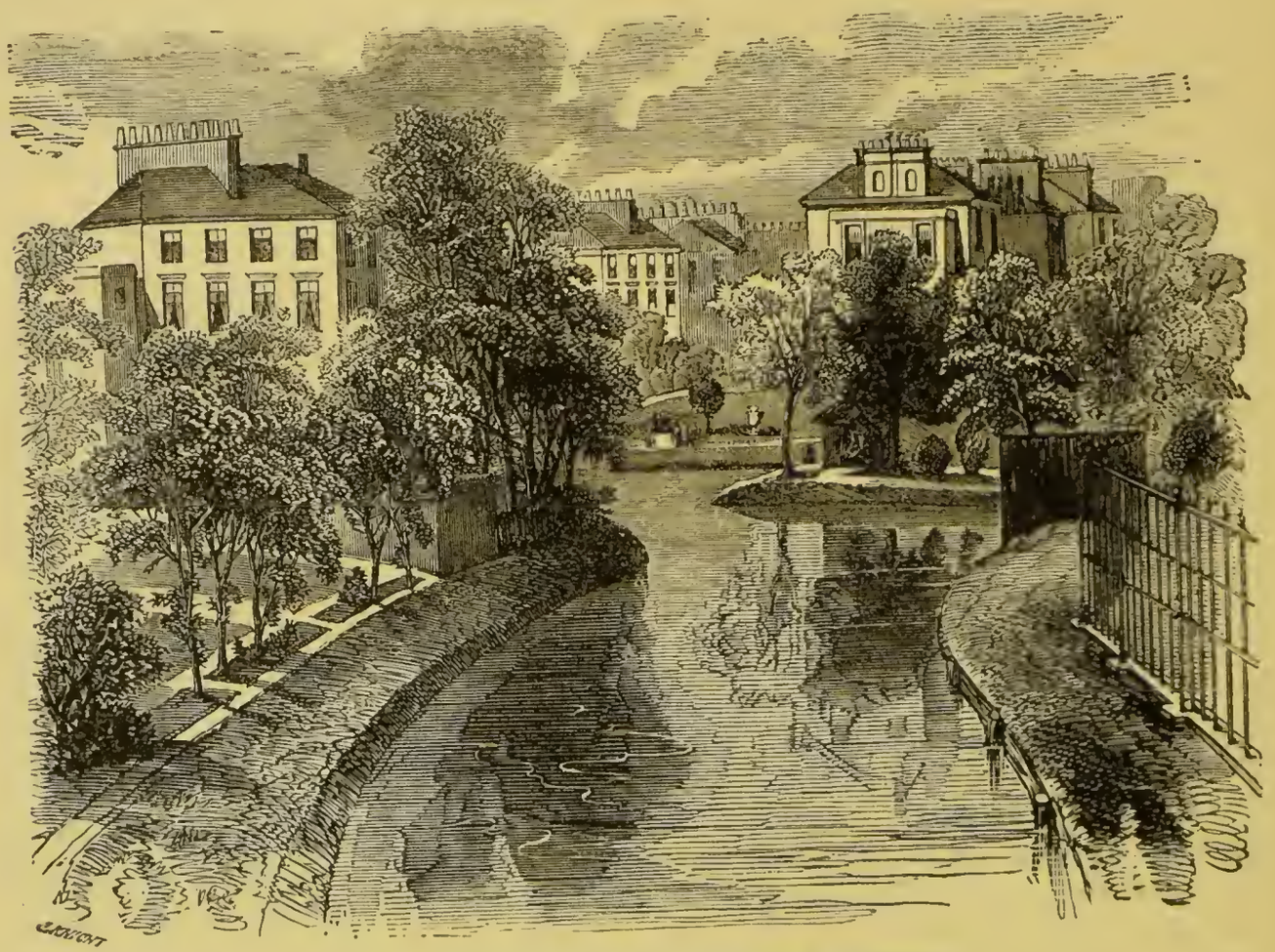
In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1660-1661, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made of a petition dated December (?), 1660, of John Wilford, for the place of clerk of the New River Company, void by the death of Josias Berners.[1]

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, *temp.* James I., under date April 11th, 1665, we find a communication from the king to the New River Company, "Recommends Simon Middleton, son of Sir Hugh Middleton, who conferred a great benefit on London by bringing the New River from Chadwell, as clerk of the company. He holds the moiety thereof from the crown in fee farm, and therefore his interest will be a pledge of his integrity. Wishes them also to admit Edw. Somes, merchant, as the agent whom by charter the King is to have, to be present and vote at all their meetings." In the same Calendar is a letter dated from Billingbear, April 17th, 1665, from R. Neville to Lord Arlington. "States the reasons why Simon Middleton is not thought a fit man to be clerk of the New River; that he was once mad, and spoke traitorous speeches, and would be apt to relapse; that he was treasurer of the corporation, detained the profits of divers shares, and when dismissed, refused to give up the key of the chest; that he put the company to much cost in suits, and has still suits pending, and is therefore unfit to cast up their accounts, seal their leases, keep their books, instruct their counsel, &c.; also that the office is beneath his estate and dignity." On the 22nd of the same month was the "Answer by Simon Middleton to the reasons why he is not thought fit to be a clerk of the New River Company; the traitorous words he was reported to have uttered were said in a violent fever, in which his mind was distempered. Particulars of the unjust suits brought against him by Sir Wm. Backhouse and other shareholders; wishes to be clerk chiefly to reduce the extravagant allowances made to Sir William's serving man; if his having an income of £2000 a year be the objection to his having the place, wishes it were stronger, as if the company were better managed it might be £2500." In the same Calendar and on the same date is a "Memorial of passages at the court held for the New River, viz., that the river was brought to London from Chadwell, 17 James; that the king having advanced money therefor, had one-half, which he let in fee farm to Sir Hugh Middleton, for £500 a year, the other half being divided into thirty-six shares, of which Middleton had thirteen; that, until the troubles, the king always had a member on his behalf at the court; that the salary of the clerk is £100, increased by profits of leases to above £300. Mr. Middleton offered to be their clerk, and had the king's letter on his behalf, of which Mr. Nevill spoke slightingly, said that such were to be had for 5s. each, declared during the reading that it was false, and would hardly let it be read through; he and some others refused good offers of Mr. Middleton and another, and chose Harrison, a serving man, instead; the governor also caused Mr. Gardner, who has no interest in the river, to be admitted as trustee for himself, but refused to admit Mr. Somes for the king."

[1] This gentleman was probably one of the grantees mentioned in the indenture of bargain and sale of St. James's Church. *Vide* pages 33, 34, 35, 68.

In 1641 was published "A designe for bringing a navigable river from Rickmansworth to St. Gyles in the Fields, by Edward Ford." In this tract are set forth the advantages of the proposed river over the then existing New River: "Those parts of London which are now very scanted of water will have it in a plentiful measure, and such as shall be always cleere and fit for all uses; all land floods and foule waters, which frequently occasion the muddiness of Sir William Middleton's water, being by artificial conveyances diverted and kept wholly out of the streame, whereby also their streets and houses will be kept sweeter and cooler, and freer from the danger of fire and infection, which oftimes from the City spreads into the whole kingdom."

The supply of water derived from the original springs was found after a time to be insufficient to meet the daily increasing wants of the metropolis. Aubrey says:—"Now, 1681-2, London is growne



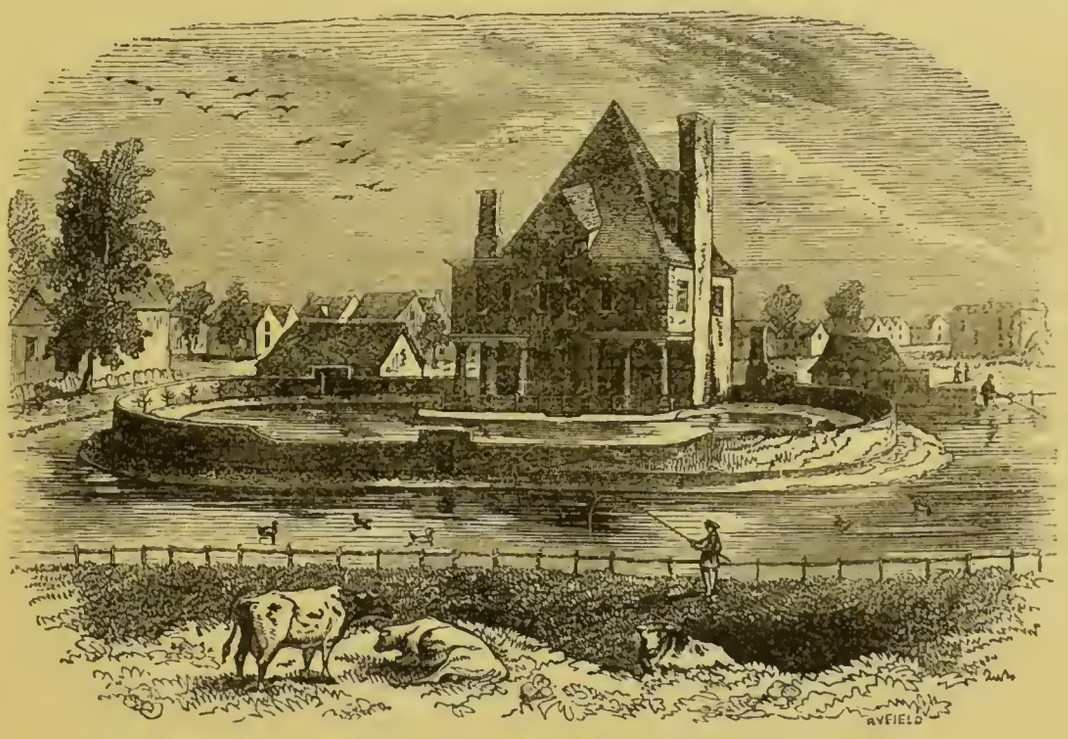
THE NEW RIVER, NEAR THE THATCHED HOUSE, ISLINGTON.

so populous and big, that the New River of Middleton can serve the pipes to private houses but twice a week."[1] This want of water caused the company to borrow, in seasons of drought, the overplus water of the mill-stream of the river Lea near Ware,[2] which was measured to them by a balance-engine and gauge. It would seem that the supply to the company was then found to be sufficient, for we read that "Nine conduits were emptied in 1238 to supply the city with water, but afterwards the New River supplied it better, and therefore the citizens in 1703 let the water of these conduits for £700 per annum." And again we read in the "New View of London," 1708, that "conduits were formerly many, being much used, but since there is such plenty of clear, wholesome water brought into

[1] AUBREY'S *Letters*, 1, 591, ed. 1813.

[2] In a catalogue of the works written or edited by Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, we find a referenee to "A Tale of two Swannes: wherein is comprehended the Original and inerease of the River Lee, eommonly ealled Ware River: together with the Antiquitie of sundry places and townes seated upon the same." By W. Vallans. We do not know the date of this work; but Hearne died in 1735, aged fifty-seven years.

people's houses from the New River, Thames, Marybone, &c., the conduits are of little use." The New River Company subsequently bought the Ware Mills, and their purchase was confirmed to them from the 20th June, 1738, by a private Act of Parliament, 11 Geo. II. c. 14. The abstraction of the water of the Lea occasioned many disputes, and to put an end to continued litigation, an act was passed, 12 Geo. II. c. 32, which, it has been observed, "is the great corner-stone of the New River Company, and preservation of their rights, as well as of those of the trustees of the river Lea." It is therein made lawful for the company at all times to take from the river Lea a quantity of water into the New River, at the mouth of Manifold Ditch, near Ware, through a timber gauge or trough, which since 1770 has been of marble, the dimensions being six feet in width, two in depth, and fourteen in length.



THE NEW RIVER HEAD, WATER HOUSE, AND MR. ISRAEL WILKES'S, 1730.

For this accommodation the New River Company were to pay to the trustees of the Lea River the respective sums of £2500 and £750, on the ensuing 29th of September, 1739, and an annuity of £350 for ever from that day, for the payment of expenses incurred in the improvement and preservation of the navigation of the Lea River.

In the "European Magazine," for October, 1814, is an amusing anecdote of an agreement made soon after that in 1738, in which, by the adroitness of the New River Company's Surveyor a good bargain was secured to them. "Finding the quantity of the Lea River water first agreed upon too small for their purpose, the New River Company offered to give double the price it then paid for a pipe of double the diameter. To this the agent of the Lea River Company weakly assented, being so grossly ignorant of the business as not to be aware that two orifices are to each other as squares of their diameters. In consequence of this want of a very slight mathematical knowledge, the Lea River Company was obliged to furnish four times the quantity of water which it originally supplied, for only twice the sum which it at first received. Well might their agent exclaim, like the pupil in Jean Jacques, 'Oh, I see, mathematics may be good for something.'"

There is an additional supply of water to the New River *gathering ground*, as it is termed; two reservoirs are supplied at Cheshunt from water gathered between that place and Northaw. The

[1] Israel Wilkes was ancestor of the celebrated John Wilkes, whose father, grandfather, and great grandfather were all named Israel, and were all distillers. *Vide* page 314.

Chadwell spring yields about five hundred and fifty cubic feet of water per minute; two hundred and seventy-four cubic feet are derived from the springs at Great Amwell; but the main source of supply is the River Lea, from which one thousand eight hundred and forty cubic feet per minute are taken, with power to increase the quantity to two thousand five hundred feet. The New River Company have a reservoir at Highgate, which is four hundred and twenty feet above Trinity level; and also one at Hampstead-heath, which is four hundred and fifty feet above Trinity level.

Mr. W. P. Griffith, who visited the source of the New River on July 4th, 1838, has favoured the Editor with the following note upon it:—"The spot indicating the origin of the New River was situated in a hollow on the right hand side of the road from Ware to Hertford, being about three-quarters of a mile from Ware. A small erection of stone faced a circular pool of water, and the commencement of the New River from the pool. A substantial wooden railing of two bars in height enclosed the pool and site upon which the stone was placed, and the course of the river for some distance. North of the above was a small branch from the Lea River, which joined the New River at this pool; and in a line north of the stone indicating the origin of the New River was standing, across the branch from the Lea, an erection of stone and marble, in form similar to a pedestal, consisting of a base, die, and cornice, with a sunk panel on each side. This was a superior erection to the one pointing the source from whence the New River takes its rise; it was much larger, and the mouldings were well sculptured. There was not any inscription. The branch from the Lea was said to contribute more to the New River than the pool."

The stone indicating the spot from whence the New River takes its rise had upon its east front, facing the pool, the inscription, "This belongs to New River Company. 178 feet. Chadwell spring;" on the west front, "This belongs to the said Company. 270 feet. Repaired 1728;" on the north front, "629 feet. Opened 1608;" and on the south front, "43 feet. Conveyed 40 miles." Mr. Griffith has kindly given the Editor a drawing of this stone, which is here engraved.

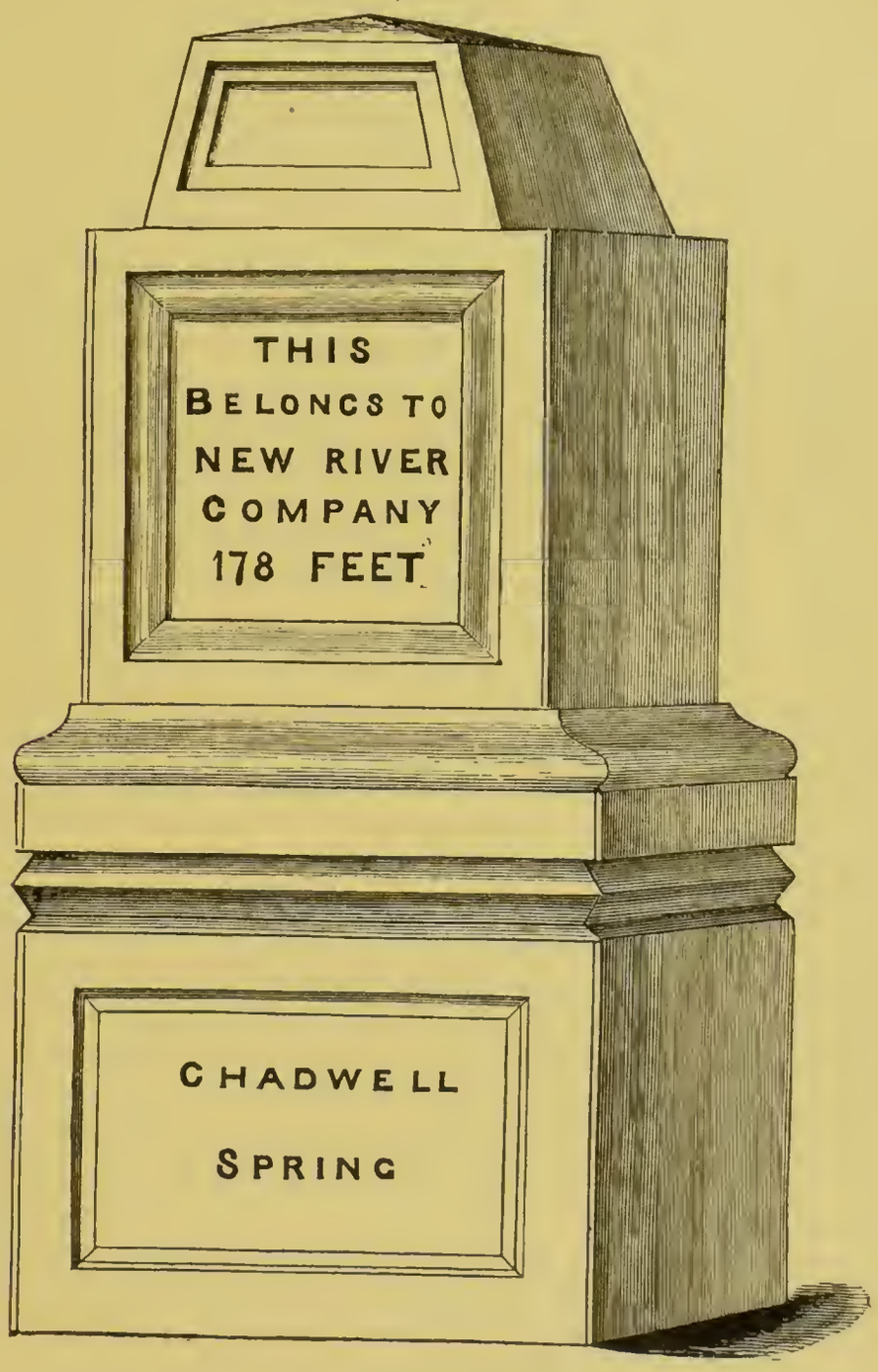
In 1808 and 1809 the New River, on an average of the two years, supplied London with 78,110,000 hogsheads, or 4,217,940,000 gallons of water annually, to 59,058 houses and buildings, occupied by 42,960 tenants, who paid the annual rental to the company of £80,782. In 1820 the New River supplied 67,000,000 hogsheads to 52,082 houses, and 38,535 tenants, at a rental of £68,297. From parliamentary returns on the water supply of the Metropolis, ordered to be printed, August 7th, 1834, we learn that the New River supply of water yearly was then 114,650,000 hogsheads; each house received 241 gallons daily; the gross rental in 1833 was £104,909 6s. 4d.; and the steam engines pumped 2,100,932 gallons per diem. In 1828 the New River Company delivered the water at the rate of twenty-four cubic feet per second. In 1833 the water flowing down the Lea (after supplying the New River) was found to be one hundred and ten cubic feet per second. The annual rental in 1851 was £135,794; and it is now £204,750. About 112,000 houses are now supplied with water by the New River. The daily supply is about twenty-five millions of gallons. The company have nearly six hundred miles of pipes, which, together with cocks, &c., belonging to them, are valued at about £600,000.

From an exact measurement of the course of the New River, made by Henry Mills, surveyor to the company, in the year 1723, the entire length was ascertained to be thirty-eight miles, three-quarters, and sixteen poles; the number of bridges by which it was then crossed was between two and three hundred; there were upwards of forty sluices in its course; and both above and below the stream ran many currents of land waters, as also several brooks and rivulets. The river in its devious course from the fountain head at Chadwell, meanders through the towns and villages of Hoddesdon, Cheshunt, Enfield, Hornsey,[1] Stoke Newington,[2] and Islington, and enters the parish of

[1] In Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol. ii., p. 1311, is an engraving of the New River at Hornsey, taken from the garden of the Compasses Tavern.

[2] At Stoke Newington are the works, engine-house, and reservoirs of the New River. An engraving of these was given in the *Illustrated London News*, November 22nd, 1856, p. 523. On the west front of the engine-house, standing on the east side of Lordship-road, is a stone, which bears the following inscription:—"These Reservoirs, the property of the New River Company, were begun in the year 1830, and completed in the year 1833, under the direction of Mr. William Chadwell Mylne, their engineer. Robert Percy Smith, Esqre., governor."

Clerkenwell at the bridge under the Goswell-road, and, flowing through Owen's-row, submerges beneath St. John-street-road; thence it proceeds between Myddelton-place and Sadler's Wells, and, passing beneath a third bridge, enters the company's grounds, where its waters are received into the great reservoir called its Head. By the formation, since the year 1852, of more direct channels, at



STONE AT THE SOURCE OF THE NEW RIVER.

Wormley, Theobalds, Forty-hill, Enfield, Southgate, Wood-green, and Hornsey, the river has been shortened by about ten miles. The river between the Thatched House, Islington, and Colebrook-row, has from the first passed through an underground arch or tunnel. The stream between Bird's-buildings and the Head was covered by iron pipes in the year 1861.[1] About the place where the New River

[1] The company obtained two Acts of Parliament—1852, 15 and 16 Vict., cap. clx.; and 1854, 17 Vict., cap, lxxii.—to empower them to shorten the river, to filter the water, to cover their filtered-water reservoirs, and otherwise to improve and greatly enlarge their works, at a cost of about a million sterling.

enters Islington parish, it was formerly conducted over the valley by means of an enormous wooden trough, four hundred and sixty-two feet in length, and seventeen feet high; lined with lead, and supported by strong timbers standing on piers of brick, and which went by the name of "The Boarded River." This mode of conveying the water was found to be expensive and inconvenient; therefore, in 1776, a more durable channel for the stream was commenced; a bank of earth was raised, in which a passage was made for the river nearly along the old track. In January, 1799, a correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," after stating that a range of houses, called Duncan-place, was then building on the bank of the New River, between the City-road and Colebrook-row, Islington, complained that the fence which guarded the river was removed, to the great danger of passengers. And in December of the same year this complaint was renewed.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for September, 1784, p. 643, is an engraving of the New River wooden aqueduct or frame at Bush-hill, Edmonton; and in the October number of the same periodical, p. 723, is an engraving of the brick arch over which the New River was conveyed in its wooden trough, near Bush hill. This boarded aqueduct was made in 1608. It was six hundred and sixty feet long, five feet in height and depth, and tied together by imposts, seven inches by three inches, and uprights, eight inches by four, and six feet high, like buttresses, resting on brick piers, two-and-a-half feet high, not equi-distant, and in number eighty. This trough passed over a stream, which, rising in Enfield-chase, ran under the road beneath a stupendous arch of brick fifteen feet high to the crown, and three wide, paved at the bottom with brick. Over the point of this arch was Myddelton's coat of arms cut in stone; on a pile three wolves' heads, and the hand of Ulster; crest, a hand issuing out of a coronet. Above this, on another stone, were the words, "The frame and lead were raised one foot higher Anno Dom. 1725." The preparations for the removal of the trough were commenced in 1784. A correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," in that year, says, in reference to the arch before mentioned, "This arch is now continuing under the intended road, for the water is to flow on the present road when properly banked up, for which purpose a hill contiguous is cutting down."

The New River Head (which is eighty-two feet above Trinity level) comprised originally only a small part of the large circular basin, two hundred feet in diameter, denominated the Inner Pond, which has for a considerable period been engirdled by another pond of irregular form, and distinguished as the Outer Pond, which has been enlarged several times. A walk fringed by flower beds and planted with trees encircles the Inner Pond. The New River Head is described by Nelson, who wrote in 1811, as, "A circular basin, now thrice its original size, inclosed with a brick wall, whence the water is conveyed by sluices into various large cisterns of brickwork, from which it passes in a subdivided state by means of large wooden pipes of six or seven inches bore (called mains and riders, and distinguished by names appropriated to their several districts), to all parts of the metropolis. At the River Head are two steam-engines, and a water-wheel (the latter turned by the waste water flowing downward to a pond in the Spa-fields), for the purpose of raising the water to a reservoir upon higher ground in Pentonville, called the Upper Pond, and which was formerly effected by a windmill long since removed. In a field, to the west of the River Head, is an iron pipe, twelve feet in height (including a wooden tub placed on its top), and four feet eight inches in circumference, erected on a great main of pipes of the same dimensions. It acts in the double capacity of an air and a waste water pipe, and is very useful in preventing accidents to the pipes, occasioned by the force of water, or compressed air, which, before this preventative, were very frequent. An auxiliary basin has been lately formed near the River Head, abutting on the St. John-street-road; and the company has been at very great expense in substituting, in many places, main pipes of cast iron of nineteen inches in diameter, for the wooden ones before used. At the River Head is a house belonging to the company, originally built in 1613, and repaired and new fronted in 1782. A large room in this house, with wainscot panels, was fitted up for the meetings of the company before the beginning of the last century. On the ceiling is a portrait of King William, and the arms of Middleton and Green.[1] Under this room is one of the

[1] John Grene; *vide* page 398.



STATUE OF SIR HUGH MYDDELTON, ISLINGTON GREEN.

cisterns before mentioned." This house was the residence of William Chadwell Mylne, late engineer and surveyor to the New River Company.[1] It was erected in 1613, and restored in 1782, by his father, Robert Mylne.[2] On the first floor is a noble apartment, the oaken wainscot of which is finely carved to represent fruit, fish, game, shells, &c., the work of the celebrated Grenlin Gibbons. Over the mantel-piece are the royal arms carved in relief, but not by the famous sculptor before-mentioned, having the motto "Je maintien dray," which William III. chose to adopt, instead of "Dieu et mon droit." In the central compartment of the ceiling is a portrait of William III., surrounded by the attributes of royalty. The rest of the ceiling, which is richly ornamented in stucco, contains the arms of Myddelton and Grene, who was clerk to the New River Company in the reign of William III., and by whom this apartment was called the Court-room, being intended for the meetings of the proprietors. Two smaller rooms annexed to this were added by Mr. Grene; on the ceiling of each is a medallion of the company's seal, with the motto "Et Plui Super Unam Civitatem," surrounded by a border, in which, with spaces between the figures, is the date 1693. The engineer's residence was originally called "The Water House," of which Hollar, in 1665, engraved two views.

In 1763 was published a tale entitled "The New River Head," 4to., London.

The following accident occurred at the New River Head:—"A young man was accidentally killed by one of the wheels of the mill at the New River Head, near Islington. He went in to view the mill, and got up on what is called the plank, without considering as he stood upright that his head was as high as the cogs of the great wheel. As soon as the mill went round his head was caught between the cogs and smashed to pieces."

In August, 1796, was published, by Allen and West, London, an engraving of the New River Head, showing Sadler's Wells, and several quaint persons fishing in the river. Angling in this stream was a common pastime. Hood wrote "Walton Redivivus: a New River Eclogue." Piscator is fishing near the Sir Hugh Myddelton's Head, without either basket or can. Viator cometh up to him with an angling rod and a bottle. The Eclogue is prefaced by a citation from a letter of C. Lamb, in these words:—"My old New River has presented no extraordinary novelties lately. But there Hope sits, day after day, speculating on traditionary gudgeons. I think she hath taken the fisheries. I now know the reason why our forefathers were denominated East and West Angles. Yet is there no lack of spawn, for I wash my hands in fishets that come through the pump, every morning, thick as motelings—little things that perish untimely and never taste the brook."

Until about the year 1812 there was one of the New River Company's reservoirs at the corner of Rosoman-street, opposite the London Spa, with which water wheels were once connected, and which are represented in an inferior print entitled "A General View of the City of London," taken from the bowling-green at Islington. It is without date, but was probably engraved about 1780.

Amusing mention of a tavern which stood near to the New River Head is made in a small quarto tract of eight pages, entitled "A Diurnal of Dangers," printed in 1642:—[3]

"The Tuesday night, these contrivers, these Covenanters, 20 of them, pretended to be merry (note the villianie of these rogues), because it was neer Islington, and thought it was a Guarrison Towne, and knew that they should have good cakes and ale for pillage (impudent villains that dare pillage their own country), went all into the *Water House* and called in freely for all varieties and spared no cost . . (they knew how to come by it again). The master of the house, though it were midnight, was loath to put them out again, espeeialy being sueh profitable guests; Yet, having been up the night before, desired that they would exeuse him, and suffer him to goe to bed: They (eunning traitors) were presently as willing as he, that they might aet their deede of darkness, their helbred purpose (for now comes the horror of it). The servant beinge drunke asleepe, they got with all speede about their businesse, in eame the hundred barrels of gunpowder (the eunning pioneers had sprung a mine under the water which they had aeeess to through the cellar); when they had laid the barrels under water, made their traines sure, and were ready to fire the match, a damp put the eandle out, and (as good luek would have it) there was no fire in the house. One of them steps to *Clarken-well* to feteh fire, which hee had; the wateh seeing a man

[1] *Vide* page 438.

[2] *Vide* page 438.

[3] *A Diurnal of Dangers, wherein are manifested and brought to light many great and unheard-of discoveries, to the admiration of all who have eares to heare, or strong hearts to endure.* Found out and published in the yeare of just jealouses, apparent plots, fatal fears, and single seeurites, 1642. Written by J. K.

run hastily with fire toward Islington, the houre being late and the times dangerous, they follow him at heels, not only to the house, but in and down into the cellar, broke open their barrels and conveyed away their fire, apprehend the conspirators, or as sure as we are here, they had (before morning) blown up the New River, and drowned all Islington, to the utter desolation of cheesecakes, cakes, lamb pies, stued prunes, custards, creame, and fools, nay, there's not a man would have bin left. The plotters were that night carryed to the powdering tub, where they now remaine in a sweet pickle; if ever they come to tryall they will be hanged, drawne, and quartered, and glad they 'scape so too."

The meetings of the New River Company were at first held at taverns. The offices of the company were formerly in Dorset-street, Whitefriars, on the site now covered by the City Gas Works. On the



THE NEW RIVER HEAD IN 1798.

24th of November, 1769, between two and three o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out on the premises, which were thereby entirely consumed. By this event an irreparable loss was sustained by the company, in consequence of the destruction of their archives, ledger books, &c.; from which circumstance no particular account can now be given of the company's affairs previous to the conflagration. The offices were re-built in the year following, on the site of the Dorset-garden—a theatre at which Shakspeare performed. On June 28th, 1770, the first stone of the new office was laid by Mr. Holford, the Governor of the New River Company. The current coin of the realm was laid underneath the stone, and the following inscription was engraved upon it:—"First stone laid by Peter Holford, Esq., Governor. Sir George Colebrooke, Bart., Deputy-Governor. Henry Berners, Esq., Treasurer. June xxviii., MDCCLXX. Robert Milne, Architect." Here the company's business was transacted until about the year 1820, when for greater convenience they removed their offices to new premises at the New River Head, where they at present remain. The Dorset-street premises were afterwards let to the City Gas Company at a rental of more than £2000 per annum.

The dividends received by the proprietors of the New River at different periods serve to show the fluctuations which have been in the value of the shares:—1633, first dividend, £15 3s. 4d.;[1] 1636, second dividend, £3 4s. 2d.; 1640, £33 2s. 8d.; 1680, £145 1s. 8d.; 1700, £201 16s. 6d.; 1720, £214 15s 7d.; 1794, £431 5s. 8d.; 1810, £522 9s.; 1813, £190 0s. 3d.; 1821, £337 10s 8d.; 1824, £489 0s. 2¾d.; 1833, £615 15s 5¼d.; 1840, £706 11s. 11½d.; 1849, £878; 1857, £876.

The decrease in the amount of dividend for several years subsequent to 1810 was owing to ruinous competition and important improvements which were then in progress. The wooden pipes, of which nearly four hundred miles in length intersected the streets of the metropolis, were entirely removed, and iron mains substituted at considerable cost; improved hydraulic machinery was set up, and the distributory system was brought to a state of comparative perfection. The marketable value of the company's shares has varied considerably at different periods. In 1727 a king's share was valued at 5000 guineas; in 1766 the clear annual value of a king's share was £154; in August, 1770, a similar share, said to yield £240 per annum, was advertised for sale, and fetched £7,000; in 1805 one was sold at the Senegal Coffee House for £4400; at Garraway's, in 1813, an adventurer's share produced £8000, and in 1814, £7450; in August, 1822, a moiety of one of the same shares sold for £4725; in 1838, an original share sold for 18,000 guineas; in 1837, two quarter shares were sold by auction at the mart at the rate of £18,900 per share; in the beginning of 1839 two whole shares were sold, the one for £17,000 and the other for £17,500;[2] on the 28th of January, 1852, three-sevenths of a quarter of a king's share sold for £1600, the dividend on this portion of a share producing £90 per annum;[3] in April, 1779, five-eighths of one thirty-sixth of a share, producing nearly £300 per annum, and entitling the holder to a vote for two counties through which the river passes, was offered for sale;[4] on the 22nd of June, 1858, one sixth of an adventurer's share, the annual income on which was £149 6s. 8d., was sold for £3300, and a similar one-sixth was taken by the purchaser at the same price, making the value of an entire share to be £19,800.[5] The value of a share at the present time is about £20,000. The latter dividends of the company have been from four to four-and-a-half per cent.

The seal of the New River Company exhibits the hand of Providence issuing from the clouds, and distributing water over London, and has the motto, "Et Plui Super Unam Civitatem," taken from a part of the seventh verse of the fourth chapter of Amos.

The following memoranda of events relative to the New River may prove interesting to our readers Salmon, in his "History of Hertfordshire" (1728), says:—

"Sir Hugh Middleton's house being at Bush Hill, in Edmonton, gave perhaps the first occasion to the project; and the great addition this stream made to the pleasure of Theobalds encouraged the monarch, who resided there, to have the design compleated. It ran through his park and gardens, which made them more delightful, as it does wherever it passeth. And for the sake of it alone have its banks been chosen in many places to build upon. They discourage the breed of fish in it, yet there is by some means or other plenty of gudgeons, which are game for anglers as well as casting nets. The expense is great in keeping a walksman for every two miles, to cut out the weeds, and watch the leaking of the banks; making frequent bridges for the road, and for husbandmen to pass to their land; in wooden and leaden pipes to convey it about the town; and in charges of the office, which is computed altogether at half the revenue it brings in."

Nichols, in his "Progresses of James I.," says that on the 9th of January, 1622, "the king met with a serious accident by falling into the New River. His Majesty, it appears, on that day went to Theobalds, accompanied by Prince Charles. Riding out after dinner in the park, at a distance of three miles from the palace, he was thrown from his horse into the New River, then slightly frozen over, and narrowly escaped with his life." "On Wednesday," writes Mr. Joseph Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, "His Majesty rode by coach to Theobalds to dinner, not intending, as the speech

[1] Sir Henry Nevill, Knt., who was one of the original adventurers with Myddelton mentioned among the grantees in the company's charter, June 21st, 1619, and who died 29th January, 1629, 4th Car. I., possessed two parts in thirty-six parts of the water course and New River running from Chadwell and Amwell, in co. Herts, to the north of London, then valued at £13 0s. 4d. per annum.—Inq. at Reading, 2nd October, 5th Car. I.

[2] Robinson's *History of Tottenham*, vol. i, p. 36.

[3] Timbs's *Curiosities of London*, p. 551.

[4] *Times*, April 3, 1779.

[5] Times, June 23, 1858.

is, to returne till towardes Easter. After dinner, ryding on horseback abroad, his horse stumbled, and cast his Majesty into the New River, where the ice broke; he fell in so that nothing but his boots were seene. Sir Richard Yong was next, who alighted, went into the water and lifted him out. There came much water out of his mouth and body. His Majestie rid back to Theobalds, went into a warme bed, and, as we heare, is well, which God continue." The King, it is probable, referred his accident in the New River to the neglect of Sir Hugh Myddelton and the Corporation of London, for a letter addressed by "Chamberlain to Sir D. Carleton, 16 June, 1622, incidentally mentions that when the Lord Mayor, Sir Edward Barkham, accompanied by the Recorder, Sir Heneage Finch, attended the king at Greenwich to be knighted, the latter, amongst other things, reminded the Mayor and his brethren 'about Middleton's water.'[1] What passed between the king and the chief magistrate of the City on this occasion is not known."

In "Domestic Intelligence," of the 16th of April, 1680, appears the following notice:—"On Monday morning last there were met in the fields near the waterhouse between Clerkenwell and Islington 6 men with heavy burdens upon their backs. The persons who met them, suspecting they had stolen what they carried, began to question them; upon which they threw down their burthens, and run away; and their carriage proved to be lead."

We gather from the "Public Advertiser," that on Wednesday, the 21st of April, 1775, "a trout was catched in the New River, near Sadler's Wells, which weighed eight pounds and a half; a similar circumstance has not happened these fifty years.

In the year 1792 a rumour was in circulation that the New River water had been poisoned; this gave occasion for the following official notice:—

"New River Office, Feb. 7th, 1792.

"Whereas, some evil-minded persons have for several days past propagated a report that the water in the New River hath been attempted to be poisoned, and applications hath been made to the servants of this company enquiring the truth of such report. The New River Company, respecting the satisfaction of the publick, have directed this notice to be given that the said report is void of all foundation.

"John Rowe, Secretary."

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxviii., part 2, page 805, that on Sunday, September 2nd, 1798, "This afternoon, about six o'clock, the north-east bank of the New River suddenly burst, about half a mile from Hornsey House; and between that spot and the part called Tottenham freehold the neighbouring meadow lands, for a circuit of perhaps three or four miles, were presently inundated, and the lower parts of them to the depth of three or four feet. The part of the bank which is completely carried away is about nine yards in length, and the rupture goes so low as within eighteen inches of the bed of the river. At seven o'clock the water at Hornsey was not knee deep. The noise occasioned by the fall of water was plainly heard at the distance of a mile. A great number of workmen were dispatched to repair the breach."

Formerly a vulgar error prevailed that the New River was never frozen over. The hard winter of 1814 does not appear to have chilled it. "It is remarkable," says the "Courier" newspaper of the 20th of January, 1814, "that the New River is not the least frozen by the present inclemency of the weather, and was never known to be so from its source near Ware to the reservoir at Islington, from its first establishment."

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," that on August 1st, 1800, "Captain Kent, of the Tower Hamlets Militia, with a party of ladies, in a Domestic, returning from a tea-drinking party, on Enfield Chase, the horses, which were very valuable, by some unskilful management in driving, backed into the New River, and, notwithstanding the exertions of the servant, at the hazard of his life, were almost immediately drowned."

Bathing in the New River, although ostensibly not allowed, was in past years not uncommon. "I have seen," says Mr. Mylne, who was formerly the company's chief engineer for about forty years, "400 or 500 people marching up together to bathe on Sunday mornings. They have even thrown our men into the water." The nuisances of the bathing in the New River are referred to in Hone's

[1] *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1611-1618, James I.

"Every Day Book," 1825, vol. i., pages 951 and 1042; at which latter we read, "Were the doings in the New River during summer, or one-half of the wholesale nuisances permitted in the Thames, described, the inhabitants of London would give up their tea-kettles." And at page 1203 we read, "It would seem as if the parochial powers in this quarter (that of the White Conduit) were leagued with publicans and sinners, to compel the thirsty to buy deleterious beer and bowel-disturbing 'pop,' or to swallow the New River water fresh with impurities from the thousands of people who daily cleanse their foul bodies in the stream, as it lags along for the use of our kitchens and tea-kettles."

About forty years ago, when the Fleet ditch was open at the back of Coldbath-fields prison towards Bagnigge-wells, it was crossed at that spot by a large iron pipe, which conveyed the New River Water. During a very severe winter this pipe burst, and the water founted up from it in a jet twenty feet high; as the water fell it froze upon the pipe, about the aperture in it, and in a short time a large ice pinnacle formed there. It attracted crowds of persons until its aqueous crystals melted away into the turgid ditch beneath it.

Sir Hugh Myddelton was the sixth son of Richard Myddelton, Esq.,[1] who was governor of Denbigh Castle, in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. The time of his birth is unknown, but it was probably about the year 1555. He became a goldsmith in London, and worked some mines in Wales, by which means he acquired an extensive practical knowledge of levelling, draining, and embanking, which knowledge was afterwards so useful to him in the prosecution of his great work. Myddelton's goldsmith's shop was in Bassishaw (now Basinghall) street, and he lived in the over-hanging tenement above it. In Devon's "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 9, we find this entry:—"By order, 26th of February, 1604. To Hugh Middleton, goldsmith, the sum of £250, for a pendant of one diamond bestowed upon the Queen by his Majesty. By writ dated 9th day of January, 1604, £250." In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610, *temp.* James I., mention is made of a warrant dated January 9th, 1605 (not 1604, as before stated), to pay to Hugh Middleton, Goldsmith, £250 for a jewel given to the Queen.

Myddelton embarked in some adventures of trade by sea, hence his name is mentioned in the records of the town of Denbigh, of the year 1597, as "Cittizen and Gouldsmythe of London, and one of the Merchant Adventurers of England." In 1603 Myddelton was returned member of parliament for Denbigh.

In 1609 "the dauntless *Welshman* stept forth and *Smote the Rock*, and on Michaelmas, 1613, the water flowed into the thirsting metropolis,"[2] and

> As through the human form, arterial tubes,
> Branch'd every way minute and more minute,
> The circulating sanguine fluid extends,
> So pipes innumerable to peopled streets
> Transmit the purchased wave.[3]

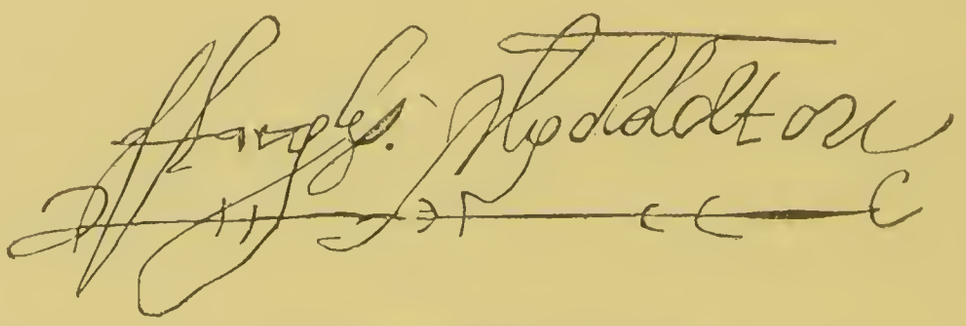
The accomplishment of this mighty undertaking was so pleasing to King James I., that he created Myddelton a Baronet, on the 19th of October, 1622, for the following reasons, as expressed in the royal patent:—"1. For bringing to the City of London, with excessive charge and greater difficulty, a new cutt or river of fresh water, to the great benefit and inestimable preservation thereof. 2. For gaining a very great and spacious quantity of land in Brading haven, in the Isle of Wight, out of the bowells of the sea; and with bankes and pyles, and most strange defensible and chargeable mountains, fortifying the same against the violence and fury of the waves. 3. For finding out with a fortunate and prosperous skill, exceeding industry, and noe small charge, in the county of Cardigan, a royal and rych myne, from whence he hath extracted many silver plates, which have been coyned in the Tower of London for current money of England. W. Camden, Clarenceux. November 1, 1622." Myddelton was the one hundred and ninety-third Baronet created by King James after his accession to the

[1] Beatson's *Political Index.*
[2] Pennant's *Tour in Wales.* *Vide* Fuller's *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 590, for an eulogium on Myddelton's work.
[3] *Amwell*, a Poem. By J. Scott.

throne, in 1603. In conferring this honour upon him, the King enhanced its value by kindly remitting, under a special warrant, the usual fine of £1095.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1611-1618, *temp.* James I., mention is made of a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, dated October 2nd, 1622: "Hugh Middleton, a goldsmith, made a Baronet for bringing water into London, and finding out a silver mine in Wales."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1623-1625, *temp.* James I., we find mention made of a mandate dated from Windsor, September 8th, 1623, from the King to the President and Council of Wales, and others: "Authorizes them to apprehend all persons found encroaching on the mines of Sir Hugh Middleton, in Cardiganshire, from which he has found means to extract silver and lead, to the employment of many poor, and general benefit of the kingdom." In the same Calendar is named a letter from Lord President Mandeville to Secretary Conway, dated from Whitehall, October 3rd, 1623: "Has summoned the Virginia Company for Monday. The rules are made and proclamation drawn up for the mines, and Sir Hugh Middleton summoned to attend." We also read the entry of a letter from Secretary Conway to Lord Treasurer Middlesex, dated from Hinchinbrook, October 19th, 1623; "The business of Sir Hugh Middleton's



THE AUTOGRAPH OF SIR HUGH MYDDELTON.

mines to be forwarded." In the same Calendar we find a mandate from the king to Solicitor-General Heath, dated from Oatlands, July 2nd, 1624: "Authorizes him to complete, with assistance of Secretary Conway and Sir Richard Weston, the contracts begun with Thomas Russell, for employment of his invention and skill in working the mines royal of England, Ireland, and Wales, and with Sir Hugh Middleton and Sir Bevis Thelwall, for working the mines royal in Cardiganshire, with assistance of Russell's invention." And on the same date is another mandate from the same to the same: "To draw a commission for Sir Hugh Middleton and Sir Bevis Thelwall, to take and employ such miners as they find needful, for digging for ore in the Cardiganshire mines, according to the plan invented by Thomas Russell, giving them reasonable wages, and also to procure such carriages as are necessary to convey the ore to the furnaces." Under date February 16th, 1625, Newmarket, we find a letter from Buckingham to Solicitor-General Heath: "The king has signed the warrants, but those for Sir Hugh Middleton . . . are to be detained, that the Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer may be acquainted therewith." Again in February (?), 1625, we find "Proposals by Wm. Gomeldon to work the mines in Cardiganshire, excepting such as are worked by Sir Hugh Middleton, yielding the king 30s. per ton on the ore found, after the first six months. If the mines were freely worked on these terms, they might bring in £100,000 yearly, instead of £20, now paid. They have been worked, both in ancient and modern times, and were not discovered by Sir Hugh Middleton." In the same year, February 21st, "Confirmation to Sir Hugh Middleton, Bart., of the lease made to him by the governor, &c., of the Company of Mines Royal of London, of all the Mines in Cardiganshire, in recompense for his industry in bringing a new river into London; also prolonging his lease, and granting him authority to take up workmen; with provisoes for compensation to those whose lands are damaged by mining, and for

bringing all the silver obtained from the mines to the Mint." In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1625-1626. *temp.* Charles I., we find under date April 30th, 1625, a renewed grant to Sir Hugh Myddelton of the mines royal in Co. Cardigan.

The sounding title of baronet was the only recompense that Myddelton ever received for his arduous toil and the loss of his own private fortune in the New River undertaking. He died on the 10th December, 1631, between the 21st of November, on which day his will is dated, and the 21st of the following month, when it was proved. He was buried in the churchyard of St. Matthew, Friday-street, London.[1] He had been twice married; first to Anne, daughter of Mr. Collins, of Lichfield, who died childless; secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Olmstead, of Ingatestone, Essex, by whom he had ten sons and six daughters. Of these some few particulars occurred in his will, of which document the following is a copy:—[2]

"In the name of God, Amen. The one and twentieth daie of November, in the yeare of our Lord God according to the computacion of the Church of England one thousand six hundred thirty and one, I, Sir Hugh Middelton, barronett, and cittizen and gouldsmith of London, being (though sicke of bodie) of good and perfect mind and memorie (thankes be to Almightie God therefore), doe make and ordaine this my last will and testament, hereby revoking and makinge void all former wills whatsover. First, therefore, I comende my soule into the handes of Almightie God my Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier; and my bodie to the earth in hope of a joyful resurrection. And I appoint my funeralls to be accordinge to the discrecion of myne executrix hereinafter named. And it is my will and desire this my bodie be buried in the parish church of Saint Matthewe in London, where I was some times a parishioner, and a monument to be sett upp there for me at the discrecion of my executrix. And touchinge the disposicion of my personall and reall estate wherewith it hath pleased God to blesse me, I will that all my debtes which I shall owe at the time of my decease, with the charge of my funeralls, shalbe first paid and satisfied, and then I give and bequeath to my deare and loving wife Dame Elizabeth Middelton[3] all the chaines, rings, jewells, pearles, braeelettes, and gould buttons, which shee hath in her custodie, and useth to weare at festivalls. And also the deepe silver bason, the spout pott and maudlin cupp of silver, and the smale bowle, all which were given her. And whereas I have already given to my sonne William Middelton[4] his full porcion which I intended to him out of my personall estate, I doe hereby give and bequeath to my said sonne William the some of one hundred poundes, and to my daughter in lawe his wife the some of tenn poundes to buy her a ring. And whereas my daughter Jane hath also had her full porcion upon her marriage, I give to her husband Doctor Chamberlaine[5] and my said daughter Jane the severall somes of ten poundes to buy each of them a ringe. And whereas also my daughter Hester[6] hath had one thousand poundes in part of her porcion of nynetenne hundred poundes, and the other nyne hundred poundes are deteyned till the articles on the parte of the Ladie Price are performed which were agreed on for and on the behalfe of her grandchild Richard Price, Esquier, being within age at the time of the marriage of the said Hester, I give over and above the said nyne hundred poundes remayninge to be paid to my said sonne Richard Price and Hester his wife the severall somes of tenn poundes a peece to buy each of them a ringe. Item. I give and bequeath to my sonne Henry Myddelton[7] the some of fower hundred poundes. Item, I give to my sonne Simon Middelton the like some of foure hundred poundes. Item, I give and bequeath to my daughter Elizabeth Middelton the some of five hundred poundes. Item, I give and bequeath to my daughter Ann the like some of five hundred poundes. Item, I give and bequeath to the poore of the parish of Henllan, where I was borne, the some of twentie poundes; and to the poore of the towne of Denbigh, in the countie of Denbigh, I give the like some of twentie poundes. Item, I give and bequeath to the poore of the parish of Amwell in the countie of Hartford the some of five poundes. Item, I give and bequeath to my nephew Captaine Roger Middelton the some of thirtie poundes. Item, I give to Richard Newell the some of thirtie poundes, to the end he shall continue his eare in the workes of the Mynes Royall wherein he is now ymployed. Item, I give to Howell Jones the some of twentie poundes, to th'ende he shall alsoe continue his eare in the Water-Workes, wherein he hath benne and still is imployed. And my will and meaninge is that my executrix hereafter named shall have two yeares tyme next after my decease to make payment of all and everie the legacies in this my will menecioned, except shee eann sooner raise them out of my personall estate.

[1] Lewis's *Islington.*

[2] This copy and most of the notes thereto are taken from a work recently published by the Camden Society, entitled *Wills from Doctors'-commons*, vol. lxxxiii., p. 92.

[3] Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Olmstead, Esq., of Ingatestone, in Essex.

[4] Who succeeded his father as a baronet. See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, lxii., 784, for his descendants.

[5] Peter Chamberlaine, M.D., born May 8th, 1601, died Dec. 23rd, 1683. He had eleven sons and two daughters, and at his death a very numerous posterity. He was buried at Woodham Mortimer, in Essex. See Morant's *History of Essex*, i., 342, and the octavo History, vol. v., p. 293.

[6] Married to Richard Price, Esq.

[7] Henry, baptised at St. Matthew's, Friday-street, June 14th, 1607. For his posterity see *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Aug., 1792, p. 698.

And for the better payment of my debtes and legaeies in this my will bequeathed, I doe hereby give to myne exeeutrix hereafter named full power and authoritie to bargayn and sell all the messuages, landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes whatsoever, with their appurtenanees, meneioned in an indenture of mortgage dated the nyneteenth of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thowsand six hundred and thirtie, made betweene me the said Sir Hugh Middelton and my sonne William Middelton of th'one part, and Sir Thomas Middelton Knighte and Alderman of the cittie of London,[1] Rowland Heighling, and others of the other part, as by the said indenture appeareth, desiring my said executrix and my nephew Roger Middelton to doe their best endeavours to sell the said messuages, landes, and tenementes to their best value. And if it shall happen that my said exeeutrix dye before shee shall have made sale of the said messuages, landes, and tenementes, then I give full power and authoritie to my two sonnes William Middelton and Henry Middleton to make sale of them and to sell them to their best value for the payment of my debtes and legacies aforesaid. And my further will and meaninge is that all my partes and shares in the Mynes Royall in the principallitie of Wales shalbe also sould for the better payment of my debts and legacies by myne exeeutrix hereafter named. And for and Concerning all my partes and shares of and in the New River and waterworkes brought from Shadwell and Amwell in the countie of Hartford to the citty of London, my will and meaninge is, and I doe hereby give and bequeath all my said partes and shares in the said waterworkes, together with the rentes, arrerages of rentes, and proffites of them, and every of them, to my saide lovinge wife Dame Elizabeth Middelton, to have and to hould for and dureinge her naturall life ; and if the moneys arisinge out of the sale and proffitts of the messuages, landes, and tenementes appointed to bee sould, and the Mynes Royall aforesaid, and all my other personall estate, shall not prove sufficient to pay all my debtes and legacies, then my further will and meaninge is, and I doe hereby give full power and authoritie to my exeentrix hereafter named, to sell fower of the said partes and shares, or soe many of the said fower shares as shalbe sufficient to raise moneys sufficient to make payment of the residue of my debtes and legacies which shall soe happen to be unpaide ; and after the decease of my said wife Dame Elizabeth I give and bequeath one part and share of the said river and waterworks to my sonne William Middelton and his heires ; and one other part and share of the said river and waterworkes I give to my sonne Henry Middleton and his heires ; and one other part and share of the said river and waterworks I give to my sonne Simon Middelton[2] and his heires ; and one other part or share of the said river and waterwourkes I give to my daughter Elizabeth and her heires ; and one other part or share of the said river and waterwourkes I give to my daughter Anne Middelton and her heires ; and one other part or share of the said river or waterwourkes I give and bequeath to Richard Rogers, —— Terry, Walter Merrell, John Williams, John Hawes, Richard Millard, John Gravett, William Cuttes, John Acton, and Robert Hooke, cittizens and gouldsmiths of London, and their successours assistants of the Company of Gouldsmithes, London, for ever ; upon trust and confidence that the profittes of the said part and share shalbe by them disposed and disbursed in manner and forme followinge, that is to say : every halfe yeare after the deccase of my said wife in weekly porcions of twelve pence a peece to the poore of the said Company of Gouldsmiths of the said citty, by the discretion of the wardens and assistantes of the said company for the tyme being, or the greater number of them, and especiallie to such poore men of my name, kindred, or countrymen as are or shalbe free of the said companie ;[3] and for the better declaracion of what partes are here ment and intended to be devised as aforesaid, I doe hereby declare that the one halfe of the water wourkes are devided into sixe and thirty partes or shares, thirteene of which partes or shares are to my selfe belonginge and are in the name of my selfe and other feoffees in trust to my use and the proffettes by me receeved, and therefore my meaninge is that the sixe severall partes or shares hereby devised and given are sixe of the partes and shares of my said thirteene partes and noe other. And my further Will and meaninge is and I doe hereby devise and give to my said wife Dame Elizabeth my house and landes at Bush hills in the parish of Edmonton in the county of Middlesex, with all the household stuff and furnitnre therein, to have and to hould the same to her owne use for ever duringe her naturall life ; and after her decease my will is that my youngest sonne Simon Middleton shall have and injoye the same to him and his heires. And alsoe my will and meaninge is that my said wife shall have the keeping and wearing of that great jewel[4] which was given unto me by the Lord Maior of the cittie of London and the aldermen of the same, and that she doe give and leave the same after her deccase to such one of my sonnes as she shall thinke most worthy to weare and enjoye the same. Item, I give to my brother Robert Bateman the some of

[1] Sir Thomas Middelton, Lord Mayor in 1613, was Sir Hugh's elder brother.

[2] Said to have been father of Sir Hugh, created a baronet in 1681. See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxii., p. 900.

[3] Respecting the share in the New River bequeathed in charity to the Goldsmiths' Company we find the following account of the distribution of its income in modern times :—"The annual receipt from this New River share has varied very considerably. Formerly it has amounted to £314. For the last two or three years it has averaged from £170 to £190, and is now increasing. The whole of the receipt is divided in February and October, 26s. a-piece being given at each division to the settled pensioners in the first three classes, amounting to fifty-two in number, and the remainder distributed among the unsettled pensioners in similar sums, as far as it will go." *Commissioners' Report of* 1822 ; quoted in Herbert's *Twelve Livery Companies*, ii., 277.

[4] This jewel is shown upon Sir Hugh's breast in his portrait.

twentie poundes to buy him a ringe. Item, I give to Peter Hinde and his wife twentie poundes to be devided betweene them, desiringe the saide Peter Hinde to continue his care in the workes I have ymploied him in. Item, I give to Mr. William Lewyn the yearly some of twenty poundes to be paid unto him every halfe yeare out of the rentes and proffittes of the said Water-works, by equall porcions, for and duringe his naturall life. to the end that he shall doe his best endeavor for the advancement of the said Water workes. Item, I give and bequeath to all my men servants (except the boy in kitchen) to each of them the some of five poundes which shalbe dwelling with me at the tyme of my decease. And to the said boy and Elizabeth my maidservant to each of them fortie shillinges. And I doe make and ordaine, nominate and appoint, my said lovinge wife Dame Elizabeth Middelton my full and sole executrix of this my last will and testament. And I doe make my nephew Sir Thomas Middelton Knight, my brother Bateman, my nephewes Roger Middelton and Richard Middelton, overseers of this my last will and testament; praying my said executrix and overseers to see this my last will and testament trulie performed. Item, give to my nephewe Sir Thomas Middelton twenty poundes, to my nephewe Timothie Middelton the some of tenn poundes. Item, I give to Mr. William Lewis fiftie poundes. Item, to my nephewe John Chambers and his wife to each of them five poundes a peece to buy each of them a ringe. Item, to Robert Berners esquire I give five poundes to buy him a ringe. In wittnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hande to everie sheete the daie and yeare first within written, and sealed the same with my seale. And my further will is and I doe give to my nephewe Richard Middelton and his wife five poundes a peece to each of them to buy each of them a ringe. Item, to Richard Trihurst tenn poundes; and soe I doe declare this to be my last will and testament.

HUGH MIDDELTON.

"Theis eight sheetes of paper before annexed contayne the last will and testament of Sir Hugh Middelton, baronett, and were by himselfe subscribed and sealed and the same by him published and declared to be his last will and testament in the presence of us, this one and twentith daie of November, 1631. Roger Mydl, Robert Barners, Will. Lewyn, Mathewe Hobman, William Jones, William Graie, Richard Dryhurst.

"Proved at London before Sir Henry Marten, LL.D. on the 21st Dec., 1631, by the oath of Lady Elizabeth Middelton relict of the deceased, and executor in the above will named."

The foregoing will of Sir Hugh Myddelton shows the incorrectness of the generally received statement of his having been obliged to follow the profession of a civil engineer, in order to obtain a livelihood, and dying in obscurity and indigence.

For a long time it might almost have been said of Sir Hugh Myddelton—

> No monument, inscription stone,
> His race, his form, his name almost unknown.

A writer in the "Morning Chronicle," of the 19th of July, 1794, states that, "To the memory of Sir Hugh Myddelton the inhabitants of London should have raised a statue in gold, but there is no memorial of this great and public-spirited citizen except an ale-house sign of his head at Sadler's Wells." Another writer urged that, "the brave adventurer deserves a statue to eternize his name, and transmit his memory, to keep it fresh (like his waters) to future ages." In 1800 a memorial was raised to commemorate him. At Amwell, on a small islet, in the midst of the river, under the mournful shade of the dark cypress, and surrounded by shrubs and choice flowers, there is a marble monument to Sir Hugh Myddelton. It is an urn, which is placed on a square pedestal, and inscribed on its four sides. A correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1802, vol. lxxvii., part 2, page 988, writes as follows:—"In the village of Great Amwell, Herts, a mile and a half south-east of Ware, the New River flows below the steep slope or bank of Amwell-hill, and forms an ample pool or piece of water; in which there is an islet, of an elongated form, having the stream gliding on each side of it. In this retired situation, secluded from highways, and the more busy scenes of men, some pains have been taken to reduce this spot into form, with neat and plain simplicity. On the smooth and verdant isle, a large weeping willow droops its melancholy boughs, in the water, at each end, and a spiring poplar waves in the middle its lofty head, and quivers in the breeze. Near the latter, a sombre thicket of evergreens, cypress, cedars, yews, and mournful shrubs, forms a circle, and covers a swelling tumulus. On that is placed a monumental pedestal of solid Portland, to the virtues of a man, on whom too much praise cannot be bestowed. Pictures by Cornelius Jansen, and prints by Vertue, are the only monuments which the arts have dedicated to so much useful talent." On the south, towards Amwell spring, the engraved memorial reads:—"Sacred to the memory of Sir Hugh Mydelton, Baronet, whose successful care, assisted by the

patronage of his king, conveyed this stream to London—an immortal work, since man cannot more nearly imitate the Deity than in bestowing health." On the west, towards Chadwell:—"From the spring of Chadwell two miles west, and from this source of Amwell, the aqueduct meanders for the space of xl. miles, conveying health, pleasure, and convenience to the metropolis of Great Britain." On the north, towards the vale of the Lea:—"M.S. Hugonis Mydelton, Baronetti . Qui . quas . hasce . feliciter . adspirante . favore . Regio . in . urbem . perducendas . curavit . Opus . immortale . Homines . enim . ad . Deos . Nulla . re . propius . accedunt . Quam . Salutem . dando." On the east, towards London:—"This humble tribute to the genius, talents, & elevation of mind which conceived & executed this important aqueduct, is dedicated by Robert Mylne, architect, engineer, &c. A.D. MDCCC."

On the opposite extremity of the islet, a square stone, covered with ivy, has inscribed upon it some lines of verse expressing a fine sentiment:—

Amwell, perpetual be thy stream!
Nor e'er thy spring be less,
Which thousands drink who never dream
Whence flows the boon they bless!
Too often thus ungrateful man,
Blind and unconscious lives,
Enjoys kind Heaven's indulgent plan,
Nor thinks of Him who gives.

There is a statue of Sir Hugh Myddelton, by Carew, in the New Royal Exchange.[1]

In July, 1862, a statue and drinking fountain were set up on Islington-green, in memory of Sir Hugh Myddelton. They were the joint gift of Sir Samuel Morton Peto, the New River Company, and the inhabitants of Islington; the statue having been presented by the former, and the remainder of the memorial by local subscribers. The statue cost about £500, and the pedestal and fountain £650. The New River Company undertook very graciously to supply the water for the latter gratuitously. This elegant monument was sculptured by the late John Thomas. The statue, which looks towards the south, is of white Sicilian marble, which was brought from a quarry belonging to the donor. The pedestal is of grey Devonshire marble, mounted on white stone. The total height of the monument, including the basement, is about fourteen feet, the height of the statue being eight feet six inches. Sir Hugh is dressed in the quaint and stiff but still picturesque costume of the latter part of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century—Flanders ruff and cuffs, doublet and jerkin, a cloak of Elizabethean amplitude, trunk hose, the hair cut in the taste of James I. (the pointed beard also indicating that the worthy knight moved with the fashion of the time), and his collar and badge. In his left hand he holds a scroll containing a plan of his great and useful work, and bearing the inscription, "New River." The fine manly face is admirably characterised, and the expression indicates set purpose, and unconquerable firmness in carrying it out. Looking at the statue from the front, the *pose* is not so happy as from other points of view. The remainder of the composition is very praiseworthy. The relative quantities of base, pedestal, plinth, cornice, statue, and the disposition and size of the charming lateral figures of genii, which constitute the fountains, are excellent. In front and beneath the statue is the following inscription on a polished slab of granite:—"Sir Hugh Myddelton. Born 1555. Died 1631."

On Saturday, the 26th of July, 1862, the Myddelton statue and drinking fountain were inaugurated by the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer, amid a company of nobility and the leading gentry of the neighbourhood. After a prayer had been offered up by the Vicar of Islington, the statue was uncovered, and the water flowed from the fountain, amid the plaudits of a large concourse of people. Sir S. M. Peto then formally handed over the statue to the Vicar of Islington, as the chairman of the vestry-board of that parish. The representative of the subscribers then formally handed over the pedestal and fountain to the same authority. The Vicar

[1] Cunningham's *Hand Book of London*, p. 327.

having acknowledged the gifts, Mr. Gladstone drank from a silver cup some of the water, pledging therein the healths of the company. The persons composing the meeting then adjourned to the new Agricultural Hall on Islington-green. Mr. Gladstone having been voted to the chair, the chairman of the sub-committee read the report of the proceedings connected with the erection of the statue and drinking fountain. Mr. Gladstone then in a lengthy speech referred to the benefits which had been conferred on society by the great work of Sir Hugh Myddelton, and eulogised his indomitable energy and perseverance. The company afterwards passed a vote of thanks to Sir S. M. Peto, to which he responded. After a similar compliment had been paid to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and duly acknowledged, and other votes of thanks had been proposed, carried, and replied to, the proceedings of the meeting terminated.

In the Court Room of Goldsmiths' Hall is an original portrait of Sir Hugh Myddelton, by Cornelius Jansen, a livery man of the company, in which he is represented with his left hand resting upon a shell, out of which gushes a stream of limpid water, and over this, in the left corner of the picture, in allusion to his great achievement, are inscribed the words, "Fontes Fondinæ." This portrait was the gift of Lady Myddelton to the company, in 1633. There is a duplicate in the possession of the present Duke of Portland; it was exhibited at Manchester, in 1857, and is now at Welbeck.

Myddelton's arms were, argent, on a pile vert, three wolves' heads erased of the field. Crest, out of a ducal coronet or, a dexter hand proper. Motto—"Virtuas palma." He originally bore, argent on a bend vert, &c., &c., which he changed in memory of his undertaking. In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1822, vol. xcii., part I., page 104, is a copy of the autograph of Sir Hugh Myddelton as attached to a document bearing date May 8th, 1612. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1627-1628, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a letter dated from Bassishaw-street, London, January 15th, 1627, from Sir Hugh Myddelton to Secretary Conway: "Recommends to his notice Edward Conway, a young man lineally descended from the house of Sir John Conway."

The professional biography of Sir Hugh Myddelton has been recently developed in the interesting work of Mr. Smiles on the "Lives of the Engineers." There is much regarding his posterity in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1792, 1793, and 1796. The baronetcies of the family (for there were two, conferred respectively in 1622 and 1681) were allowed to drop, notwithstanding the continuance of male heirs, in consequence of poverty and disgrace.[1]

In Ellis's "History of Shoreditch" are certain extracts from the registers of that parish. Amongst the entries of christenings is one of "Mary and Anne, daughters of Hugh Middelton and Elizabeth," under the date of October 12th, 1634. Ellis tells us that this Hugh was the second son of Sir Hugh Myddelton.[2]

William, the eldest of Myddelton's surviving sons, inherited his father's title; he married and had issue, of whom his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Mr. John Grene, clerk of the New River Company, and died in 1675, her memory being preserved by a mural tablet of white marble placed on the north side of Enfield church.[3] His son Hugh was the last male heir, but he left daughters, the eldest of whom resided at Nottingham; she was buried in the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell, where, under the tower and affixed to the north wall, was the following inscription:—"Near this place lies interred ye body of Mrs. Elizabeth Myddelton, eldest daughter of Sir Hugh Myddelton, Knight and Bart., of Nottingham, who departed this life Jan. 6, 1725, in the 43rd year of her age." Sir Hugh Myddelton, a grandson of the illustrious projector of the New River, was a captain in Princess Anne's regiment of horse in 1687.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1660-1661, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made

[1] *Vide* Courthope's *Synopsis of the Extinct Baronetage*; also *Wills from Doctors' Commons*, Camden Society, vol. lxxxiii., p. 92.

[2] *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch, and Liberty of Norton Folgate, in the Suburbs of London.* By Henry Ellis, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. London: Printed by and for J. Nichols, Printer to the Society of Antiquaries; and sold by all the booksellers in London, Oxford, Cambridge, &c. MDCCXCIII. Price sixteen shillings, in boards; pp. 370.

[3] *Vide* page 398.

of a petition dated June (?), 1660, from Sir Hugh Myddelton, Bart., "for the place of overseer and receiver of profits of his Majesty's ironworks in the Forest of Dean, now held by Major John Wade, commander of the county troop in Gloucestershire, put in by Cromwell, an officer of which Wade, in July last, robbed him of horses, arms, &c., kept him four months in close imprisonment, for adhering to his Majesty, and has several times since ransacked his house."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1663-1664, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made of Sir Hugh Myddelton's apothecary's bill, since November 24th, 1663, total £28 13s. 10d.; it is dated May 24th, 1664, and consists of one and a-half pages.

Lady Myddelton, the mother of the last baronet, "received a pension of £20 per annum from the Goldsmiths' Company, which after her death was, at the solicitation of Mr. Harvey, of Chigwell, in Essex, continued to her son Hugh, but was not his sole support, he being possessed of other property. He afforded the melancholy proof of a fact the truth of which there is too frequent evidence of, namely, that a man may convey his blood not his brains to posterity. All his employment and all his amusement consisted in drinking ale in any company he could pick up. Mr. Harvey took care of him, and put him to board in the house of a sober farmer at or near Chigwell, on whom he could depend." This man was a striking and unhappy contrast to his great ancestor.[1] In July, 1808, the Corporation of London ordered an annuity of £50 to be paid to a male descendant of the Myddelton family, then in great distress. Another lineal descendant, Jabez Myddelton, received a pension of £52 per annum from the Corporation until his death, on the 27th of March, 1828; and in July of that year, Mrs. Jane Myddelton Bowyers had £30 per annum allowed her. This annuity was reduced to 7s. per week in September, when Mrs. Plummer, another of the family (since dead), was permitted to receive the same weekly stipend. The Corporation have since passed a resolution to the effect that they will grant no more relief to Myddelton's family.

We may supplement our account of Sir Hugh Myddelton by the following tribute to his memory, which appears in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1821, vol. xci., part 2, pages 65-67:—

Apostrophe to the New River.

Stream of the Cambrian artist!—hail, all hail,
Even thus distant from thy fountain vale,
Amwell, renown'd of Bards, for there a Bard
Dwelt, and enrich'd it with his song's regard,
Planted his garden, edified his grot,
Hallowing to Taste and Sentiment the spot.
But here, e'en here, the unlimited free Muse,
That o'er the Universe extends her views,
Mounts to the sun, or dives beneath the sea,
Or revels in the shades of phantasy,
Where nothing hath a being and a name,
A heart of passion, and a tongue of flame,
In Infen's lovely pastures, fancy-fond,
May trace thy far-off source, and pass beyond,
E'en on his native mountains, to survey
Thy mighty Master in his infant day.
Now, in her waking vision, she beholds
Thee, patriot Hugh, invested with the folds
Of shadowy mist, and seated on the throne
Of cloud-swath'd rock, and everlasting stone;
There, yet a Boy, didst thou imbibe the strength
Of the high elements, till such at length
Thy spirit grew, and became firm to dare
The writhen bolt, and lightning's purpley care;
Grapple with storm, and darkness, and the night,
And bide the wild winds in their hour of might!

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol., liv., p. 805.

What wonder then, that such appear'd thy soul,
So full of nerve and energy the whole,
When Fate proclaim'd the task for thee prepar'd,
Which none besides, save Hercules, had dar'd ?
Men shrunk from it—the men who felt of need
The spur that urges weakness unto deed—
The mighty and the wealthy of the land
Who thirsted for the fresh stream pure and bland,
Shrunk from the task. And sordid souls there were
Who yielded to their own the general care,
Oppos'd their profit to the public good,
And what they should have strengthen'd, still withstood,
Leering on prudence with phlegmatic eyes,
Who should have swell'd the tide of Enterprize,
And triumph'd in his triumphs,—they were rife,
In heartless opposition and blind strife,
Till royal favour on his labour shone,
Speeding the mighty work of patriot Middleton.
Bright smile of Royalty ! on such works as these,
Should be thy glory to award increase—
Were there of other virtue not a gem
To enhance the lustre of his diadem,
That King deserves the honours which the Muse
Around the brow of Merit doth diffuse,
Who aided with his power the Patriot
Who chose harsh poverty's severest lot,
So might he but complete his mighty plan,
The benefit of universal man !
Immortal work ! since none may nearer rise
To that first essence, which is Deity's,
Than he who peril'd, scorn'd, and lost all wealth
In the great cause of Piety and Health—
Such is, oh, Hugh, with evergreen embrac'd
Thine Epitaph on marble tablet trac'd,
A monumental pile,
Girt with thine own pure flood in Amwell's em'rald Isle.
Deciduous shrub, with evergreen, is there,
Fit emblems both !—of such who must appear
At the dark bar of death, but leave a name
Never to perish from the scrine of fame.
Matter endures but for a season—Mind
Leaves an immortal memory behind,
And is itself immortal !—Such art thou !—
While they who knitted on thee the stern brow,
O'er eyes that had no speculation in them,
Fall like the shrub, and let oblivion win them.
But thy perennial name is like the Spring,
Whereof I seek to sing ;
The Spring whence thou deducedst the ample stream,
The Poet's and Historian's theme,
Trenching thy mighty aqueduct a way,
'Till as the humble plains, the aspiring hills obey.
Muse ! hence again, devolve the stream of verse,
And be this spring our Helicon to thee ;
Drink of its Master's spirit ; and rehearse
Its pleasant wanderings manifold, and be
The Minstrel of his Mind and Memory :
So may thy flower be with his wreath entwined,
And in the gentle murmuring of its course
Thy name may mingle musical, and find

A duleet offering at its crystal source.
Arise! thou gently winding River,
From Chadwell's spring, and sedgy Lea,
Arise, and fill thy banks for ever,
Flow on, and plenty be with thee!
Through shady grove and flowery mead,
A paradise of sweets,
In thy fertility proceed,
And lave the rural streets.
And in thy clear blue mirror glass
The angler on thy banks,
Whose song upon the dewy grass
Shall trill his morning thanks.
But thrieely welcome to the verdant marge
Of pleasant Infen! Lengthen and enlarge
Thy eourse and eurrent! rise, ye Naiads, rise!
Advanee your sway—but, how—!—these tearful eyes!
These heart-eonsuming suspirs?—these soft moans,
Echoingly gurgling 'mid the bedded stones?
"Our Founder is in grief! his heart's best vision
Of perfeet joy, and Hope's sublime Elysian,
Is darken'd—and a dread and heavy weight
Trammels his spirit, like the hand of fate:
Want shuts the hand, and doth confine his act,
Limit his labour, and our course contract!
Oh, we had laid the promise up at heart,
'Till of our being it become a part,
That we from our full urns should pour the wave,
And London's plains with lymph salubrious lave—
But Want, the Gorgon, petrifies our flow,
And says—'Thus far—enter ye, no further go!'
And here, last eve, the PATRIOT came—to view,
Within his River's breast, Heaven's mirror'd blue!—
No!—in strange mood, he sought as if to number
The inverted stars repos'd in wat'ry slumber;
And then he wept; and mutter'd something wild
Of the world's cowardiee—then inly smil'd
Superior to its utmost maliee—then
Uprush'd, e'en like a lion from its den,
His spirit to his lips—and then away!—
Haughtily sped ——."
Muse! whither wouldst thou stray!
Why through the baekward vestibule of years
Travell'st to traee the Hero's hopes and fears?
Another burthen have the Naiads now,
For Royal Bounty gave their urns to flow:
And in their unseen eell they have a shrine,
Round whieh, with triumph, and with song dlvine,
They eelebrate their Founder;—and each Nymph
Carols her lay, and purifies the lymph.

"Flow on! River of our toil,
Flow, thou gentle River,
And whatever land thou coil,
Health attend thee ever!

"May she bathe within thee oft,
Nature's buxom daughter;
And a pleasant breeze aloft
Revel with thy water.

" May she medicine the cup
That dips in thee its brim ;
And he who drinks the blessing up
Repay thee with a hymn !

" Through shady grove and flowery mead,
A paradise of sweets,
In thy fertility proceed,
And lave the rural streets !

" Flow on ! River of our toil,
Flow, thou gentle River,
And whatever land thou coil,
Health attend thee ever !"

And then there was an old man—now no more,
Whose port was lofty, though his head was hoar ;
And his delight was in his garden centr'd,
And sternly chid he, if 'twas rudely enter'd,
His flower-beds trodden, and destroy'd their hue,
Or the fruit riff'd—ere 'twas ripen'd too !
He was my Grandfather ! And then there was
The village Governess, I must not pass,
Who urg'd the little ones in learning to excel,
And taught to lisp the monosyllable.—
Alas, indeed ! if we are warp'd too far,
For what we may become, from what we are,
And but exalted, o'er the crowd, to be
A surer mark for Fortune's archery.
And I, of other past delights might speak,
But that the traces of those things are weak
Which chane'd, ere memory kept a register,
Or thought had language wherewith to confer ;
Yet with the dim reality I blend
Imagination, as an ardent friend,
To colour up the outline, 'till I can,
Each several feature of the picture scan,
And in each spot, and about every place,
The hill, lane, field, the river, and the chase,
The haunt and home of early pleasure trace :
And in the very gale there is a voice,
Lingering o'er infancy's evanish'd joys,
Which with thy name, sweet Infen, like a spell,
Winds round the heart—the soul of this farewell !

A. Heraud.

OWEN ROW AND OWEN STREET.

These places occupy the site of a large field which was anciently known as the Hermitage-field. A little above the spot where Alice Owen's Almhouses (which will be referred to hereafter) stood before they were rebuilt on their present site, was a religious edifice called a Hermitage, which, when Catholicism was popular in England, had a very different meaning to that which is now suggested by the name. The hermit was not then, as is generally supposed, required to seclude himself entirely from the fellowship of men, but merely to live alone, and perform the religious offices of his order in the chapel or oratory annexed to his hermitage. Hermits lived often in caverns cut into rooms or cells, in chapels at the end of bridges, at the gates of towns, and in churchyards, where they not unfrequently performed the secular office of toll-gatherers. They were thought by credulous people, with whom they were in the odour of sanctity, to hold celestial converse, work miracles, and cure diseases. They had gardens and lands upon which they worked. Although

professed monks were chosen for those Hermitages that were endowed as ecclesiastical benefices, there were many impostors, "Great loobies and long that loth were to swynke" (*i.e.* earn their living by labour), as the Vision of Piers Plowman informs us.[1]

In the year 1511 the Knights Hospitallers founded the Hermitage, and instituted and collated therein one Robert Baker, as appears by the following instrument:—

"To all the faithful in Christ to whom this present writing indented shall come, Brother Thomas Docwra, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and the Confreres of the same prior send greeting in the Lord, everlasting. Whereas our beloved brother in Christ, Robert Baker, Hermit of the Order of St. Paul the first Hermit under the invocation of our Saviour and his forerunner St. John the Baptist, the patron of our Order, doth intend to build one Hermitage upon our land nigh (juxta) Iseldon, within the diocese of London, and the same Hermitage he hath begun to build, and doth purpose to complete the buildings so commenced by divine assistance: we therefore fully commending in the Lord the purpose and pious devotion of the aforenamed Hermit, have granted and limited and do grant and limit by these presents to the aforesaid hermit a certain measure of feet of assise particularly specified on the back of these presents, be it more or less, as the metes and bounds of the Hermitage with the appurtenances do purport and demonstrate, that is to say, at the end of our field or pasture called Woodsmansfold, abutting on the place where two roads meet, and the cross that stands in the king's highway aforesaid. And that he may be enabled to finish the aforesaid Hermitage so begun by God's assistance, and the alms of the faithful, we do give and grant such Hermitage begun and completed with the appurtenances within the bounds and metes aforesaid, to the same Hermit, Robert Baker, for the term of his life; Together with all the alms and oblations offered or to be offered in the chapel of the same Hermitage, and all the appurtenances for the term of his life. And the said Hermit shall repair the said Hermitage and Chapel in all things and by all things and with all their appurtenances, and shall bear all the burdens of the same during his life aforesaid: but the said Hermit being dead, We the aforesaid Prior and Confreres, for us and our successors, do promise by the aforesaid to give and collate the said Hermitage with the Chapel and the appurtenances so often and when the same shall be vacant, from time to time at all future times, to one Chaplain or to one fitting and well disposed Hermit, who for the term of his life shall govern the said Hermitage with the Chapel and the appurtenances, to the glory of Almighty God and the honour of our order (Religionis). And the same Chaplain or Hermit shall perceive and have for ever of our collation of the aforesaid Prior and Confreres and our successors, as patrons and founders of the Hermitage aforesaid, the oblations there offered and to be offered for his support and for the reparation and maintenance of the Hermitage aforesaid, and for supporting the charges of the chapel there, with all the appurtenances. And the same Chaplain, or every future Hermit shall be bounded by these presents continually to pray for the happy estate of the most Serene Prince and our Lord the Lord Henry the Eighth, the present King of England, and for the soul of the same most Serene King when he shall have departed from this life; also for the good estate of our order of St. John of Jerusalem, and for the soul of the said Hermit, Robert Baker, for ever. In witness whereof our common seal, as also the seal of the aforesaid Hermit, Robert Baker, are to these indentures interchangeably appended. Given at our House of St John in Clerkenwell, in our chapter assembled, the tenth day of July, in year MCCCCC and eleven, and in th third year of the reign of the aforesaid most serene our Lord, King Henry the Eighth."[2]

This Hermitage or Chapel was duly completed, and was in repute with many good Catholics, one of whom, Richard Cloudesley, by his will dated the 13th January, 1517, made a surrender of certain lands and tenements into the hands of the Lord of St. John of Jerusalem in England, who was to grant them again to several persons therein named; and in order that the testator might be "prayed for perpetually," he bade his executor within a month after his decease to "name and appoint an honest sadde preste to synge for my soule, my father and moder's soules, and all Christen soules in the New Chapel of the Hermitage at Islington town's end. And that the said preste shall say three times in a week *placebo* and *dyrge* for my soul and all Christen soules, and that at every mass he sayeth he shall say *de profundis* for my soule and all Christen soules and pray openly and specially for me by name." For these duties as long as he remained of a good and sad disposition and faithfully performed his service he was to have the whole of the rent of the lands and tenements, "bearing the charge to the Lord, and keeping the reparations." This oratory at Islington town's end was in the time of Queen Elizabeth called "The Hermitage of St. John," and the field in which it stood, with two others adjacent, were collectively known as "Ermitage fields," and are described as not exceeding eleven acres in extent, and within one inclosure.

[1] Fosbrooke's *British Monachism*, 3rd ed., 8vo., 1843, pp. 370-380.

[2] *Registrum Sti. Joh'is Jerl'm de Dimissionibus.* Cott. MSS. Claud. E. vi., fo. 93. Translated in Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p. 143.

The testamentary provision made by Sir Richard Cloudesley as to the Hermitage was rendered null and void by the dissolution of religious establishments in the first half of the sixteenth century, and this estate and its appurtenances passed into lay hands.

In the reign of Queen Mary a great landowner named Thomas Wilkes lived in Islington. His name occurs in a deed dated 3rd of November, 1556, as tenant or occupier of a field in that parish, "containing eight acres in the manor of Barnsbury."[1] This family is also mentioned in the burial registers of Islington parish between the years 1577 and 1603. Thomas Wilkes had a daughter named Miss, or as by the courtesy of those days she was called, Mistress Alice Wilkes. This young lady was one day "walking abroad in the fields, attended by her maidservant, when she observed a woman milking, and had a mind to try the cow's paps, whether she could milk, which she did; at



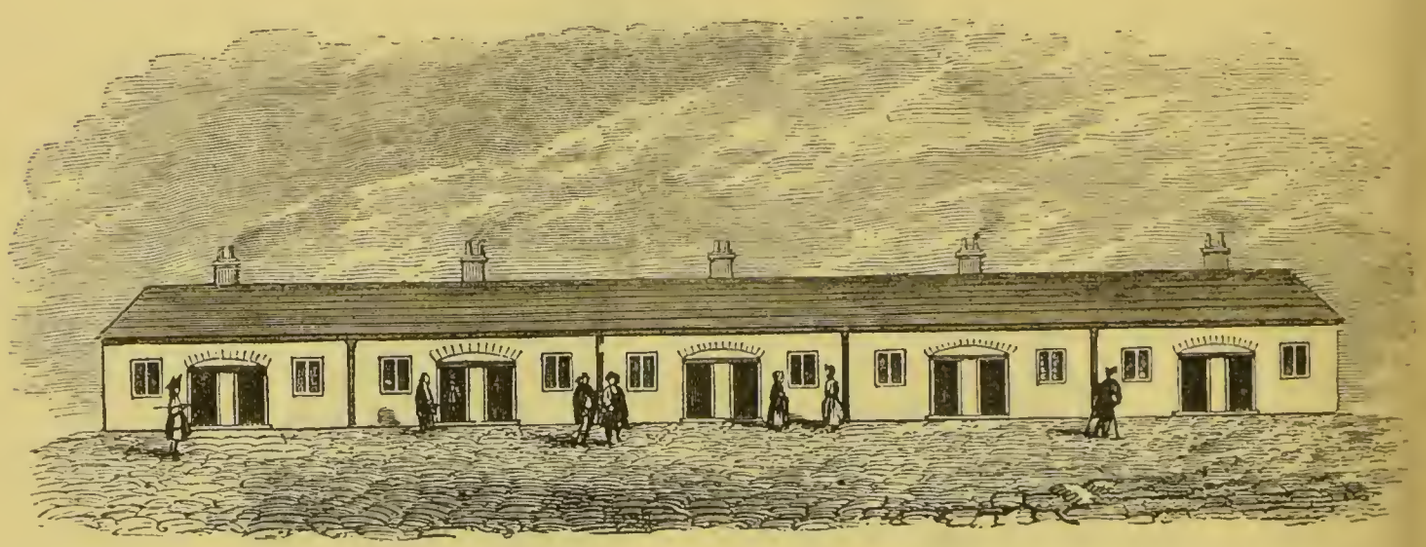
PORTRAIT OF LADY OWEN.

her withdrawing from the cow, an arrow was shot through the crown of her hat (then worn very tall), which so startled her that she then declared if she lived to be a lady, she would erect something on that spot of ground in commemoration of the great mercy shown by the Almighty in that astonishing deliverance." Time passed on until she became a widow, when her servant, who happened to be the one who had been present when the accident happened, reminded her of her vow. Her answer was that she remembered the affair, and would fulfil her promise. She thereupon purchased the Hermitage estate (being "land from the Welsh Harp to the Turk's Head"), the cost of which and the buildings upon it amounted to £1766, and built thereon almshouses, in the year 1609, and a free grammar school, about the year 1610.

[1] Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p. 148.

This remarkable episode in the life of Lady Owen (formerly Mistress Wilkes) is related by one of Stow's continuators,[1] as follows :—"This worthy woman being born at Islington, in the time of her childhood she happened there to escape a great danger, by means of an arrow shot at random in the field where she was then sporting among other children. The arrow missing all others, quite pierced through the hat on her head (and God be praised for it!) did not come with any other harm; whereupon in the town of her birth she made choice to express her thankfulness to God upon the altar, of her charitable almshouses and school. . . . At the time of her death, of children and children's children, she had no less than two and twenty, a motive very able to hinder charity, especially in a worldly and covetous mind."

There are several versions of Lady Owen's arrow story, amongst them was that contained in the following communication to the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1791, vol. lxi., part 1, page 217 :—"I should also be glad to know what foundation there is for the traditionary tale of Lady Owen (who endowed the almshouses which bear her name, and lies in the church) rising to her fortune and rank by a random shot from an arrow of Sir Thomas Owen, which she received not in her heart, but a less noble situation, as she was going to milking. This wound Cupid revenged with one of his



THE OLD ALMSHOUSES OF LADY OWEN.

arrows, that made a still deeper wound on Sir Thomas. I have heard that there were three arrows on the top of the school-house founded by her, in remembrance of the event; but they were gone before my time." To the last portion of this communication the editor appends a note, in reference to the three arrows as follows:—"These we well remember.—Edit." *Vide* also as to these arrows "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxii., part 2, page 130.

Of this excellent lady, whose munificent charity will cause her name long to be reverenced by those aged widows for whom she has so graciously provided an asylum in the winter of life, an entertaining biography, the MS. of which is still preserved, was discovered in September, 1750, by an old master of the grammar school, named Davis, soon after his appointment to that situation, which he held for forty years. From this narrative, which is not without a tinge of romance, we learn that "Dame Alice Owen was born at Islington. Her first husband was Henry Robinson, citizen and brewer, of London; her second husband was William Elkin, of London; and her third and last, Sir Thomas Owen, one of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth's justices of the Court of Common Pleas. She lived and died in Bassishaw, on the 26th of November, 1613, in the reign of James the First, and was buried in the east corner of St. Mary's church, Islington." The tomb, which the Master and Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Brewers were enjoined once in every year, between Easter and

[1] Strype's *Stow*, ed. 1720, b. i., p. 280.

Whitsuntide, to "take pains to go and visit," and for which on each solemn occasion they were allowed three shillings out of the estate, "for a refreshing unto them," was placed near the end of the south aisle of the old church of St. Mary, Islington, which was taken down in 1751. "It was a large and costly monument of white and veined marble, enriched with cherubim, fruit, and foliage, and with two columns and an entablature of the Corinthian order; the whole enclosed by an iron railing. It contained the effigy of Lady Owen, reclining on her left side, as reading a book; with smaller figures, in relief, of eleven of her children and grand children," all kneeling. The inscription, in gilt letters, was the following:—"Under the hope of the Resurrection, here lyeth the body of Alice Owen, widowe, the daughter of Thomas Wilkes. She was first married to Henry Robinson, by whom she had six sonnes, John, William, Henry, John, Thomas, and Henry; which said Henry the younger was married unto Mary, the daughter of Sir William Glover, Knt., Alderman of London; and five daughters, Margaret, married to Sir John Bret, of Edmunton, in the Co. of Middx., Knt.; Susan; Ann; and Ann the younger, married to Robert Rich, of Horndon on the Hill, Co. of Essex, Esq.; and Alice, married to John Washborne, of Wichingford, in the Co. of Worcester, Esq. The second husband was William Elkin, Esq., Alderman of the City of London, by whom she had issue only Ursula Elkin, married to Sir Roger Owen, of Condover, in the Co. of Salopp, Knt. The third husband was Thomas Owen, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas to Queen Elizabeth. This matron having advanced and enriched all her children, kept greate hospitalitie; shee also in her life time so furthered the publique weale of this state as her charitable deeds to the Citie of London, both Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, especiallie this towne of Islington, can testifie; a monument of her piety to future ages being extant in the S. end of this towne, more worthie and largelie expressing her pietie than these gowlden letters, as much as deedes are above wordes. She having lived religiously to God sufficientlie for nature, but not for her children and friends, her just soule is in the hands of the Almightie, when her bodie departed on the 26th day of November, anno. d'ni, 1613."

Lady Owen was authorised by Royal Letters Patent to establish her almshouses, as appears by the following:—

The king to all to whom &c., Greeting: whereas we are credibly informed that in our Towns of Islington, Iseldon, Clerkenwell, and St. James of Clerkenwell, in our county of Middix., there are very many indigent and old widows extremely necessitous; and whereas Alice Owen, of London, widow, late the wife of Thomas Owen, late one of our Justices of our Court of the Bench of Common Pleas at Westminster, being moved with pious compassion, hath humbly besought us to the end that we might deign to give her our Royal Licence that she the same Alice may and be able to purchase a certain closure or parcel of land within the towns and parishes aforesaid or either of them, now called Ermitage fields, and heretofore called Woodman-field, Sheeperofte, and Lambeerofte, not exceeding the quantity of eleven acres of land, and thereupon to build one or more houses for the dwelling of ten poor old widows, and of the same to found a certain Hospital for such widows to endure for ever, and to purchase other messuages, houses, lands, &c., not exceeding the yearly value of £40, and to grant the same to the Master, Wardens, or Guardians and Commonalty of the Mystery or Art of Brewers of the City of London, and their successors, for the perpetual maintenance of the aforesaid poor widows, and that she may make orders, laws, rules, &c. 12th June (1608).[1]

And by other Letters Patent of the 8th James, after reciting the before-mentioned Letters Patent of the 12 Junii, 6 Jac., it is further recited as follows:—

And whereas we are credibly informed that the aforesaid Alice Owen according to our aforesaid licence, and the true intent in the aforesaid letters patent contained, hath erected, builded, and founded upon the aforesaid closures called Ermitage fields ten houses, for the dwelling of ten poor, old, and indigent widows of the towns and parishes aforesaid, and of the same hath made one Hospital, and in the same houses hath placed ten poor widows; And the aforesaid Alice Owen hath procured to be granted to the same Master, Wardens, or Guardians and Commonalty of the Mystery or Art of Brewers of the City of London, and their successors for ever, for the maintenance of the aforesaid old, poor, and indigent widows, as well the aforesaid closures called Ermitage fields, as also other lands, tenements, and hereditaments; And whereas the aforesaid Alice Owen hath humbly besought

[1] Patent, 6 Jac., p. 18, N, 2. Translated in Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p. 147.

us that we may be willing to graciously and favourably extend to her our licence that in the aforesaid closures called Ermitage fields we should design to erect, found, and establish one chapel and house for the dwelling of one good man, being a minister of the Word of God, who may be able to read to the aforesaid widows the Sunday services and the Sacrament where he can sow the seed, according to our laws of England, and instruct them in the worship and fear of God, and teach the sons and daughters of the poor abiding in the said town and parish of Islington, Iseldon, and Clerkenwell, and St. James of Clerkenwell, in the county of Midd'x aforesaid, and about the neighbouring parts to read, write, cast accompts (*computare*), and sing the Psalms now usually sung in the English Church ; And also that the same Alice may and can grant or procure to be granted other messuages, houses, &c., not exceeding the yearly value of £30, to the aforesaid Master, Wardens, &c., for the perpetual maintenance of the aforesaid Chapel or School, and the Minister, Master, or Pedagogue of the same : And also that the aforesaid Alice during her natural life, and the aforesaid Master, Warden, &c., for the time being after the death of the aforesaid Alice, from time to time, may and can make and grant orders, laws, and rules concerning the nomination, placing, amoving, direction and disposal of the aforesaid Chapel or School, and also the Minister, Master, or Pedagogue of the same, and of the aforesaid messuages, &c. The style of this foundation is declared to be "The Free Chapel and School of Alice Owen, of London, widow of Thomas Owen in Islington, for the Instruction of Children (*pueris*), 3rd July (1610)."[1]

Dame Alice Owen, by indenture of 22nd November, 1609, reciting the license from the Crown to purchase lands in Islington and Clerkenwell, and to build houses thereon for poor widows, and reciting that she had purchased the Ermitage fields and had built an hospital thereon, conveyed the same and other hereditaments of £40 a year to the Brewers' Company, for the relief and maintenance of ten poor old widows of the parish aforesaid, to be held by the said company in trust for the said charity for ever; and by other indentures of the same year, a rent charge of £25, issuing out of the Charterhouse closes in Islington and St. Andrew's, Holborn, was conveyed to the company in support of the almshouses.

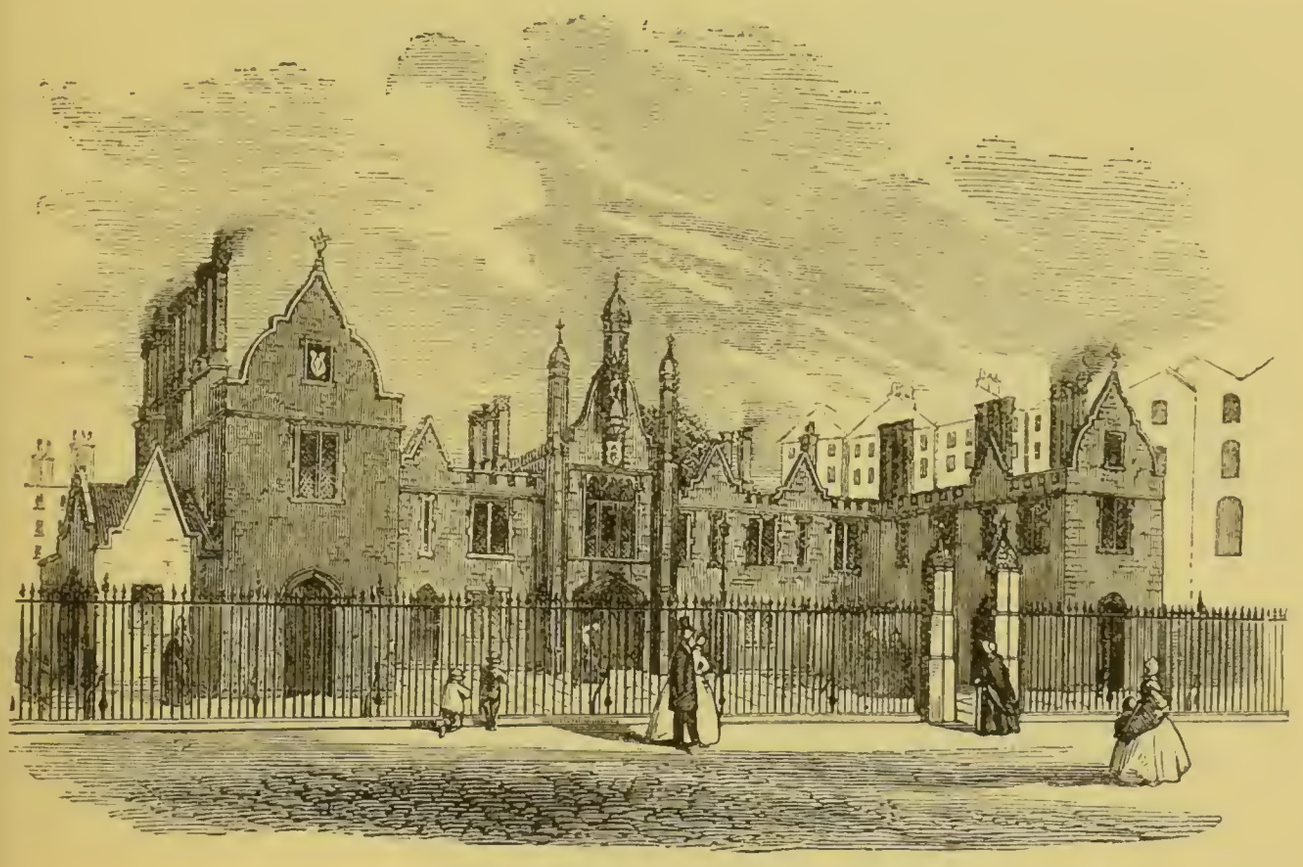
The Hermitage Estate is now bounded on the west by St. John-street-road, including both sides of Rawstorne-street; on the south by Goswell-road, forming almost an angle at the north, where it is bounded by a passage leading from the Red Lion public-house in St. John-street to Goswell-road. The property includes Owen-street (in which are the schools and almshouses), Owen's-row, Owen's-court, Brewer-street North, Brewer-street, Buxton-street, Rawstorne-place, Rawstorne-street, and the east side of St. John-street, and the west side of Goswell-road, which forms the boundary. The estate was devised by Lady Owen, together with a small farm at Orsett, in Essex, by her will dated 10th June, 1613, to the Brewers' Company, for the support of her excellent charity. The original almshouses and school were situated on the east side of St. John-street-road, on a plot of ground now covered by modern dwelling-houses and shops extending between the Old Red Lion Tavern and the Crown and Woolpack, at the corner of Owen-street. The site of this range of buildings was low, being under the level of the footway, from which the almshouses were separated by a dwarf wall, within which was a paved and grassed area or forecourt of some extent. Over the entrance gateway, from which there was a descent of several steps, was placed a tablet bearing the following inscription :—"These TEN ALMSHOUSES, with the FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL adjoining, were built and endowed in the year 1613, by Lady Alice Owen, and by her will left to the government of the Worshipful Company of Brewers of the City of London. In commemoration of which this stone is placed, in the year 1788.

"EDWARD BOND, ESQ., Master.
"MR. BENJAMIN SMITH,
"MR. SAMUEL WATLINGTON, } Wardens."

About 1788 the wall and entrance-gate were erected. "The almshouses comprised ten separate single apartments, with a small garden in the rear for each widow, and the school afforded accommodation for thirty boys." The buildings being out of repair, and the funds of the charity having received a considerable augmentation from the expiration of some leases, the Brewers' Company determined to erect a new school and almshouses, which were commenced accordingly in the

[1] Patent, 8 Jac., p. 38, No. 8. Translated in TOMLINS's *Yseldon*, p. 147.

year 1840, on the present site in Owen-street, a little removed from the old one, under the superintendence of Mr. George Tattersal, of Pall-mall, architect and surveyor to the Company, and the expense of the present handsome buildings was about £6000. The school-house was built in 1840, at an expense of £2,656 9s. 6d. The money was provided by a sale of part of the stock then held by the company on account of the charity. The almshouses were built in 1841, at an expense of about £3,500, which was provided by a similar sale of stock. On pulling down the old premises two of the original arrows, already noticed, which in the early days of the building were fixed on the top thereof, in memory of Lady Owen's fortunate escape in her maidenhood, were discovered, and are now in the possession of the Head Master. The most perfect one of the two was found sunken deep in a wall of the school. Three arrows were originally placed in commemoration of Lady Owen's providential escape, one on the apex of the gable front of the school, and the other two at the corners.



THE PRESENT ALMSHOUSES OF LADY OWEN.

The subjoined description of the present edifice is taken from Lewis's "History of Islington," for, though this charity is situated in the parish of Clerkenwell, several eminent topographers—Hatton, in his "New View of London," 1708, Strype, in his edition of "Stow," 1720, and Lysons, in his "Environs"—have severally referred to it as being in Islington. The master's house and grammar school are of red brick with copings of stone, in the Elizabethan style, with ornamented gables, partly circular and partly triangular. The principal entrance is by a flight of stone steps through a finely arched doorway, surmounted by an oriel window of plain design, with a perforated parapet. On each side are entrances by smaller arches, above which, on the western (that for boys), are the arms of the foundress (arg. a pomegranate tree, on a mount, proper fruited, or)—on the east (that for the master's kitchen), those of the Brewers' Company (gules on a chevron arg. between three saltiers of garbes, or, as many tuns sable), neatly sculptured on shields of white marble. The principal entrance leads into a plainly groined hall, forming a handsome avenue to the ante-room, which is appropriated for hats and cloaks, from each end of which are entrances into a school-room

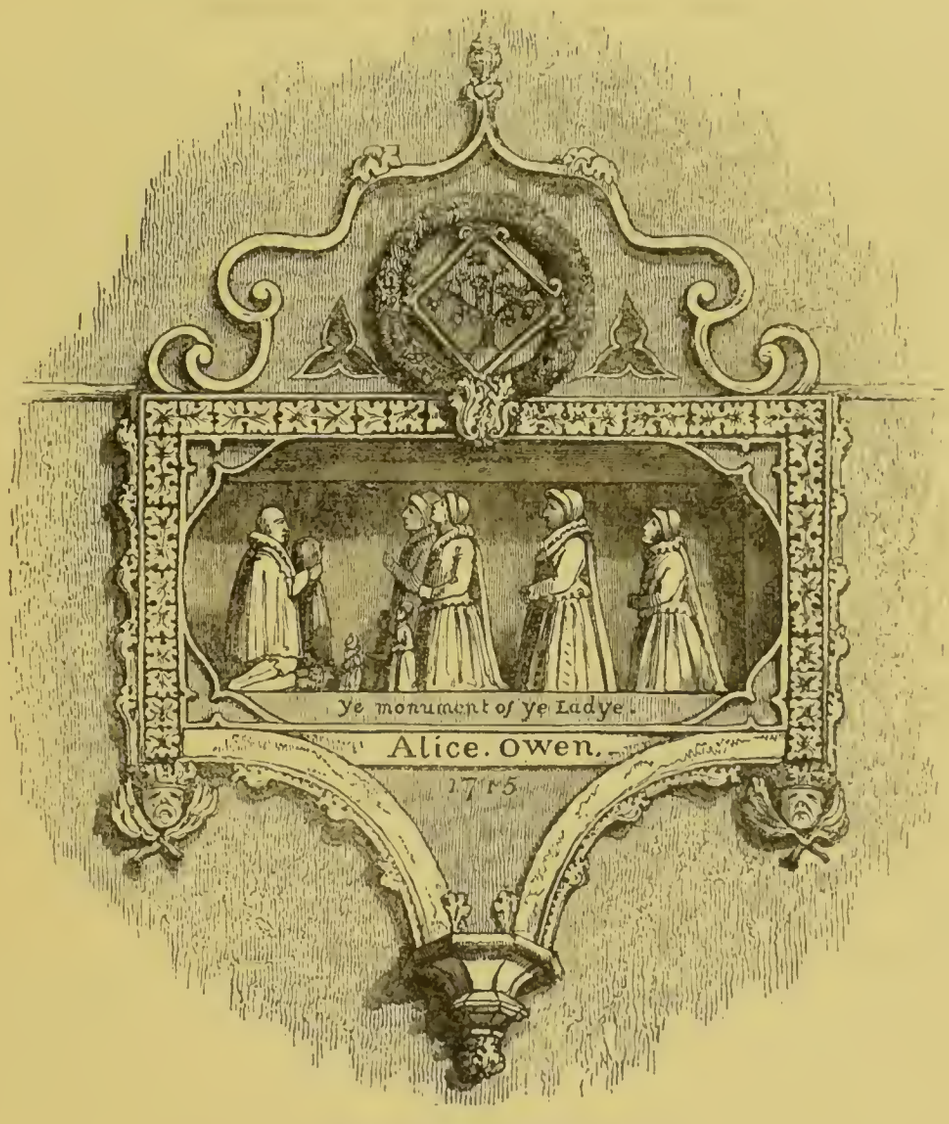
(the original one), forty-five feet in length and twenty feet in width, at the upper end of which are a globe closet and desk combined, enclosed by panelled oak, and immediately above are the rules of the school, in letters of gold, on a framed tablet, surmounted by a richly carved ornament. At the opposite end of the room, immediately above the clock, is part of Lady Owen's monument, originally erected in St. Mary's Church, and removed into the old school-room on the taking down of the church. It contains nine out of the eleven children and grandchildren that adorned the front of her tomb. Behind the figures are crosswise the two arrows from the old building, now mended and gilt.. Above is a lozenge-shaped tablet, bearing the arms of Wilkes, the maiden name of Lady Owen (arg. a pomegranate tree on a mount, proper fruited, or), which formerly appeared over the door of the old school-room. The roof of the school-room now under notice is supported by transverse beams of open framework, richly carved and ornamented with bosses and flowers. The seats for the



THE OLD GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF LADY OWEN.

scholars, of oak, placed longitudinally, are furnished with every requisite accommodation for keeping the books; each boy has a separate desk and twenty-two inches space in this school-room, and two feet in each of the other two school-rooms. The whole interior arrangement of this room, from its chasteness and simplicity of style, has a strikingly pleasing effect. There are altogether three school-rooms adjoining each other on the ground floor, one of which was erected in 1840, the second in 1846, and the third in 1860. There is no playground. The apartments for the Master, seven in number, form the front portion of the building, and are well arranged. In one of the parlours is a portrait of Lady Owen, copied in 1840, by Mr. Charles Cripps, from an original in the Hall of the Brewers' Company. Opposite are the almshouses, of similar design with the school, enclosed from the street by a handsome iron palisade. The building contains thirteen tenements of three apartments each, lighted by two tiers of small square-headed windows, and one in the centre which contains, on the ground-floor, a large sitting-room for two inmates, and above it a separate sleeping-room for each, the whole affording accommodation for fourteen persons. The windows were originally leaden

casements, but they have been removed. The almswomen removed here in the summer of 1841. The almshouses are now for fourteen poor widows, seven of which are elected from the parish of Clerkenwell, and the other seven from that of Islington, in one of which parishes they must have resided for seven years before the election. Each candidate is required to give the name of two persons, who will, in case of sickness, provide a nurse and medical attendance. By Lady Owen's regulations, still extant, bearing date the 20th of September, 1613, it is required that these widows be of "good fame and name," that they be above "fifty years of age when admitted, single and unmarried," and to continue on the foundation no longer than they remain single. Ten (the original number) of the inmates receive £4 14s. per quarter each; and four receive £4 11s. per quarter each;



PART OF LADY OWEN'S MONUMENT.

and all have a donation of ten shillings at each visitation, half-a-guinea at Christmas, a sufficient allowance of coal, and a cloth gown every two years. The original allowance was sixteen shillings and eightpence per quarter, and three yards of cloth for a gown, once in two years; also six pounds' worth of coals among them was distributed by the Company of Brewers; these poor people also received four shillings on All Saints' Day and two shillings and sixpence in May yearly.[1] Fifteen pounds are now allowed by the Brewers' Company for the cloth for the gowns and the making.

Elizabeth Lovejoy, by her will, dated the 28th of March, 1694, bequeathed to Lady Owen's Free

[1] Hatton's *New View of London*, 1708.

School and Almshouses £200, to be paid to the company, and to be disposed of by them in the purchase of lands. The interest to be applied as follows:—To the schoolmaster, on the anniversary of her death, £1; for a dinner, £2; and the residue for the poor women in the almshouses. The sum of £180, which was received in respect of this benefaction, is held by the company. They pay to the senior ten of the fourteen almswomen 3s. per quarter under this endowment, and £1 annually to the schoolmaster. Ann Potter, by her will, dated the 28th of May, 1614, gave to the company £100 on trust, to pay to four poor widows, each 10s.; to the Owen almspeople, £2; to the poor of St. Sepulchre, £1; to the poor of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, £1. The £2 a year is paid to the ten senior of Owen's almswomen, in sums of four shillings each, on the 1st of November annually. There are gifts to the widows of the company, but not specifically on this gift. The churchwardens of St. Sepulchre and St. Giles receive from the company £1 annually for each parish. The total expenditure of the past year in the almshouses, was £393 16s. 6d.

The school is now attended by one hundred and twenty boys (originally it was for thirty: twenty-four from Islington, and six from Clerkenwell)—one hundred being taken from the former parish, and twenty from the latter. They must be at least seven years of age, and not above eleven; and be able to read and write. They pay nothing for entrance, education, books, or stationery. They each deposit £1, which is returned to them in case they give three months' notice of removal. The election is made by the committee of the company at the school twice a year, viz., after the Midsummer and Christmas holidays. The preference is generally given to the children of respectable parents. In the election of the 2nd of January, 1864, there were forty-four candidates for seven vacancies from Islington, and sixteen for four vacancies at Clerkenwell. The school is said to be very highly appreciated in the neighbourhood, and admissions much sought after. The boys are required to leave the school at fourteen years of age. There is an annual examination on the first Friday in June, when the committee are summoned to attend, and the examination is conducted by the master in their presence. The master, whom the foundress directed should be one able to teach grammar, fair writing, cyphering, and casting of accounts, occupies the school-house, rent and tax free, and receives twenty-four sacks of coal; in addition to this he has a liberal salary.[1] The assistant master, the drawing master, and the French master, have each a sufficient stipend.

We read the following advertisement in an old newspaper:—"Hermitage and Fern Fields, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, containing about six acres, adjoining to the New River water, and lie between the two highways going up to Islington, are to be Lett on Lease. Inquire of the clerk, Brewers' Hall, London." The property was let in various lots on building leases. The total annual revenue of the estate now amounts to £2,035 12s. 5d. The excess of income over the expenditure (about £750 a year) is invested in the stocks.

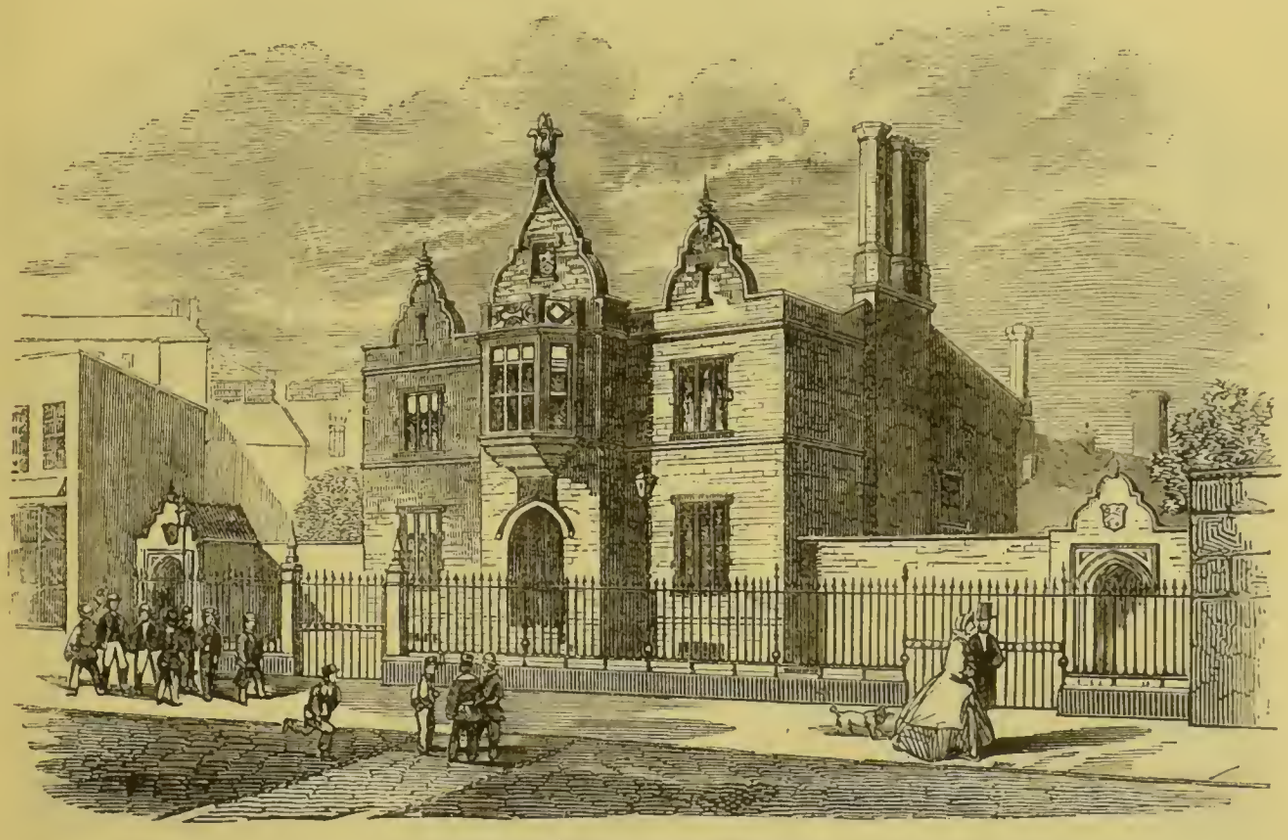
By an order of the Master of the Rolls, dated the 3rd of June, 1829, on the petition of the company, it was ordered that the Master, to whom such matters stood referred, in approval of a scheme for the application of the rents to become due, in respect of the estates situate respectively in Islington, Clerkenwell, and Orsett, and for the government of such school and almshouses, and in case he should find that the rents of the estates applicable to either of the charities were more than sufficient for the purposes of the charities to which such rents were applicable, should be at liberty to settle a scheme for a deficient application of so much of the rents to accrue in respect of the estates as he should be of opinion were not required for the support of the charities, to which such rents were applicable, and after the Master should have made his report, such further order should be made as should be just; and the Master, by his report of the 17th of March, 1830, found that the rents of the estates at Islington and Clerkenwell had increased to £900 per annum, and were capable of further increase, and that the rents of the estates at Orsett amounted to only £50 a year, and were not capable of much further increase; and that the rents at Islington and Clerkenwell, which were solely applicable to the support of the almshouses, were much more than sufficient for the purposes of

[1] The Editor is indebted to Mr. Wm. Hoare, the head master of Lady Owen's School, for some part of the information relative thereto, which appears in this History.



THE CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, PENTONVILLE.

the charity; while the rents of the Orsett estate, applicable for the support of the grammar school, were greatly inadequate for the purposes of that charity, and that the school was of great advantage, and it was desirable that it should be maintained. And it appeared from the schedule annexed to the rules and orders ordained by Alice Owen, that the income of the estates at Islington, Clerkenwell, and Orsett amounted then to £72 a year, whereof two-fifths were directed to be applied in support of the almshouses, and the remaining three-fifths in support of the school, and that the rents of the estates at Islington and Clerkenwell were more than sufficient for the almshouses, by such a sum as together with the rent of the estate at Orsett would make a sum equal to two-fifths of the rents of all the estates; and the Master further found that the petitioners were of opinion that the charitable intention of Alice Owen would be carried into effect, as nearly as circumstances would admit, by applying such of the rents of the Islington and Clerkenwell estates as were not required for support of the almshouses towards the support of the school, and of the rents of the Orsett estate. And that the petitioners



LADY OWEN'S FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

proposed that so much of the rents arising from the estates at Islington and Clerkenwell, as together with the rents of the Orsett estate, would amount to two-fifths of the rents applicable to both charities, should be applied in support of the school, in aid of the estate at Orsett, and the Master approved of the proposal as a proper scheme for the application of the rents of the charity. It was, therefore, ordered that the report should be confirmed, and that the company should pay in support of the school, and in aid of the rents of the charity estate at Orsett, so much of the rents arising from the charity estates in Islington and Clerkenwell as together with the Orsett rent would amount to two-fifths of the rents of all the estates.

In February, 1833, two informations were filed by the Attorney-General, at the instance of William Bromley, against the company. One of these, which was afterwards amended, as amended, prayed that the hospital and almshouses might be extended under the decree of the Court, upon the footing of the greatly increased income of the estates, in extension of the charitable purposes of the foundress, for the support of additional poor almswomen, having regard to the original indentures.

And that the application of such increased income, and the accumulated funds arising from the excess of income beyond expenditure, for which the defendants were accountable, might be regulated and secured. And in case the Court should be pleased to adopt the report of the Master and the order of 30th March, 1830, founded thereupon so far as the same extended, then that such extension of the hospital might be upon the footing thereof. And that it might be referred to the Master to settle a scheme accordingly, and that such declarations might be made, and directions given in that behalf, as might be needful. And that in case of need the estate of the hospital and almshouses might be ascertained, and that an account might be taken of the receipts and disbursements of the company, upon the footing of the before-mentioned mixed and blended accounts, so kept by the company, not disturbing the accounts of receipts and payments up to 1817. And that it might be declared in



INTERIOR OF ONE OF LADY OWEN'S SCHOOL ROOMS AT THE PRESENT TIME.

reference thereto, that the defendants were not entitled to take credit for and charge against the charity, the three before-mentioned sums of £200, £100, and £500. And that the subsequent accounts of the company might be in like manner taken to ascertain that accumulation from time to time, arising from the surplus income, and for which the defendants were accountable to the charity. And that it might be referred to the Master to take such accounts accordingly with directions to state the balances in the hands of the company, and that they might be charged with interest thereon as should appear just, and that such further directions might be given as might be needful; and in particular that requisite provision might be made in respect of the school and the increase of the estate thereof, and respecting such excess of expenditure in respect of the school as might be supplied by the defendants, out of the income of the estate of the school, it not being sought unless the Court should see occasion to charge the defendants personally in that behalf. And that the defendants might

be decreed to answer, what, upon such accounts, should be found due from them. And that the outstanding funds of the charity in the hands of the company might be duly laid out. And that it be referred to the Master to inquire into the circumstances affecting the leases granted by the company of the Ermitage lands, and whether it would be for the benefit of the charity that any proceedings should be had against any and what persons for impeaching or selling any of the leases, and in particular a certain lease for one hundred and forty-four years, made of part of the Islington estate in 1784, to certain members of the Society of Friends, either in whole or in part, or otherwise for defeating the leases, on the ground of forfeiture by reason of waste or otherwise, or for obtaining from the parties interested therein some compensation in respect of the increased rents accruing from such extended buildings for the benefit of the charity.

A second information prayed that the free school of the foundation of Alice Owen might, under the decree of the Court, be extended, upon the footing of the increased amount of the yearly sum applicable to the same in furtherance of the charitable trusts of the foundress.

ST. JOHN STREET ROAD.[1]

In former times, when Islington was a secluded village, and Clerkenwell a pleasant suburb of old London, this was a genuine country road, with hedges on either side, bounded by rich pasture land, with here and there the rising ground topped by a windmill, or crowned with a clump of goodly trees. Less than a century ago, travelling on this highway after nightfall was attended with considerable risk and peril, by reason of the numerous thieves who infested it, and robbed with impunity the venturous traveller, if alone; hence it was customary for persons leaving the City to wait at the end of St. John-street until a party sufficiently numerous had collected, "when they were guarded by a patrol appointed for the especial duty." With persons arriving in London from the north, it was usual for them to remain all night at the Angel Inn, rather than encounter the perils of the way. "The lower part of Islington," says a newspaper of this period, "is the Sunday evening retreat for pickpockets, and is every evening infested with blackguards of every denomination, to the great terror of the reputable inhabitants."[2] In another newspaper, bearing date the 1st September, 1769, we read:—"Early yesterday morning, about three o'clock, the Oundle and Thrapston waggons, from Northamptonshire, with provisions for Newgate Market, were stopped by two footpads between the turnpike at Islington and Sadler's Wells, who robbed the passengers of their money."

In old maps this thoroughfare is variously called "the road to Chester," "the road to Islington," and "the Islington-road." The latter name it retained until the year 1818, when the appellation was, with less propriety, exchanged for the present one.

There are now no buildings remaining of any great antiquity, most of the houses now standing having been erected about the close of the last century.

On the east side of the road formerly stood Lady Owen's Almshouses, a low range of buildings erected in the year 1613, but removed in 1840; and subsequently the line of houses extending from the corner of Owen-street to the Old Red Lion were built upon the original site. Less than half a century ago the Old Red Lion Tavern, the existence of which dates as far back as the year 1415, stood almost alone. In the year 1811 it was described as a small old brick house, with two or three small trees in front. In a room here was written that curious engine of political mischief, "The Rights of Man," by Thomas Paine, who with one hand attempted to overturn the throne of his king, and with the other aimed an impotent but malicious blow at the altars of his God. Burke unloosed his grasp on one side, and Watson, the venerable Bishop of Llandaff, disabled his impious arm on the other.[3] In Hogarth's engraving of "Evening,"[4] in the centre-distance of the plate, is a view of the Old Red Lion. In former times several eminent persons visited this tavern when abroad in the

[1] *Vide* page 293, for an account of St. John-street.
[2] *Public Advertiser*, Sept., 1775.
[3] *London and Middlesex*, Rev. J. NIGHTINGALE, vol. x., part 3.
[4] *Vide* page 407.

neighbourhood rusticating for the improvement of their health, and enjoying a pleasant interval of relaxation from literary labour; among others, Thomson, the author of "The Seasons," and the renowned Doctor Johnson (who, it will be remembered, proclaimed "The tavern chair to be a throne of human felicity"), and his protegé, the tender-hearted poet, Goldsmith. The Red Lion Inn is mentioned or alluded to in a finding or return to a special commission issuing out of the exchequer, now remaining among the special commissions, dated 7th October, 1639, viz., "Elizabeth Noone, deceased, held four acres of pasture in the same parish (Clerkenwell) belonging to the Red Lion, in Islington." The suit in which this commission issued and return made was touching tithe of herbage in Clerkenwell.[1] Under date 1840 we read as follows:—"Not far from Islington, in St. John-street-road, stands a victualling house, known by the name of the Old Red Lion. The house has been completely renovated, at least externally, and it now presents an elegant façade, in the Elizabethan style of architecture. It is an object that cannot fail to strike with pleasure the eye of strangers entering London by that great Northern avenue. The ground and premises, we believe, are held in trust by the Brewers' Company, and the credit of the present light and picturesque structure is due to the liberality of the members of that body, and the taste and skill of the architect employed under their direction. The following inscription appears in conspicuous characters on the front of the house:—'The Old Red Lion, established 1415;' so that it must have been a place of entertainment for travellers for no less a period than 425 years! It may, therefore, be presumed to have greater claims to antiquity than any other hostelry either in the metropolis or the environs, if we except, perhaps, the Talbot, or Tabard, in the Borough, immortalized by Chaucer as the inn from which the pilgrims set out on their pleasant ride to Canterbury. It is not a great many years ago that the Old Red Lion stood almost alone. Opposite were pens, in which sheep were folded previous to their being taken to Smithfield for sale, and in the midst of which stood an old house called 'Goose Farm.' The whole space besides, from St. John-street-road to the Belvidere on the one hand, and Coppice-row on the other, with the exception of the Merlin's Cave (a public-house) and a small row of tenements near it, was all open fields. The scene is now entirely changed, and the whole of the ground has been long since covered over with streets, and squares, and chapels, and churches, forming altogether no inconsiderable town. But at the period above adverted to it was a pleasant rural ramble from town to Islington, Highbury, Canonbury, and the neighbourhood; and it may not be uninteresting to many readers to know that the Old Red Lion was frequently the halting place of some of the most distinguished ornaments of the last century, in their suburban recreations. Thomson, the immortal author of 'The Seasons;' Hogarth; Dr. Johnson (it is believed), and others of the celebrated geniuses of that day, frequently refreshed themselves at the Old Red Lion. Paine resided for a considerable period under its roof, and it is said, wrote here part of the 'Rights of Man.' It was close upon this spot that it is recorded Dr. Johnson once met poor Collins, the poet; and on asking him what volume he had under his arm, received this memorable reply—'I have,' said Collins, 'but one book, but that is the best.' It was the New Testament. Mr. R. Sleigh, now deceased, who was joint landlord with his brother before the present occupant, Mr. Wing, had the good taste to hang the wainscoating of the parlour with choice impressions from the plates of Hogarth's works, and which have not been removed. It ought to be added, that vestiges of the interior of the ancient edifice still remain."



DR. TOWERS.[2]

Opposite to the Red Lion, and surrounded by pens for folding cattle on their way to Smithfield, was an old building called "Goose Farm." It belonged to Mr. Laycock, the cowkeeper, of Islington. More than thirty years ago it had ceased to be a farmhouse, and was divided into tenements; the first

[1] T. E. Tomlins.

[2] *Vide* page 328, and appendix.

and second floors were each divided into two suites of apartments. On the first floor, in that next the Wells, resided John Cawse, the artist, whose daughters subsequently distinguished themselves as vocalists, and made their *debut* at Sadler's Wells in 1820. The suite next the Angel Inn was occupied by the mother and sister of Charles and Thomas Dibdin, during the management of the Wells by the former. The sister, a short squab figure, generally the last among the figurantes, came on among the villagers and mobs, but under other lessees was not employed, and died in Clerkenwell Poorhouse. Vincent de Cleve, nicknamed "Polly de Cleve," for his prying qualities, who was treasurer of Sadler's Wells for many years, occupied the rooms on the second floor above the Dibdins. He died July 30th, 1827, aged sixty-seven, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Mary's, Lambeth.

Goose-yard, on the west of the road, which is still a layerage for cattle, serves to determine, with comparative precision, the site of the old farmhouse.

The public-house facing the iron gates leading to Sadler's Wells Theatre, distinguished by the sign of the Clown, in honour of Joey Grimaldi, who frequented this house, was in his day known as the King of Prussia; prior to which its sign had been that of the Queen of Hungary. It is to this tavern, or rather to an older one, occupying the same position, that Goldsmith alludes in his "Essay on the Versatility of Popular Favour." "An ale-housekeeper," says he, "near Islington, who had long lived at the sign of the French King, upon the commencement of the late war with France, pulled down his old sign, and put up that of the Queen of Hungary. Under the influence of her red face and golden sceptre he continued to sell ale, till she was no longer the favourite of his customers; he changed her therefore sometime ago for the King of Prussia, which may probably be changed in turn for the man that shall be set up for vulgar admiration." The oldest sign by which this house was distinguished was that of the Turk's Head.

In the "Daily Journal," 3511, Saturday, April 1st, 1732, we read the following advertisement:—

"To be Sold by Auction, this day, at Mrs. Wright's, at the Golden Ball, near Sadler's Wells.

"The Valuable Curiosities, Living Creatures, &c., collected by the ingenious Mons. Boyle, late of Islington. There are about 100 lots now exposed to sale. The particulars of which may be had at the place aforesaid, and at Mr. Thomas Harvey's, near the Royal Exchange. The principal ones in this sale are not to be parallell'd in the whole world: three of which are as follows, namely, a most strange living Creature, that bears a near resemblance of the Human shape in every part of his body, but where decency forbids us to make mention of it; he can utter some few sentences and give pertinent answers to many questions. There is likewise an Oriental Oyster Shell of a prodigious weight and size, it measures from one extreme part to the other above three foot two inches over. The other Curiosity is called the Philosopher's Stone, and is about the size of a poulet's egg, the colour of it is blue and more beautiful than that of the Ultramarine, which together with being finely polished is a most delightful entertainment to the eye. This unparallell'd curiosity was clandestinely stolen out of the late Great Mogul's closet; this irreparable loss had so great an effect upon him that in a few months after he pined himself to death: there is a peculiar virtue in this precious stone, that principally relates to the Fair Sex, and will effectually signify, in the variation of its colour, by touching it, whether any of them have lost their virginity. N.B.—The sale will begin precisely at four o'clock."

Mr. Peter Brett, of the Rising Sun, in the Islington-road, through the luminous medium of "Mist's Journal," of February 9th, 1726, informs the rambling pleasure-seekers and the lovers of gastronomic novelties, that at his house on the ensuing Shrove Tuesday, "will be a fine hog *barbyqu'd*"—*i.e.* roasted whole, with spice, and basted with Madeira wine; and the enterprising purveyor of this dainty viand adds, by way of a reminder, that it is "the house where the ox was roasted whole at Christmas last."

Early in the last century, near to Sadler's Wells, in the Islington-road, was Mr. Stokes's Amphitheatre, a place of low amusement, though it was resorted to by the "nobility and gentry." We are unable to show the precise location of this amphitheatre, or to determine when its amusements ceased. It appears to have been devoted to the then familiar sports of bull and bear baiting, dog fighting, boxing, and sword fighting; and in these terrible encounters with naked swords (which we are well assured were not blunted), women, with a boldness not characteristic of the sex, often, at the sacrifice of modesty, engaged one another to a "trial of skill," and through the medium of the daily press challenged opponents, and vaunted their prowess by dilating on the battles they had

won. The state of the weather was not permitted to postpone these trials of skill, it being usual to announce "the fight to be wet or dry." Moreover, there were covered galleries in which the company might sit if they chose, sheltered from the rain.

Here are an amusing challenge and acceptance of a boxing match between two viragos at this place, as published in a contemporary newspaper, the "Daily Advertiser;" they are penned in the usual bombastic style of such compositions:—

"Stokes' Amphitheatre, 14th October, 1728.—Whereas I, Anne Field, of Stoke Newington, Ass Driver, well known for my abilities in boxing, in my own defence, having been affronted by Mrs. Stokes, stiled the European championess, do fairly invite her to a trial of her best skill in boxing for £10, fair rise and fall; and question not but to give her such proofs of my judgment, that shall oblige her to acknowledge me championess of the stage.

"I, Elizabeth Stokes, of the City of London, have not fought in this way since I fought the famous boxing woman of Billingsgate 29 minutes, and gained a compleat victory, which is six years ago; but this famous Stoke Newington Ass woman dares me to fight for the £10: I do assure her I will not fail meeting her, and doubt not but the blows which I shall present her with, will be more difficult for her to digest, than any she ever gave her asses."

The next are the challenge to, and acceptance of, a "trial of skill in the judgment of the sword," between Sarah Barret and the "invincible City championess," Elizabeth Stokes, the former of whom affects to be so enraged with the other "that only blood can make us friends."

"At Mr. Stokes' Amphitheatre, in Islington-road, this day, the 16th instant, will be a trial of skill in the judgment of the sword between the two following heroines, viz., Sarah Barret, from Whitehaven, in the county of Cumberland, mistress of the science of defence, who, in above 40 battles, have distinguished the power of my sex, and shone like a star of the first magnitude in the opinion of the public, having defeated the famous Mrs. Mary Barker, and improved a former quarrel with the celebrated Mrs. Elizabeth Stokes to such a height, that only blood can make us friends. Hereby invite her, at the time and place above, to fight me with the usual weapons of the stage, or disown her title to the sword, in which (like woman!) I believe myself to have the pre-eminence, and cannot be flattered. Success should fail when 'Sweet revenge to misehief leads the way,' &c.

"Sarah Barret."

"I, Elizabeth Stokes, too much mistress of my sword to apprehend danger in the above challenge, assure my northern opponent I shall use my utmost endeavours to eclipse her starry character, and by deeds excelling words, show mankind I am an orb above my sex; and that Britannia shall to ages boast, London has robbed Arabia of its ensign, the Phœnix, only lodged in my Jemmy's breast, &c. "Elizabeth Stokes."

"*Note.*—Mr. Thomas Barret, husband of the above-named Sarah, having challenged Mr. James Stokes in a like manner, the men are to engage in bouts alternately, each in behalf of his wife!—a cause precarious, but in this age meritorious.

"The doors will be open at three, and the heroes and heroines mount at six."[1]

It was customary for these amazons to fight *a-la-mode* in close-fitting jackets, short petticoats, coming just below the knees, Holland drawers, white thread stockings, and pumps. Associated as woman is with all that is gentle and humanizing, we should feel almost inclined to discredit, if there were not contemporary evidence to the fact, that females were to be found of so pugnacious a disposition as to mount the public stage and engage with deadly weapons in rival encounters, and find a brutal satisfaction in contemplating one another's bleeding wounds.

In the "Daily Post," for the 29th July, 1728, we read as follows:—

"At Mr. Stokes's Amphitheatre, this present Monday, being the 29th of July, will be performed a compleat trial of skill.

"Whereas I, Edward Sutton, the terrible pipemaker from Gravesend, master of the noble science of defence, well-known for my abilities, having been grossly insulted by Mr. Stokes, (the pretended master) in publishing me several times in the newspapers and in his advertisements, proposing to fight me for £20, knowing that I was not in London; therefore I dare the said Mr. Stokes to meet me at his seat of valour, and fight me for the said sum of £20, and am of opinion that I shall let him know that in one battle fought with me, will be more terror to him than all the fifteen he has fought this season, desiring sharp swords and a clear stage, and he shall receive no favour from my keen weapon. "Edward Sutton."

"I, James Stokes, citizen of London, master of the said science, am glad this Gravesend Hector resents my

[1] *Daily Post*, June 16th, 1730.

advertising him; and as for his threatning me with great severity I fear not; but will not fail meeting him for the aforesaid sum, and will endeavour to break his pipes into stoppers, and to satisfy the gentlemen, which was always the care of their humble servant, "James Stokes.

"*Note.*—There will be a door on purpose for the reception of gentlemen, where coaches may drive up to it."

On the 3rd of September, 1729, it was announced that on the morrow, "for a day's diversion, a mad bull, dressed up with fireworks, will be baited; also cudgel playing for a silver cup, and wrestling for a pair of buckskin breeches. Gallery seats, 2s. 6d., 1s. 6d., and 1s."

A sword fight took place at Stokes's Amphitheatre on Friday, the 21st of August, 1730, between William Gill, of Gloucester, and James Stokes; the latter of whom assures his opponent that the "edge of his sword shall be as keen as his resentment, which is now carried to that height by his frivolous reflections, that nought but blood can palliate the offence. If I fail diverting my eyes with his crimson tears may my own body weep a river of the same colour, and fame for ever leave me as she first found me." A note to this advertisement in the "Daily Post" informs the public, that "the latter end of the week is chosen for this grand battle, to render the place more commodious for gentlemen, journeymen of all callings, &c., keeping St. Monday and creating a mob."

Again we read of this notable establishment:—

"At Mr. Stokes's Amphitheatre, in Islington-road, this present Tuesday, 16th inst. (March, 1731), the public will have an opportunity of being diverted in a most extraordinary manner by the noble, large, savage, incomparable Russian bear, which was for the first time put to stake on Shrove Tuesday last, in order to be baited to death by six dogs; but by his matchless strength overcoming that number, he was preserved for the day aforesaid, when ten of the largest and best dogs that can be picked out in town or country are to engage him, for the diversion of some foreign noblemen, who will honour the sport with their presence, &c.

"Also the famous Hertfordshire Bull, dressed in fireworks, will be baited by a like number of dogs, farthest and fairest in. After which a rump and a buttock of beef of three stone weight will be fought for, and the dog that fights fairest to be entitled to one pound. And to close the evening the beauty of back sword will be shown in all its branches by the best proficients, &c."

Later in the season was a boxing match between two pugilistic celebrities. The advertisement commenced thus:—

"A Match between a Master Lighterman and a Gentleman, for 100 guineas, at Mr. Stokes's Amphitheatre, Islington-road. I, Thomas Allen, vulgarly call'd Tom Pipes, having fought and come off honourably with the stoutest men in Europe, and fought Broughton last season, will meet him again, when, if vigour, strength, and courage will prevail, I shall give Broughton some memorandums that may stick to his ribs, if they do not send him to the river Styx to assist his brother Charon.

"I, John Broughton,[1] waterman and lighterman, of Hungerford, who have long made the Thames submit to the tugging oar, will endeavour to prove Tom Pipes as brittle as the feeble instruments he deals in, and as soft as the clay he tempers, &c."[2]

In the same month the following were advertised as amusements:—"A variety of Bull-baiting, Bear-baiting, an Ass dressed with fireworks, and a Bull dressed in like manner. A pair of cocks fight for ten shillings."[3] And later:—"For the diversion of the spectators before they mount, Captain Vinegar will present them with a new tragi-comic pastoral farce in one act, call'd 'Flesh no Fence against a Flail; or, the Art of Beating Linen on the Skin;' wherein several Loggerheads will go near to be broken, and the best come off with dry blows," &c.[4]

In July the following appeared:—

"At Mr. Stokes's Amphitheatre, in Islington-road, on Wednesday, the 7th of July, 1731, a purse of one hundred guineas will be fought for at sword, etc.

"On Wednesday, the 21st of this instant (July), by the command and under the direction of several British and Irish peers, as well as gentlemen of both countries, the following combat will be fought by three of the principal swordsmen on each side, for the honour of Great Britain against that of the Hibernian, Terra Firma, the like of which has never been attempted but once in these realms. Each man to change swords every bout,

[1] John Broughton, the founder of the British School of Boxing, for many years followed the profession of a waterman, and was the first who won Doggett's coat and badge.

[2] *Daily Post*, May, 1731.

[3] *Daily Post*, 3rd May, 1731.

[4] *Daily Post*, 24th May, 1731.

and when the weapons are gone through, if the company be dissatisfied they shall appoint two of the best or any two to fight for the box, which will be set on the stage for the purpose." [1]

In the month of August in the same year, we read as follows :—

"At Mr. Stokes's Amphitheatre, in Islington-road, this present Wednesday, the 18th instant, the beauty of the science of defence will be displayed in a most excellent manner between two of the greatest masters of the present age—viz., the brave and bold Hibernian, Felix Maegnire, from Dublin, in the kingdom of Ireland, against that invincible rock of defence, Mr. Edward Sutton, of Gravesend, Kent, whose abilities need no encomiums, his actions ever speaking his own praise, which words cannot illustrate. They are to fight for the box on the conditions stipulated when Mr. Stokes himself fought the late memorable battle with Thos. Elmore, that is to change swords every bout, and to please the audients, and forfeit all benefit, except one or other happen to be disabled. The company to order matters as they shall judge proper." [2]

In the month of September, in the same year, six bull dogs were to fight for a silver collar, three on a side ; and the Bull, Bear, and Ass baiting was advertised to be this season, the best to be seen in Christendom, "Mr. Stokes having trained every creature to the sport so as to render the highest delight, and fix the name of *ambo dexter* on each animal."

In the month of June, 1732, the amusements at Stokes's Amphitheatre were diversified by a new opera called "Rule a Bear and Have a Bear ; or, The Way to Tame a Shrew. With the comical humours of Little Dog and Bow Wow. Written by Scriblerius Secundus. The whole interspersed with delightful scenes, machines, and other decorations adapted to the play." At the conclusion of the performance a bull illuminated with a variety of fireworks was to be turned loose amongst the gamesters for the diversion of the spectators. Near the close of the season of 1733 there was bull and bear baiting extraordinary, as we read :—

"Four Bulls and six Bears to be baited with dogs, and a bull and a dog dressed up with fireworks all over them, to be turned loose in the Ground for the diversion of the British and Foreign nobility ; Mr. Stokes has likewise forty fine Bull and Bear dogs, and several fine fighting dogs to divert the spectators ; and has also purchased two fine young bears.

"Note.—This day before the diversion begins a man proposes to eat 100 farthing pyes, and drink half-a-gallon of October beer in less than eight minutes ; and to-morrow he is to eat a like quantity of cheesecakes in the same time. He challenges any man to do the like, let him come from what part of the Town soever. The Pyes and Cheesecakes are made by the old farthing-pye woman, against Mr. Stokes's.

"There will be fires in the rooms for the reception of the Company.

"Mr. Stokes teaches the Art of Defence every day as usual.

"N.B.—That silly fellow Holmes has spent the four guineas and a half I gave him to bear his charges to Dublin, and has now sent me a challenge to fight him with sword and pistol in the field behind Montague House ; if he dares come and fight me for Ten pound, either this day or to-morrow, if I win I promise to give the money to the poor of the parish.

"J. Stokes." [3]

In a newspaper of the period we read as follows :—

"On Wednesday, April 28, 1680, in the afternoon, in the Highway between Islington and St. John-street, two draymen found a very considerable sum of money, 'tis said Forty pounds, which they reporting, led other people to go likewise, where several people found considerable sums, some 20 pound, some 10, some more, some less, and some nothing. A poor old milkwoman, who, as she was looking, fearful of being trampled to death in the crowd, there being above a hundred people gathered together, bethought herself and went home and fetched her pale, which she filled at a venture with dirt and carried home, where, on searching it, she found five guinneys besides a considerable quantity of silver. Many people, men, women and children, were seeking all night and yesterday, and some this morning not without success. This money is thought to be dropt by the highwaymen who robbed Sir George Dashwood's coach, who being pursued were forced to disburthen themselves of their prize." [4]

At the junction of St. John-street-road and Goswell-street-road, near the Angel, there formerly stood a market cross. "This cross, in every probability, owed its origin to the Hospitallers, who placed it there as a boundary mark, or, what I consider more probable, in order to ensure to

[1] *Daily Advertiser*, July, 1731.
[2] *Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 18th, 1731.
[3] *Daily Post*, Oct. 23rd, 1733.
[4] *The True Prot. Domestick Intelligence.*

themselves and their tenants the immunities and privileges of their order."[1] This cross was the market-place of the ancient town of Islington, and probably of Clerkenwell, it being customary in ancient times for shops and stalls to be built close to the cross in towns, the rents bringing in their pence to the religious proprietors of the cross that stood upon conventual ground, as in the present instance. The junction of the two roads and the cross there set up are particularly referred to in the collation, by the Prior and Brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, of one Robert Baker to the hermitage which he had recently built and founded on land holden of the said hospital, dated 10th June, 1511, wherein the plot of such hermitage is described to be "at the end of our field or pasture called Woodmansfield, bounding towards the north and towards the place where the two roads meet (bivium), and the cross which stands in the King's highway at the end of the town of Iseldon."[2]

WYNYATT STREET.

This street (which should be called Wynyate-street) takes its name from Compton Wynyate, an ancient seat of the Northampton family, in Warwickshire.[3] The ground on which this street is built was leased of the Earl of Northampton in the year 1803.

[1] Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p. 183.

[2] MSS. Cott. Claud, E. vi., fo. 93; cited in Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p. 21.

[3] *Vide* page 271.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. JAMES, PENTONVILLE.

The Order in Council Assigning the District Chapelry of Pentonville—The Boundaries thereof—Pentonville Ward—The Derivation of the Name—Henry Penton—The Commandry Mantels—Water Springs therein—Gerarde, the Herbalist, Visits there. PENTONVILLE-ROAD:—Formerly part of the New-road—Change of Name—The New-road Projected—Objections thereto—Progress of the Road—Aspect of it—Infested by Thieves—First Coaches and Omnibuses—Extract from Byron's Poems. BATTLE-BRIDGE:—Derivation of the Name—The Bridge over the Fleet—The Battle between the Romans and Britons—The Summer Camp of the Romans—The Ruins thereof—Antiquities found near Battle-bridge—Arguments as to the place of the Battle—The History of the Battle—Herb found at Battle-bridge—Cliffe, the Cobler—Man found Drowned at Battle-bridge—Punishment of a Miller, of Battle-bridge—Heron's Gift for Repairing the Highways—Highway Robbery at Battle-bridge—Act of Parliament for Paving, &c.—Description of Battle-bridge in 1828—Roman Coins found in Maiden-lane—The Name Changed to King's-cross—The Cross—The Ridicule thereof—The Cinder Heap—The Horse Bones—Small Pox and Fever Hospital—Great Northern Railway Station—St. Chad's Well—Description of—The Waters—Sale of the Estate. WINCHESTER-STREET:—Formation of—Great Grace Field. SOUTHAMPTON-STREET:—Joe Grimaldi—Extract from a Letter of his—His Death—"The Marquis of Cornwallis"—Grimaldi's Epitaph—Steinberg's Murders in this Street—The Epitaph on his Victims—Public Excitement—The House Exhibited. PENTONVILLE-ROAD:—The London Female Penitentiary—Cumming House—Description of the Penitentiary—Objects of it—Report thereon—St. James's Chapel—Project for Building—Difficulties—Chapel Opened—Taken by the Parish—Cost of the Chapel—The Architect—Blind Organist—Pickpockets visit—Marriages Prohibited—Description of the Exterior and Interior of the Chapel—The former Minister—The Separation of St. James's, Pentonville, from the Mother Church—Penton-street, or Christ Church, Projected and Built—Description of—Winchester-place—Prospect House—Dobney's—The Bowling Green—Horsemanship there—Murder close by—The Skeleton of a Whale Exhibited—Dobney's taken as a Boarding School—Became the Jubilee Tea Gardens—Wildman's Exhibition of Bees—The House Became a Lecture-room—Final Removal of the Premises—Thomas Cooke, the Miser—His Life—His Will. PENTON-PLACE:—Formation of—Joe Grimaldi. KING'S-ROW:—Happy Man's-row—"The Happy Man"—Robbers there. QUEEN'S-ROW:—Clay Marls Field—James Pascall. HERMES-STREET AND HERMES-HILL:—Dr. De Valangin—His House there—Aldridge, a Timber Merchant, resides there—William Huntingdon, S.S., takes the House—Life of this Minister—His Epitaph—Sale of his Effects. PENTON-STREET:—The Belvidere Tavern—Busby's Folly—The Society of Bull Feather's Hall—Penny's Folly—Performances there—Joe Grimaldi—White Conduit House and Tea Gardens—The Old Tavern—Lines thereon—Oliver Goldsmith's Visits there—His "Awkward Position"—The Pleasures of White Conduit House—Christopher Bartholomew, the Proprietor—London Tea Gardens in the Olden Time—The White Conduit—The Cricket Ground—White Conduit Fields—Rowland Hill Preaches there—Wheal Pond—The Ducking Pond—The Hay Fields—Cattle Layers—Roman Tomb found in these Fields—Regent's Canal Tunnel—Opening of. CHAPEL-STREET:—Charles Lamb—Messrs. Storer, the Publishers—The First History of Clerkenwell. WHITE LION-STREET:—The Home for Penitent Females. WARREN-STREET. PENTONVILLE-ROAD:—Claremont Chapel—Establishment and Opening of—Description of the Building—The Angel Inn—The Boundary of the Parish at this spot—The Antiquity of the Angel Inn—Incident of the great Plague—The Angel Inn the Halting-place for Travellers—Robbers frequent the neighbourhood—Dalton, the Highwayman—Manorial Courts held at the Angel Inn—Description of the Old Inn—Sale of it on Re-building Lease—Suicide Committed there—Rush, the Murderer, writes from there—The City Huntsman's Residence—"Boz's" reference to this neighbourhood—The Peacock Inn—Changes therein—The White Lion Inn—Ancient Allusions thereto—The Three Hats—Horsemanship there.

THIS district was assigned out of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, by Order in Council, dated the 7th of April, 1854, which ordained that,

"The district chapelry of Pentonville is to consist of the northern extremity of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, and is bounded on the east, north, and west by the parish of Saint Mary, Islington, and on the south by the parish of St. Pancras and the northern boundary of the district chapelry of St. Philip, and the district parish of St. Mark, Clerkenwell, as follows:—The boundary line commences at the corner of White Lion-street, situated in High-street, Islington, and proceeding northerly to the south side of Sermon-lane; thence westerly, in the line of the parish boundary, across White Conduit, Penton, Rodney, Cumming, and Southampton Streets, including the south side of South-street and Melville-terrace; then across the Caledonian-road, and southerly, across a portion of Caledonian-crescent, crossing Pentonville-hill, the same being the boundary line separating the parishes of Islington and Clerkenwell; then to the south-east along Hamilton-row to the west end of Penton-place, the same being the boundary line separating the parishes of St. Pancras and Clerkenwell; from thence in a north-easterly direction by line of south boundary of garden walls belonging to houses of Penton-place and Queen's-row, which walls are the boundary between Mr. Penton's estate and the estate of the New River Company; it then arrives at the north-west corner of Claremont-square, from which proceeding northerly across the New-road to Penton-street, and up the middle of Penton-street as far as White Lion-street; then proceeding easterly along the middle of White Lion-street to the corner, whence the boundary commenced."[1]

Pentonville Ward, which was set out for parochial purposes by the Vestry of Clerkenwell, under the provisions of the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855, comprises the space which is within the line drawn from King's-cross down the centre of the New-road and Pentonville-road to the end of Goswell-road; thence northerly to Sermon-lane; thence along the northern boundary of the parish across Penton-street, Rodney-street, Cumming-street, Southampton-street, Winchester-street, and Caledonian-road; and thence southerly to King's-cross again.

This extensive and well populated district, once an outskirt of Clerkenwell and Islington, but appendant to the former, received its present name from Henry Penton, Esq., who died in January, 1812, aged seventy-five, on whose estate its first buildings were erected in Penton-street about the year 1773. Henry Penton was member of Parliament for Winchester, where he resided. In 1774-5 he was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty, upon which his seat became vacated; but he was unanimously re-elected.[2]

Originally this site, which together with some other land in Clerkenwell was upwards of sixty-six acres in extent, was a possession of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and distinguished as the Commandry Mantels,[3] from its having belonged to one Geoffrey de Mandeville,[4] corrupted to Mantell, whose possessions in Isendone (Islington) are referred to in the Doomsday Book. The three fields of "the Commandry" came into the possession of Gilbert Foliot,[5] who in the reign of Henry II. gave them to the Hospitallers. These great fields extended from St. John-street to Islington town, and comprised the greater part, if not all, of what is now called Pentonville. They were exempt from tithe by the Pope's privilege, as well as by statute. These fields, we learn, were sown, and the produce of them, we doubt not, supplied the table of the Grand Prior with esculents, and stored with wheat the monastic granaries. The cartularies of St. John's preserve the transcripts of the leases granted of these fields by the Priory.

A grant from the crown, made 27th July, 1568, to Sir Walter Mildmay, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and John Tamworth, Esq., one of the grooms of the Queen's Privy Chamber, of the half part of the "House and receipt newly erected by us" for the service of the house of Sir Walter Mildmay in St. Bartholomew's-close, and the house of John Tamworth in St. Botolph's Without, Aldersgate, contains the following recitals:—"Whereas we have searched and opened divers springs rising in one close of pasture parcel of the inheritance of one Roger Parker, called Commandery Mauntelles, within the paroche of Clerkenwell, within our county of Midd'x."[6]

In the days of Queen Elizabeth, Gerarde, the herbalist, came into this neighbourhood to botanize, and many of the simples and wild flowers which he gathered hereabouts are figured and described by him in his great work "The Herball," which affords pleasing evidence of his research, and of the

[1] *London Gazette*, No. 21,547, April 25th, 1854.
[2] *Public Advertiser*, 1775.
[3] *Vide* page 211.
[4] *Vide* pages 1 and 17.
[5] *Vide* page 16.
[6] For an account of the Commandry Mantels, *vide* TOMLINS's *Ysseldon*, pages 23, 50, 51, 66, 71, 80, 81, 117, 126, 164, 165, 166, 167, 184, 187.

former rural character of this district, now entirely covered with houses. We seem to regret the change that time has wrought when we read from the pages of this old "Herball" of the Orchis, which, says Gerarde, "I have found growing plentifully in sundry places, as in a fielde neere Islington, where there is a bouling place under a few old shrubby okes."[1] Of the particular variety of orchis that once grew in "drie pastures" here, he says, "The full and sappy rootes of Ladie traces eaten or boiled in milke be god for such as are fallen into consumption or feuer heetique." As we go deeper into this ponderous volume, and wade through its pictorial pages, we read that "The white Saxifrage groweth plentifully in sundrie places in England," and that "it groweth also in a great fielde by Islington, called the Mantels."[2]

PENTONVILLE ROAD.

This road, extending from the Angel Inn to King's-cross, until the year 1857, was known as part of the New-road, which was five thousand one hundred and fifteen yards, or nearly three miles, in length. By order of the Metropolitan Board of Works, made in that year, the New-road ceased to be so called, and the separate names of places therein were abolished. That portion of the road between the Angel and King's-cross, in the parish of Clerkenwell, is now called Pentonville-road; that from King's-cross to Osnaburgh-street the Euston-road; and that portion extending from the latter street to the Edgware-road is denominated the Marylebone-road. Although the names of the rows, places, and terraces along this thoroughfare have been abolished, and the numbering of the houses made consecutive, it is essential to our purpose that we should revive them, which we shall do hereafter in describing Pentonville-road.

The new road was formed by Act of Parliament, 29th Geo. II., in the year 1756, but not without much petty opposition thereto from the landholders whose property lay in the line of the proposed new route to the West-end. Horace Walpole notices, in one of his letters, the objection of the Duke of Bedford to it on account of the "dust it would make in the rear of Bedford House;" and at the same time slyly tells his friend that the duke was too short-sighted to see the prospect. A complaint was made by one of the duke's tenants, who held from him a large cow farm in the intended route, at a rental of £3 an acre, as follows:—"My Lord, I am informed of a road intended to be made at the back of your grace's estate, which, from the dust and number of people, must entirely spoil those fields, and make them no better than one common land. I most humbly entreat your grace to prevent such an evil; for it will be impossible for me to hold your grace's estate without a large abatement of rent. I am, with all submission, your grace's most dutiful and obedient servant, Esther Capper. 14th Feb., 1756." The petitioner was one of two old maiden sisters of the name of Capper, of whom Mr. J. T. Smith, in his "Book for a Rainy Day," relates from his own recollection, that "They wore riding habits and men's hats; one rode an old grey mare, and it was her spiteful delight to ride with a large pair of shears after boys who were flying their kites, purposely to cut their strings; the other sister's business was to seize the clothes of the lad who trespassed on their premises to bathe." Capper's Farm occupied the ground behind the north-west end of Russell-street. Miss Capper did not see that the projected road would, by the granting of building leases of the ground on either side of it, produce a hundredfold the amount of rent paid by her for the field which she rented. The ground-landlords themselves seem at first, when the bill was brought into Parliament, not to have studied their own interests in this particular; as Horace Walpole informs us, in his "Memoirs of George the Second," vol. ii., pp. 32-33, "A new road towards the eastern counties, by which the disagreeable passage through the City would be avoided, had been proposed to be made on the back of London. The Duke of Grafton had estates there, which, by the future buildings likely to accompany such an improvement, would be greatly increased. Part of this road was to pass over grounds of the Duke of Bedford, but in so small proportion as he thought would not indemnify him

[1] Gerarde's *Herball*, ed. 1597, p. 168.

[2] Gerarde's *Herball*, ed. 1597, p. 693.

for the desertion of other buildings, which he had to a great amount in worse parts of the town. He consequently took this up with great heat. The Duke of Grafton, old and indolent, was indifferent about it. But in less than a year he (the Duke of B.) proposed to the Duke of Grafton's friends to extend the plan of the road." On the frivolous opposition made to the new road the "Public Advertiser," of February 20th, 1756, remarks that "All objections to new roads, which arise merely from partial and separate interests, that happen in this respect to be opposite to the interests of the public, should have no weight." The journalist then proceeds to notice the advantages to the public in general of the proposed thoroughfare. "How much the communication with almost every part of the metropolis will be facilitated. Drovers from the west will pass from the extremity of the City to the centre in one continued straight line. Persons that have business in other parts may reach them by cross roads communicating with the main line; and persons of fashion, who live in the great squares and buildings about Oxford-road, may come into the City without being jolted three miles over the stones, or perhaps detained three hours by a stop in a narrow street. It must also be remembered that those who shall find it necessary to pass through the streets will pass much more commodiously, as the number of carriages will be lessened and the pavement preserved."

In the preamble of the Act of 29th Geo. II., before referred to, it is stated "that in times of threatened invasion, the new road will form a complete line of circumvallation, and his Majesty's forces may easily and expeditiously march their way into Essex to defend our coasts, without passing through the cities of London and Westminster." In the "Gentleman's Magazine," supplement, 1755, p. 579, is a plan of the then intended new road from the Yorkshire Stingo, at Paddington, to the south-east end of Islington. This plan shows that the lands proposed to be cut through (commencing at Paddington) belonged to Mr. Lloyd, H. William Portman, Esq., the Duke of Portland, the Crown, the Duke of Grafton, John Cocks, Esq., the Skinners' Company, — Beaver, Esq., and Henry Penton, Esq., respectively. The distance from Tottenham-court-road to Battle-bridge was shown to be three-quarters of a mile and thirty-four yards. A little east of Battle-bridge two proposed roads are dotted out, one being north and the other south of Dobney's bowling-green, which was then in the fields and near to the spot which is now the south-east corner of Penton-street, in Pentonville-road. The new road was, however, carried on the south side of Dobney's.

When this great trunk line of road was in course of construction, the progress made upon it was from time to time noticed in the public journals. Thus, under date May 8th, 1756, we are apprised of its early commencement by being informed that on the Wednesday following, the trustees would meet, and that on the next day the men were to work upon it. At this period the expense of making the road was computed at £8000. After the lapse of a few months, during the interval of which the road-makers must have worked industriously, the following appeared in print on the 13th of September, 1756:—"It is with great pleasure we assure the public that great numbers of coaches, carriages, and horsemen daily pass over the New-road, from Islington to Battle-bridge." Four days later, September 17th, we are informed that the banks and fences of the land between Paddington and Islington were levelled, and the New-road across the fields opened to the public. In the December of 1756, the expensiveness of the road was adverted to, and it was estimated that one hundred thousand cart-loads of gravel would be required for its completion.

When the New-road was in course of formation it was suggested that no building might be erected nearer than one hundred and twenty feet from the outermost line of it, and that the space should be divided by posts and chains, allowing fifty-two feet for the road, eight feet for the common footpath next the fields, and the remaining sixty feet next the houses; to be made equal in height to the common path, and laid out with grass plots, with a convenient space to be gravelled next the houses. This distance from the road, it was thought, would greatly prevent the houses from being annoyed with dust.[1]

The pleasant aspect of this grand thoroughfare during several months of the year, which the umbrageous trees and gardens in front of most of the houses contribute chiefly to impart, is owing to

[1] Gwynne's *London Improved*, 4to., 1760.

a clause in the original Act for making the road, prohibiting the erection of any building within fifty feet of it, whilst at the same time it empowers the authorities of parishes through which the road passes to pull down any such erection, and levy the expenses on the offender's goods and chattels. The lapse of a century, however, seems to have materially modified this penal enactment, for numerous are the instances wherein the fifty feet space is built upon.

Travelling on this highway after nightfall seems formerly to have been attended with some risk, as will appear from such notices as the following, appended to the Sadler's Wells advertisements and bills of the performances, published in April, 1757:—"A horse patrole will also be sent in the New-road this night by Mr. Fielding for the protection of the nobility and gentry who go from the squares and that end of the town. The road towards the City will also be properly guarded;"[1] and those published in June, 1783:—"Patroles, horse and foot, are stationed from Sadler's Wells gate along the New-road to Tottenham Court Turnpike, &c., from the hours of 8 to 11. A horse-patrole will be sent in the New-road at night, for the protection of the nobility and gentry who go from the squares and that end of the town; the road also towards the City will be properly guarded."[2]

In the year 1798, the first coach on this line plied between Paddington and the Bank, but with little success. On the 4th of July, 1829, Mr. Shillibeer started the first two omnibuses in the metropolis, which ran from the Bank to the Yorkshire Stingo in the New-road; but at first it proved by no means a lucrative speculation, though this is now one of the best established routes in the metropolis.

Probably Byron had the New-road in his mind when he wrote:—

> London! right well thou know'st the day of prayer,
> Then thy spruce citizen, washed artizan,
> And smug apprentice gulp their weekly air;
> Thy coach of hackney, whiskey, one horse chair,
> And humblest gig through sundry suburbs whirl,
> To Hampstead, Brentford, Harrow, make repair,
> Till the tired jade the wheel forgets to hurl,
> Provoking envious gibe from each pedestrian churl.[3]

At the western extremity of the Pentonville-road is

BATTLE BRIDGE.

The name of this ancient hamlet is derived in part from a small bridge over the Fleet, which formerly existed at this spot, but was replaced by an arch of considerable length, which was subsequently elongated so as to form the present Fleet sewer. The bridge appears to have been nothing more than a skew brick bridge. Perhaps anciently there might have been a timber bridge and a washway. Mr. Crosby says:—"Battle-bridge is nothing more than a large brick arch, twelve feet long and fourteen wide, to which have been joined similar arches, so much alike that the same date might be affixed to all. The probability is that the old bridge was of wood, and when destroyed was replaced by a common brick arch like the present sewer." The former part of the name of this locality is supposed to commemorate the famous battle between the Romans, under Suetonius Paulinus, and the Britons, under Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, which was fought near London, A.D. 61. The position occupied by the Roman general when awaiting the threatened attack of the Britons is described by Tacitus as having the advantages of a narrow approach and the shelter of a forest in the rear. "Deligitque locum arctis faucibus, et â tergo silvâ clausum."[4] Assuming the approach described to have been the valley between Pentonville and Gray's Inn-lane (and which, it is likely, was distinguished by a road from the capital in the earliest times), the line of the Roman army to have extended east from about the spot where subsequently stood the Small-pox Hospital, and the

[1] *Vide* page 419.
[2] *Vide* page 423.
[3] Byron's *Childe Harold*, c. 1, sta. lxix.
[4] Tacit. Ann. Lib. xiv., c. 34.

great forest in the rear to mean the great forest of Middlesex, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that this was the actual scene of that memorable engagement. Perhaps the chief argument against the supposition that Battle-bridge was the spot where Boadicea and Paulinus met might be drawn from the circumstance, that Tacitus, who so precisely marks the localities of the field of conflict, takes no notice of the River Fleet, which meandered through the valley, and which in some degree would have fronted and flanked the Roman position.[1]

The Romans had their *castra æstiva*, or summer camp, on an eminence in the immediate vicinity of this spot, and of which traces existed until very lately a little westward of Barnsbury-park, in the Thornhill-road, and opposite Minerva-terrace, in a field known by the name of Reed Moat Field, now occupied by "Mountfort House" and grounds. The position of this camp, supposing it to have been that of Paulinus, will be found strikingly advantageous when it is considered that the enemy was expected to make the attack from the side next the metropolis. It is not unlikely that the Roman general abandoned the above encampment on finding the disparity of his force, compared with that of the Britons, with which he had to contend, and fixed upon the narrow spot of ground as best calculated for his army to act with advantage.[2]

The remains to which we have referred consisted of a prætorium, &c., which in situation, form, and size exactly corresponded with the description of a general's tent given by Polybius (book vi.), in his account of the Roman mode of castramentation. The site of the prætorium was an exact square of about two hundred feet, the area within the entrenchment being a quadrangle of about forty-five yards; the fosse was about ten or twelve feet deep, and varied in breadth from twenty to thirty feet. And since, in the encampment of a Roman army, the general's tent was always pitched on the most convenient spot as regards prospect and command, the prætorium was on an elevated spot embracing an extensive view over the adjacent country on all sides; the locality being rendered more convenient by the artificial rising of that side whence the view was least commanding. A raised breastwork or rampart extended for a considerable length on the western and southern sides. In 1825, a labourer, occupied in digging in the prætorium, turned up a considerable quantity of arrow heads, and shortly after another labourer, excavating a few yards south of the same spot, uncovered a pavement of red tiles, about sixteen feet square, each tile being about an inch and a half thick, and about six inches square. They were mostly figured, and had "strange characters" upon them, but the discoverer having neither taste nor curiosity, they were consigned to the bottom of a deep road.[3]

In Hone's "Every Day Book," ed. 1831, vol. ii., p. 1198, are engravings of the prætorium of the Roman camp near Pentonville, and of the old well in the fosse. A correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1823, vol. xciii., part 2, page 489, informs us, that at that time the ground on which the camp stood was about to be let on building leases.

Mr. Tomlins, in his "Yseldon," expresses a doubt as to this Barnsbury moated site having been a Roman camp. His reference to it finishes with the following certain information:—"The earthwork or intrenchment on the west, that presented to the view of the passenger along the Chalk-road, now Caledonian-road, a long terrass or ridge has, during the last twelve years, been completely shut out from view by the buildings in that quarter, and nothing but a depression in the surface of the ground on the north side of Mountfort House now (1857) remains as the last trace of this Prætorium or Fosse, or moated site, or whatever else the reader may please to consider it originally to have been."

In 1680, John Conyers, an apothecary in Fleet-street, who made it his chief business to collect antiquities, which about that time were daily found in and about London, discovered in a gravel pit, near the sign of Sir John Oldcastle,[4] and not far from Battle-bridge, the skeleton of an elephant; and in the same pit he found the flint head of a British spear, fastened into a shaft of good length. "This circumstance affords some confirmation to the opinion that this was the spot where Paulinus gained his great victory over the army of Boadicea."[5] The flint head was engraved in Bagford's letter.

[1] Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 328.
[2] Nelson's *History of Islington*, p. 69.
[3] Lewis's *History of Islington*, p. 335.
[4] *Vide* pages 65, 121, 122, 123.
[5] Bagford's *Letter to Hearne in Leland's Collectanea*, ed. 1770, vol. i., p. 64.

Conyers's "Common-place Book of Chymistry," &c., MS. Sloane, 958, in British Museum, 4to., treats in about six pages of these antiquities, and others found in Fleet ditch and at Holborn-bridge. It is certain that the Romans were assisted by elephants in their battles from the first invasion of Britain. Polyænus relates that Julius Cæsar, in forcing the passage of the Thames, had recourse to the stratagem of placing one of these creatures in the van of his army, with some archers and armed men upon its back, which so affrighted the rude Britons that they fled in dismay. In the year 1842, there was discovered, among some fragments of stone placed in front of one of the cottages erected on the eastern side of Maiden-lane, a piece of hard lime-stone, between five and six inches in thickness, and twelve in width, on which was the following imperfect inscription:—"VRN | LEG. XX | CAC | M," commemorative of an officer of the twentieth legion.[1] The twentieth legion was one of the four which came into Britain in the reign of Claudius, and contributed to its subjugation. The vexillation of this legion was in the army of Suetonius Paulinus when he made that victorious stand in a fortified pass with a forest in the rear. This interesting fragment, which bears such conclusive testimony of the Roman occupation of the district, was discovered in a field on the west side of the road leading to the Caledonian Asylum. Mr. Tomlins thinks that the district of Battle-bridge was most probably named from some battle fought there in early times, perhaps as far back as the period of the Danish incursions, the memory of which, he has suggested, has been traditionally preserved in Danebottom at Highbury-vale. He says also:—"The name of Battle-bridge is evidently derivable from some battle fought at this place, as Stamford-bridge, in Yorkshire, is, by Camden, said to have been also called Battle-bridge, because it was at that bridge that King Harold defeated Harold Haardread, a few days before his own defeat by William the Conqueror. In Pat. 24 Eliz., p. 3, m. 5, I read a grant of Capellam de Battell, formerly belonging to the priory of Brecknock."[2] We also know that Battle, in Sussex, was so named in token of the victory obtained there over Harold, the last Danish King, by William the Conqueror.

With all deference to the opinions of learned antiquaries who have preceded us in this interesting investigation, and who do not agree with the present allocation of the memorable battle between the Romans and Boadicea, we are inclined to think that yet further proofs may be brought to light concerning a fact, of which the inscribed fragment of stone before referred to seems so strongly corroborative. At the same time, we admit that there are physical difficulties connected with a certification of the precise locality of this great struggle, but we submit that in the lapse of eighteen centuries there have been agencies in operation which have materially altered the contour of the district of Battle-bridge, for wherever excavations have been made in the valley of the Fleet there appeared the most unequivocal proofs of accumulated alluvial deposits, placing the bed of the river at a considerable depth below that which it at present assumes as a sewer.

As this memorable engagement is so immediately connected with the early history of Britain, a detailed account of it, and the circumstances preceding it, will perhaps be read with interest.

In the year 61, the Britons, rebelling against the Roman dominion, and determined to avenge their wrongs, assembled a large army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, under the command of Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, and during the absence of Suetonius, who was then engaged in the reduction of Mona, Anglesea, at the north-western extremity of Wales, they attacked and entirely destroyed the Roman station Camalodonum (now Colchester),[3] reducing it to ruins, and putting the Romans and their allies to death, sparing neither women nor children in the general massacre. The ninth legion, which had taken the field, and gave battle to the insurgent Britons, were defeated and almost entirely cut up, the cavalry alone escaping the general carnage. Suetonius, hearing of this disastrous defeat, hastened to London, for the security of which he was alarmed, and which even at this time was the chief seat of trade and commerce in the country. On his arrival, he found it to be quite untenable against the infuriated Britons, whose army had now increased to more than two hundred thousand. He retired with his forces to a post of security, where, by acting solely on the

[1] *Times*, July 30th, 1812.

[2] TOMLINS's *Yseldon*, p. 188.

[3] Formerly Coln-ceaster. Anglo-Saxon *ceaster*, a fortress, "A fortress on the river Coln."

defensive, he might rally his scattered army, and by its united strength assail the enemy. The metropolis, abandoned by the Romans, fell an easy prey to the barbarians, who reduced it to ruins and massacred such of its inhabitants who, from weakness or the infirmity of years, had been unable to follow in the rear of the army of Suetonius. The barbarians, charmed with victory, next advanced upon the municipal town of Verulamium (now St. Alban's), which experienced the same disastrous fortune.

In the meantime, Suetonius assembled an army of nearly ten thousand men, composed of the fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries in the neighbourhood; and without further delay prepared for a regular encounter with the barbaric hordes under the command of Boadicea; and chose as his place of intrenchment "a spot of ground narrow at the entrance, and sheltered in the rear by a thick forest." In this situation he had no fear of an ambuscade. The enemy, he knew, had no approach but in front, as an open plain lay before him. He disposed his men so that legions in close array formed the centre, the light armed troops were stationed near to serve when occasion required, and the cavalry formed the right and left wings of the opposing force. Boadicea soon appeared in the field, at the head of a vast but undisciplined army, for they formed no regular line of battle, but displayed their numbers in detached parties. Exulting in the prospect of certain victory, they placed their wives in waggons at the extremity of the plain, where they might view the action, and behold the wonders of British valour. Boadicea, in a war chariot, with her two daughters before her, drove through the midst of her assembled hosts, and haranguing each of the different tribes in their turn, invited them to avenge her cause, and reminding them of their recent victories, bade them "either conquer, or die with glory." Suetonius also encouraged his men, bidding them despise "the savage uproar, and the yells and shouts of untrained barbarians," whom he represented as "void of spirit, unprovided with arms, cowards, runaways, and the refuse of their swords." The soldiers burned with impatience for the onset, and Suetonius, by their ardour anticipating success, gave the signal for battle. The Britons, eager for the conflict, commenced the attack with shouts and rude songs of victory; the Romans, ensconced in the valley, received the furious charge of the Britons in calm silence, and discharging with deliberate aim their javelins, made fearful havoc among their numerous enemies. When these deadly missiles were expended the Romans advanced in the form of a wedge, the more easily to penetrate the forces by which they were opposed. The legionaries rushed forward supported by the auxiliaries, and the cavalry advancing with their pikes extended, bore down upon their enemies. The Britons extended their ranks in order to surround the Roman phalanx, when a sanguinary conflict ensued, in which the war chariots of the Britons, armed with scythes, made fearful havoc in the front ranks of the Romans, until their general, ordering his men to aim only at the charioteers, put an end to this deadly mode of warfare. The conflict was sustained with valour on both sides, the Britons fighting with great obstinacy and desperation; but the superior skill and bravery of the Romans ultimately prevailed, and the Britons, turning their backs upon the enemy, found it difficult to escape, the enclosure made by their own waggons obstructing their flight. The carnage now became terrible, the Romans in their fury sparing neither age nor sex, and even the beasts of burden were pierced with darts, and strewed the plain, on which eighty thousand Britons are reputed to have perished, while of the Romans only four hundred were killed, and scarcely so many wounded.[1]

"When Barnsbury Park was a pleasant rural suburb, resorted to by early-rising denizens of Clerkenwell and Pentonville for the sake of a walk through White Conduit Fields, and a draught of new milk at Rhodes' Farm, it was possible, on the spot, to enter into the description of Tacitus, and to conceive the mingled and disorderly throng of the Britons surrounding their queen, who, accompanied by her outraged daughters, passed among them, proclaiming her resolution not to survive defeat, and, from her chariot, inciting them to avenge the bitter cruelty with which her family had been persecuted, as well as their own injuries, upon the Roman troops. These, she persuaded them, were now either concealed in their camp, or had already fled, intimidated by their numbers, their fury, and strength, and the din of their warlike uproar. Then, following the description, to note the

[1] Tacit. Ann., lib. xiv., c. 31, 37; and Dion. Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* lib. lxii., c. 1, 12.

well-disciplined and guarded approach of the experienced Romans, instructed by their cautious leader to present a close front and assail the enemy, first by throwing their darts, then close upon them with their swords and the pikes of their bucklers. But insatiate London, still extending its arms, Saturn-like, to clutch and devour its children, has swallowed, with many other suburban hamlets nestling in its voracious proximity, the rural district of Barnsbury. White Conduit Fields are no more; the Reed Moat, or Six-acre Field, containing the camp of the Roman general, has long since been appropriated for building sites; and a Cockney villa, yclept Fort Cottage, usurps the prætorium of Suetonius."

Interesting reference is made by an old writer to the growth in the fields near Battle-bridge, in former days, of a simple yellow flower, now well known, but rare in his time, for this appears to have been the only known locality about London where it grew, though its more general growth was developed under extraordinary circumstances, and its bright blossoms gave literally "beauty for ashes." "The spring after the conflagration of London," says good John Aubrey, "all the ruins were overgrown with an herbe or two, but especially one with a yellow flower. On the south side of St. Paul's Church it grew as thick as could be; nay, on the very top of the tower. The herbalists call it *Ericoleris Neapolitina*, small bank cress of Naples; which plant Thomas Willis (the famous physician) told me he knew before but in one place about towne, and that was at Battle-bridge, by the Pinder of Wakefield, and that in no great quantity."[1]

In the reign of Edward VI., as recorded by Stow, "A Miller of Battaile Bridge was set on the pillory in Cheape, and had both his eares cut off, for seditious words by him spoken against the Duke of Somerset."

William Heron, by his will dated July 12th, 1580, which was proved in the Prerogative Court, enrolled in the Hustings in London, and mentioned in the fourteenth report of the Commissioners of Charities, up to 1825, p. 202, after giving certain annuities to his wife and others for life, made the following bequests:—Unto Thomas Heron and his heirs for ever, the yearly rent of £5; unto University College in Oxford, and Peter-house in Cambridge, to either of them the yearly rent of £5, towards the education and bringing up of poor scholars within the said two colleges or houses, for ever; to the poor of St. Sepulchre, £4, for ever; to the poor of the parish of Clerkenwell, for ever, £4; unto the use and necessary reparations of the parish churches of St. Sepulchre and Clerkenwell, the yearly rent of £20, for ever; and £8 towards repairing the highways from time to time in most needful places between the Spital House at Highgate and the corner of St. John's-wall, and the common highway leading from Highgate through Kentish Town to Battle-bridge, to be yearly bestowed by the constable and churchwardens of the said places for the time being. All which said yearly rents he directed to be issuing and going out of the house called the Maidenhead, and others his lands thereunto adjoining, in the parish of St. Sepulchre (between King-street and West-street, Nos. 90, 91, 92); and he willed that his said lands should remain to such uses, and that his executors should convey (if counsel should so advise) the said premises to the Corporation of Woolmongers or Clothworkers, for performance of the several devises out of the profits and rents of the said premises; and that if any decrease of rents of any of the said houses happened, that then the same should be equally borne by every one to whom any rent was devised by his will, and that the corporation should not be charged to pay more rent than by lawful means they might have received for the said lands; and he appointed Edward Buggins, Robert Wood, and Clement Rigge executors of his will. On October 6th, 1580, 32nd Elizabeth, the executors conveyed the said premises to the Clothworkers' Company, who, by deed, of October 8th, covenanted with the executors to apply the profits according to the said will; and on October 10th, 1581, acknowledged to have received the title deeds therein mentioned, by a deed to the said executors, sealed by the common seal of the company. When the premises were conveyed, the rents produced £55 6s. 8d. At the settling of the accounts for 1842, the amount was £311 10s. 10d., and became divisable under the decree of the Vice-chancellor, by arrangement. In reference to this gift, Mr. Pascall, in his "Clerkenwell Charity Estates," 1851, says—"When it was necessary for the City to improve West-street, Smithfield, by widening it, a part

[1] Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire*, p. 88.

of the ground necessary for that purpose at Smithfield corner, being part of this estate, was purchased of the company by the City for the sum of (I think) between £3000 and £1000. The amount of consols on which the dividend is received and divided is £3718 2s. 2d.; and the sum so paid purchased this amount of stock." This amount, together with an increased rental, the company kept to themselves until 1834, when the commissioners on charity property instituted an inquiry, and the attorney-general commenced proceedings against the company to enforce an equitable distribution to the parishes of the funds. Ultimately the parishes agreed to accept three-fourths of the annual income of the estate.

In alluding to this gift being misapplied as regarded the repairs of the church, Mr. Pascall says—"This sum amounts now to about £52 per annum; formerly it was not so much—about £10; but let the amount have been what it might, it was never applied as ordered, but went into the general accounts of the parish, until within these few years. Now if this sum, and others to the same use, together with the mortuary money, pew rents, &c., were placed in a separate account, I have no doubt that after paying the servants and all the expenses belonging to the church, the balance every year, if laid by, will be equal to defray the costs of all the repairs that may be needful from time to time, without calling on the inhabitants from house to house for voluntary contributions, or raising a rate for such purpose."

One "Cliffe, an honest cobbler, dwelling at Battel Bridge," was the reputed author of a book, printed in 1589, called "The Cobbler's Book," which denied the Church of England to be the true church, and charged her with maintaining idolatry under the name of decency, in habits, fonts, baptism by women, gang days, saints' eves, bishoping of children, organs, wafers, cakes, &c.[1]

Mr. Tomlins, in his "Yseldon," p. 188, says, "In an Inquisition[2] taken after the death of Geoffrey Cliffe, Gent. (who died 30th March, 1570), taken 20 May following, it was found that he died seised of a messuage in High Holborn, called the George, and also of two closures or separate pastures lying in the fields on the north side of High Holborn, in the parishes of St. Andrew and St. Pancras; one of the aforesaid two closures of pasture *vulgariter nuncupat'* Battle-bridge feilde, containing 16 acres—which shows that this place bore the name of Battle Bridge in former times. And I find that in a grant from the Crown to Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Peterborough, shortly after the Restoration, of waste and derelict lands, 'messuages at the place called Battle-bridge in the parish of St. Pancras' are mentioned.[3] And lastly, I find in the parish register the following entry:—'A poore man unknowne found drowned by Battle-bridge, bur'd 23 Feby., 1685.'"

On the 24th of December, 1730, a highwayman in a red rug coat stopped a coach, containing two ladies, a maidservant, and a child, at Battle-bridge. The thief, to disguise his voice, put the cape of his coat into his mouth; he was very civil, and as soon as he got the money rode off. The husband of one of the ladies instantly came up and pursued the highwayman, and he was taken, but not until the day after, at a tavern in Cripplegate. He had got a dagger and pistol, and threatened to shoot the shoemaker who took him; but the shoemaker jumped in on him, and secured him. The prisoner tried to prove an alibi, but in vain, and was hung at Tyburn, February 20th, 1731. The biography of this thief helps to show from what rank of life these men sprung. John Everett had been apprenticed to a salesman, but before his time was expired he ran away and enlisted in Flanders, where he became sergeant in General How's regiment of foot. On his return he purchased his discharge, and became an officer at Whitechapel Court, where he got into debt and difficulty from being too lenient to poor persons whom he arrested. He then became acquainted with several gangs of thieves, who persuaded him to rob on the highway. Turning king's evidence, he was confined in the Fleet for debt, and, being allowed the liberty of the rules, opened an alehouse in the Old Bailey. He then turned false witness, and eventually was thrown into Newgate; on coming out, he took to the road. While under sentence he preserved an outward decorum in chapel, but at other times flew into passions, and threatened to murder the keepers.

[1] Ames's *Typographical Antiquities.*

[2] 1 *Escaet'*, 12 Eliz., No. 148, Midd'x.

[3] Pat. 13 Car. II., p. 38, n. 19.

On July 1st, 1816 (56 George III.), was passed "An Act to amend an Act passed in the 54 George III., for paving, lighting, watching, and otherwise improving the several streets and other public places upon certain lands near Battle-bridge, in the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex."

In 1828, Battle-bridge was described as consisting "chiefly of small houses, inhabited by shopkeepers and artisans. The lowness of its situation exposes it to floods after continued rains, or on the breaking up of frosts that have been accompanied with much snow." At pages 389, 390, *ante*, reference is made to the inundations of Battle-bridge neighbourhood; to which accounts we may here add the following extract from the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxviii., part 1, page 462, under date Saturday, May 9th, 1818:—"From the heavy rain, which commenced yesterday evening at six o'clock, and continued pouring incessantly till four this morning, Battle-bridge, St. Pancras, and part of Somers Town were inundated. The water was several feet deep in many of the houses; and covered an extent of upwards of a mile. The carcases of several sheep and goats were found near Hampstead reservoir; and property was damaged to a very considerable amount. The personal inconvenience and danger may easily be imagined. Various other places in the neighbourhood of the metropolis were also inundated."

In a newspaper dated July 15th, 1845, we read:—"Discovery of Ancient Coins.—On Tuesday morning, a very singular discovery was made by some men employed in excavating for the purpose of forming a foundation for houses intended to be erected in Maiden-lane, Battle-bridge. It appears that one of the men having found a few coins which he conceived to be mere brass, carelessly mentioned it to a fellow workman, who, upon looking at them, declared his opinion to be that they were formed of metal more valuable than brass, and acquainted the surveyor of the fact, who immediately instituted a further search, and was at length rewarded by finding, at a depth of between ten and twelve feet, a small iron vessel shaped somewhat like an urn, which, upon being forced open, was found to contain a large quantity of gold and silver coins of the reign of Constantine, in the year 306, and several others bearing a date '53. These were, however, so much defaced, that no other inscription could be traced; besides which was found, some four or five feet deeper, large quantities of Roman tile, many parts of which were in a remarkable state of preservation."

The original name of Battle-bridge has been nearly lost in that of King's-cross, which was assumed in honour of one of those architectural follies which from time to time break out about suburban London upon the impulse of a coronation or some other occasion of intense loyalty. This singular monument was erected by public subscription, between the years 1830 and 1835, at the junction of the roads, it being set up to commemorate the happy reign of George IV.

We read in a newspaper, dated in 1830, as follows:—"King's-cross.—There has for some time been erecting at Battle-bridge, in the centre of the six roads which there unite, an octagon building, to be called King's-cross, designed to commemorate the reign of his Majesty George the Fourth. It is an octagon building, ornamented by eight Doric columns, which is to be surmounted by a colossal statue of his Majesty. The lower part is to be splendidly illuminated with gas lights, and it is also to have an illuminated clock, visible from the different roads. The building is erecting by public subscription." In another newspaper, dated in 1835, we read:—"The monument at King's-cross.—The original intention of erecting a statue of King George IV. on the summit of King's-cross, at Battle-bridge, is now in the course of completion. Several men are employed in forming the proportions of the figure, which is constructed of compo, and when finished will have the appearance of stone. The height of it will be about eleven feet. Several further embellishments are to be added to the cross, which, when finished, will form a very splendid ornament to that part of the town." This structure, which was about sixty feet in height, was of an octagonal form at its base, embellished by eight three-quarter Doric columns in pairs; in the second story were openings for a clock to face the four ways; over this was a circular pedestal surmounted by a colossal statue of George IV., wearing the cloak of knighthood, and bearing a sceptre. This architectural monstrosity, which grievously offended the eye of taste while it remained, in Pugin's amusing "Contrasts," as a modern work of art, is placed in juxta-position with the beautiful market cross at Chichester. It was built

of brick, and stuccoed to resemble stone, under the direction of Mr. Samuel Geary, architect. The basement was for some time occupied as a police-station; afterwards it became a public-house, when, to attract custom, a camera obscura was placed in the upper story. Previous to this latter change, however, the statue of the King was removed from its exalted station and broken to pieces, and the nose of the statue, composed of a draining tile, was offered to a learned antiquary for the modest sum of sixpence. In the year 1845, the entire structure was removed, and soon after a tall lamp was placed on its site.

The statue was thus ridiculed in the popular old song, "Adam Bell, the Literary Dustman:"—

Great sculptors all conwars wi' me,
And call my taste diwine, sirs,
King George's statty at King's-cross,
Vos built from my design, sirs.

A correspondent of "Notes and Queries" (2nd s. xii., p. 67) thus refers to this locality:—

"King's Cross.—Your readers have often heard no doubt of the name of King's-cross, and its connection with the Great Northern Railway Terminus, but they may not have heard from whence its name is derived. Craving a small space in your paper, I will endeavour to enlighten them on the subject

"King George IV. had just ascended the throne, when my grandfather, Mr. William Forrester Bray,[1] with the assistance of Mr. Dunston, late Governor of St. Luke's, Old-street; Mr. Robinson, solicitor, 32, Charterhouse-square; and Mr. Flanders, a retired tradesman, commenced building on some pieces of freehold ground, at a notorious place for thieves and murderers, known as Battle-bridge. It was a speculation of £40,000, and soon my grandfather had the satisfaction of seeing sixty-three houses erected; some of which were situated in the thoroughfares afterwards named by him Liverpool-street, Derby-street, Hamilton-place, and Chichester-place, Gray's Inn-road. More houses were afterwards erected, but in consequence of the notorious popularity of the name of Battle-bridge, the new buildings would not let. The result of this was that my grandfather had an interview with the other freeholders, to enable them to change the name to a better one. One wanted the new built locality to be called 'St. George's-cross.' Another wanted its name to be 'Boadicea's-cross,' in memory of that great battle from whence it derived its name. But neither of these names being agreed on, and my grandfather being the largest builder there, he proposed that, in honour of George IV., who had just assumed the crown, it should be called 'King's-cross.' This was at once agreed to; all leases were granted under that name, and from that period the locality has made great progress in civilisation and improvement. T. C. N."[2]

Early in the present century the spot of ground on which now stand Argyle-street, Liverpool-street, Manchester-street, and the corner of Gray's Inn-road, was covered with a mountain of filth and cinders, the accumulation of many years, and which afforded food for hundreds of pigs. The Russians bought the whole of the ash-heap, and shipped it to Moscow, for the purpose of re-building that city after it had been burned by the French. The Battle-bridge dustmen had a certain celebrity in their day. The ground on which the cinders stood was sold in 1826 to a company called the Pandemonium Company, for fifteen thousand pounds; they walled in the whole, and built a theatre, which now remains at the corner of Liverpool-street. The company's scheme was, however, abandoned, and the ground was let on building leases. The dust heap was mentioned by "Adam Bell," before referred to, as follows:—

You recollect the cinder heap,
Vot stood in Gray's Inn-lane, sirs?

When the place now called the Caledonian-road was in the fields there was at the Battle-bridge end of the road a large accumulation of horse-bones, which were there stored by some horse slaughterers.

A correspondent of the "Mirror," 1833, vol. xxi., page 426, says:—

"Get in, then, and descending the hill, you will find yourself at Battle-bridge, among a people as characteristic and looking as local as if the spot had been made for them, and they for the spot. At a glance you wil perceive what are the distinctions which make the difference between them and the population you have just passed

[1] Some time proprietor of the *Brighton Herald*. The late Mr. Biggs, the originator of that popular periodical the "Family Herald," was at that period my grandfather's apprentice.

[2] T. C. Noble. *Vide* pages 7, 109 n, 301 n.

through. It is the grand centre of dustmen, scavengers, horse and dog dealers, knackermen, brickmakers, and other low but necessary professionalists. The neighbourhood is, however, improving, and its poorer dwellers are getting gradually pushed farther into the back ground—out of sight, but not out of reach of another faculty, if you have a nose with its sense unimpaired. No, yes—oh, Shakspeare and the Nine! What have we here?—the Royal Clarence Theatre, and Shakspeare's noblest play, 'Hamlet,' and the part of the melancholy Prince by a 'star' from the east. Here be refinements for you!—where, ten years since—'nay, not so much'—stood that sublime, sifted wonder of cockneys, the cloud-kissing dust heap, which sold for twenty thousand pounds, stands now a little structure, large enough for the mighty mind of Shakspeare to speak within its walls, and where no doubt you may, if you have no vulgar prejudice against what is good because it is humbly placed, hear him discourse 'most eloquent music.' Come, this is better than bumping one's way to Paddington! I'll enter.



THE SMALL POX AND FEVER HOSPITAL FORMERLY AT KING'S CROSS.

. . . . The interior is somewhat fantastic, but light, and pretty too; and respectably filled with Battle-bridge beaux and belles, and not a dustman that I can see. I shall be very comfortable. 'A bill of the play, ma'am—thank you—a penny?' The curtain rises—'Francisco on his post. Enter to him Bernardo.' A very respectable performance throughout, and the Hamlet Shakspearian and excellent."

At Battle-bridge formerly stood the Small Pox and Fever Hospital[1] on ground now occupied by the handsome and commodious station of the Great Northern Railway (which line was formed under the powers of a local act, 9 and 10 Vict. c. 71, for "making a railway from London to York"), the original station of which previously stood down Maiden-lane, and on the other side of the canal bridge. In Chamberlain's "History of London," is a view of the Small Pox Hospital, near St. Pancras. A medal was struck with, on the obverse, a representation of the Small Pox Hospital, and the words, "The Small Pox Hospital, near St. Pancras;" and on the reverse a shield of arms (a lion rampant and three stirrups), and the words, "I promise to pay on demand the bearer one penny. P. Skidmore, medal maker, Coppice-row, Clerkenwell, London."

[1] *Vide* page 123.

At pages 122, 123, *ante*, will be found an account of the Small Pox Hospital, in Coldbath-fields, previously to its removal to King's-cross. Referring our readers to that account, we supplement the same with the following:—After the governors of this institution had contracted for the purchase of the premises near "Sir John Oldcastle's," Mr. Warner's tenants objected to the purchase on the ground that it would lead to a nuisance. The committee proceeded to fit up a vacant building which was standing on the premises, for sixty-four patients. In the meantime the committee stated, for the benefit of Dudley Ryder, the attorney-general, and Mr. Hume Campbell, that the intended Small Pox Hospital would be one hundred feet distant from any other house, and if it were to be enlarged it would be about seventy feet distant, there being a great street from Clerkenwell to Bloomsbury on one side of it. The attorney-general advised that it would not be any nuisance either public or private, although it should extend the whole length of the ground. The churchwardens of St. James, Clerkenwell, filed a bill of injunction in the Court of Chancery against the Trustees to stay their erecting and finishing their alterations; on the ground that they were too near the houses of the complainants. Lord Hardwicke declined to grant the injunction, stating that this was a charity likely to prove a great advantage to mankind, and that such an hospital should not be far from town. The patronage of the king was obtained. The buildings were proceeded with; Dr. Hales's ventilators were erected upon the hospital; and his trunks for conveying fresh air into the rooms were added. Blinds were provided for the windows; and elm trees were planted in the yard as a screen from the public-house adjoining. In March, 1753, the hospital was ready for the reception of patients. The public prejudices against the establishment were in a great measure allayed by a sermon, which was preached by Dr. Maddox, Bishop of Worcester, in April, 1753; and his vindication of the practice of inoculation tended to remove the religious scruples which were entertained of its propriety. The sermon passed through seven editions. Out of five hundred and ninety inoculated cases to that time since 1751, only one had proved unsuccessful; while one in seven had died in the casual small pox. In the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxix., part 2, page 84, is an account of the visit of the Duke of York, in the year 1819, to the Small Pox Hospital, at St. Pancras, of which he had then been president twenty years. The following statement of the number of deaths occasioned by casual small pox is extracted from the Register for twenty years before the practice of vaccination, and also for twenty years since; also the number of deaths as reported by the parish clerks of London, copied from their general bills of all the christenings and burials for the same periods:—

Before Vaccination.			Since Vaccination.		
A.D.	Hosp. Reg.	Par. Reg.	A.D.	Hosp. Reg.	Par. Reg.
1779 to 1798	1,867	36,189	1799 to 1818	814	22,480

Decreased in deaths since the practice of vaccination was introduced up to the year 1818—at the hospital, 1053; in the parishes, 13,709. Dr. Poole, who with indefatigable labour instituted the Small Pox Hospital in 1746, died May 30th, 1752, aged forty-three. He published "Travels in France," two volumes, 8vo.; and the "Physical Vade Mecum."

On Friday, June 17th, 1864, the freehold and copyhold estate and residence, known as Garrick's Villa, situate at Hampton, Middlesex, with stable, coach-house, buildings, and dwelling-house adjoining, pleasure grounds, &c., containing about eleven acres, one rood, fourteen perches, were sold by auction, by Messrs. Rushworth, Jarvis, and Abbott, at a fancy price, to Mr. Grove, a popular sailor, of Battle-bridge celebrity. The lot was knocked down at £10,800. The seller dwelt on the many pleasant historical associations of the place, including the visits of Hannah More.[1] The following copy of the particulars of this sale may interest our readers:—

"Garrick Villa, Hampton, formerly the residence of the celebrated David Garrick, with its beautiful pleasure grounds and extensive lawn, terracing the river Thames, kitchen garden and paddocks, comprising together between eleven and twelve acres, of which immediate possession may be had; also an Eyot in the river Thames, within a short distance, containing about four and a half acres, let on lease at £25 per annum.—Messrs. Rushworth, Jarvis, and Abbott are instructed by the executors of the late owner, Silvanus Phillips, Esq., to Sell

[1] *Athenæum*, No. 1913, p. 872, June 25th, 1864.

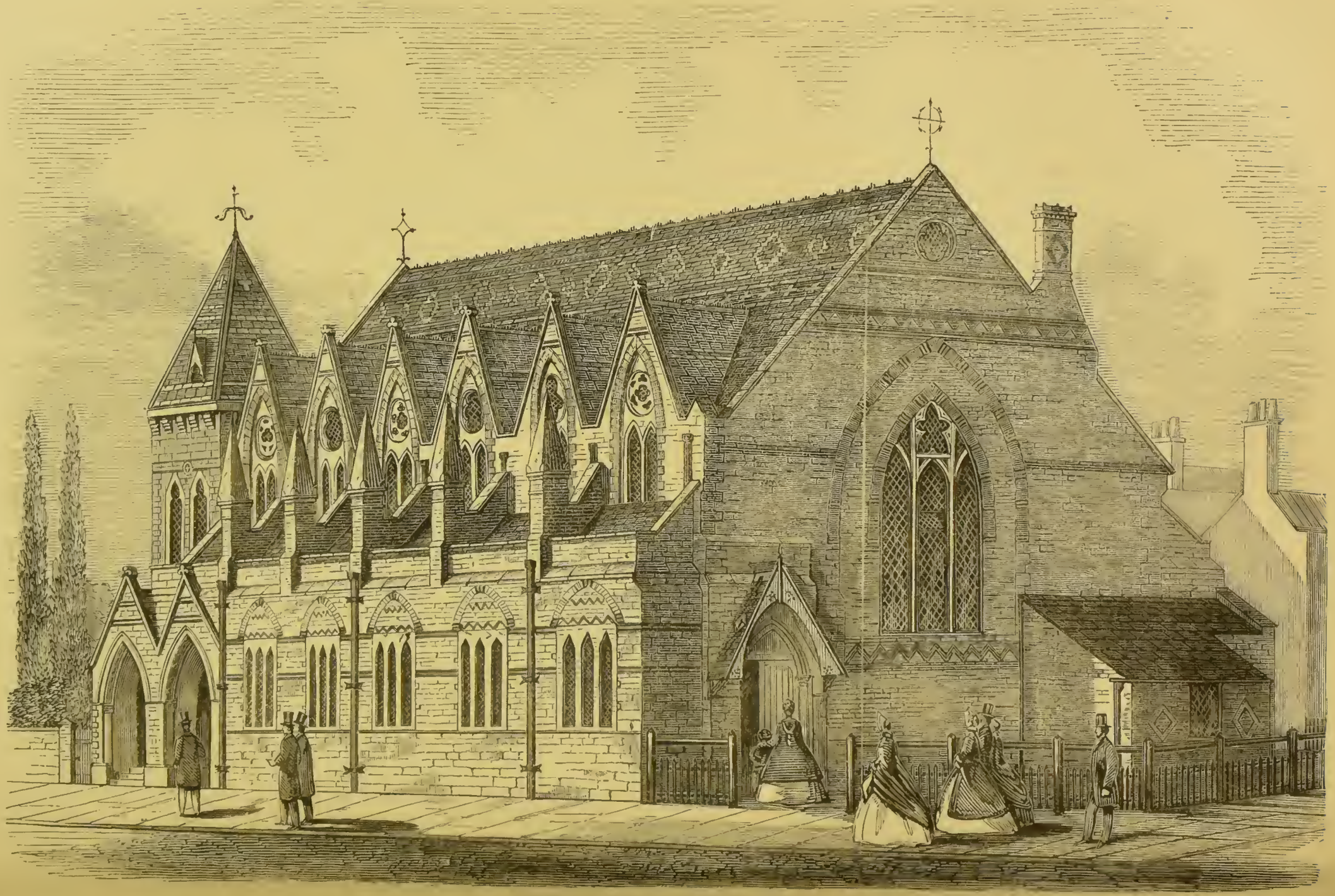
by Auction, at the Mart, on Friday, June 17th, the above very interesting and valuable property, which is situate on a beautiful wide part of the Thames, known as the Hampton Deeps (a great preserve for fish), close to the picturesque village and church of Hampton, and the ferry to Moulseyhurst and Hampton race-course, partly bounded by Bushey-park, and is within a mile of the palace and gardens of Hampton Court, and the railway station, and only a few hundred yards distant from the Thames Valley branch line to Hampton, rendering the property accessible both from the City and West-end of the metropolis in three-quarters of an hour. The residence is therefore suitable to any gentleman whose avocations require frequent or even daily attendance in town, and it affords every accommodation for a family, with capital stabling and other offices. The property is intersected by the main road leading from Hampton Court to Sunbury, occupying a frontage thereto, on either side of five hundred and thirty feet and five hundred feet respectively, besides frontages in the village, and a frontage of five hundred and fifty feet to the river Thames; which, combined with its beautiful situation, gravelly soil, proximity to the church, and easy communication with the metropolis, render it worthy the attention of capitalists and builders. In a separate lot will be sold the Eyot in the river Thames, above referred to. Cards to view may be obtained of Messrs. Holland and Sons, upholders, 23, Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, W.; and at the offices of Messrs. Rushworth, Jarvis, and Abbott, land surveyors and auctioneers, Saville-row, W., and 19, Change-alley, E.C.; and without which no person will be admitted. Printed particulars may likewise be had as above, and of Messrs. Cotterill and Sons, solicitors, Throgmorton-street, E.C."

We read in a periodical published in the year 1826:—"Two new roads are made near Copenhagen House; the one leading from Kentish Town to Holloway, the other, from the latter to Pentonville."

Opposite the great cinder heap to which we have referred was situated

SAINT CHAD'S WELL.

At Lichfield was a well called St. Chad's Well, to which many devotees of the Romish religion resorted. Leland, in his "Itinerary," vol. iv., p. 11, ed. 2, says, "Stowe church, in the east end of the town, where is St. Chadd's well, a spring of pure water, where is seen a stone in the bottome of it, on the which, some saye, St. Chadde was wont naked to stand in the water and praye. At this stone St. Chadd had his oratory in the tyme of Wulpher, Kinge of the Merches." In reference to St. Chad, and the well in Clerkenwell which bore his name, we read in the "Everyday Book," about 1825, that the saint, who died March 2nd, 673, and whose name is in the calendar of the Church of England, "was founder of the see, and Bishop of Lichfield. According to Bede, joyful melody as of persons sweetly singing descended from heaven into his oratory for half an hour, and then mounted again to heaven. This was to presage his death, and accordingly he died, attended by his brother's soul and musical angels. St. Chad's well is near Battle Bridge. The miraculous water is aperient, and was some years ago quaffed by the bilious and other invalids, who flocked thither in crowds, to drink at the cost of sixpence, what people of these latter days, by 'the ingenious chemist's art,' can make as effectual as Chad's virtues 'at the small price of one halfpenny.' If anyone desire to visit this spot of ancient renown, let him descend from Holborn-bars to the very bottom of Gray's Inn-lane. On the left hand side formerly stood a considerable hill, whereon were wont to climb and browze certain mountain goats of the metropolis, in common language called swine; the hill was the largest heap of cinder dust in the neighbourhood of London. It was formed by the annual accumulation of some thousands of cart-loads, since exported to Russia for making bricks to rebuild Moscow, after the conflagration of that capital on the entrance of Napoleon. Opposite to this unsightly site, and on the right hand side of the road, is an anglewise faded inscription—'St. Chad's well.' It stands or rather dejects over an elderly pair of wooden gates, one whereof opens on a scene which the unaccustomed eye may take for the pleasure ground of Giant Despair. Trees stand as if made not to vegetate, clipped hedges seem willing to decline, and nameless weeds straggle weakly upon unlimited borders. If you look upwards you perceive painted on an octagon board, 'Health Restored and Preserved.' Further on, towards the left, stands a low, old-fashioned, comfortable-looking, large-windowed dwelling; and ten to one but there also stands at the open door an ancient, ailing female in a black bonnet, a clean coloured cotton gown, and a check apron; her silver hair only in part tucked



CHRIST CHURCH, PENTONVILLE.

beneath the narrow border of a frilled cap, with a sedate and patient, yet somewhat inquiring, look. This is 'the Lady of the Well.' . . . While drinking St. Chad's water you observe an immense copper, into which it is poured, wherein it is heated to due efficacy, and from whence it is drawn by a cock into the glasses." In the pump-room was a portrait, in oil, of a stout comely personage, with a ruddy countenance; he wore a coat or cloak and a red night-cap. He was locally named St. Chad.

We have now before us a handbill, which bears the MS. date October 29th, 1840, and is as follows:—"Spring of many Virtues, St. Chad's Wells, Gray's Inn-road, near King's-cross, Battle-bridge. The celebrity of these waters being confined chiefly to its own immediate vicinity for a number of years, the present proprietor has thought proper to give more extensive publicity to the existence of a nostrum provided by nature, through Divine Providence, approaching nearest the great desideratum of scientific men, and mankind in general throughout all ages; namely, an universal medicine. The frequently attested evidence of those relieved, and their fervent regret that the existence of such an immense benefit to mankind should be so little known, has been the cause of calling forth the present medium of communicating a source of relief to the sufferer. The antiquity of the springs is very remote, but the exact time or circumstance of their first introduction to public notice is not left on record; but there is every reason to believe their early existence; for, in keeping with the general practice of our forefathers, when each medicinal spring had its tutelar Saint, to whose pious influence its healing properties were ascribed, this spring was dedicated to St. Chad, first Bishop of Lichfield, who was healed by these waters of a disease he suffered from, and thus originated the name by which it is at present known. The many cures yearly performed by these waters does not come within the limits of a handbill, but suffice it to say that here upon trial the sufferer finds a speedy and sure relief from indigestion and its train, habitual costiveness, the extensive range of liver complaints, dropsy in its early stages, glandular obstructions, and that bane of life, scrofula; for eruptions on the face and skin its almost immediate efficacy needs but a trial. The evidence of the frequenters of the pump-room is the strongest testimony that can be offered the suffering part of the community. Pamphlets may be had at the pump-room, in which is set forth more fully the healing properties of this medical spring. The pump-room and gardens are tastefully arranged, and fitted up with attention to the convenience, &c., of the invalid, the latter affording a pleasant walk for visitors. These waters retain their properties any length of time in closely-stopped bottles. Terms, yearly subscribers, £1; half-year's, 12s.; quarterly ditto, 7s. 6d.; monthly, 3s.; weekly, 1s.; visitors each, 3d. The waters, 8d. per gallon. Open from 5 o'clock in the morning."

The pamphlet above referred to, a copy of which is also now before us, and is dated in MS. October 29th, 1840, consists of eight pages, and is entitled "Treatise on the Characteristic Virtues of the Saint Chad's Well's Aperient and Alterative Springs." It states as follows:—"These celebrated springs of purging water, to which public attention is now invited, have been universally known by the name of St. Chad's well; they are situated at the top of Gray's Inn-lane, near King's-cross, St. Pancras, and, from their locality, have not unfrequently been called St. Pancras waters. The exact time or circumstance which led to the discovery of these springs, and to their first introduction to public notice, is not left on record; but there is every reason to believe they are of very ancient date, for, in accordance with the general practice of the early ages, when each universal spring had its tutelar saint, to whose influence its healing properties were ascribed, these were dedicated to St. Chad, the first Bishop of Lichfield, and from him obtained the name they bear. Jonathan Rhone, who was gardener and waiter at these wells upwards of sixty years, says that when he first came into office, at about the middle of the eighteenth century, the waters were in great repute, and frequently were visited by eight or nine hundred persons in a morning; the charge for drinking the waters was threepence each person, and they were delivered at the pump-room for exportation, at the rate of twenty-four pint bottles packed in hamper for one pound cash. The gardens attached to the wells were at the period referred to very extensive, abounding with fruit trees, shrubs, and flowers in great variety; and at the present time, although the extent of the grounds has been much curtailed, they are large, neatly laid out, and afford a pleasant walk to the invalid. An elegant pump and pump-room

have lately been erected at considerable expense, affording, in comparison with former times, excellent accommodation for visitors. The well from which the waters are supplied is excluded from the external air. The water when freshly drawn is perfectly clear and pellucid, and sparkles when poured into a glass; to the taste it is slightly bitter, not sufficiently so to render it disagreeable, indeed persons often think it so palatable as to take it at the table for a common beverage. Chemical analysis has found these waters to be composed of the sulphate of soda and magnesia in large proportions, united with a small quantity of iron, which is held in solution by carbonic acid. The effects of these waters are in perfect accordance with their analysis, actively purgative, mildly tonic, and powerfully diuretic." William Lucas was the proprietor of the wells at the time this pamphlet was issued.

The following is a copy of the particulars of the sale by auction of St. Chad's Wells:—"A valuable Copyhold Property, Gray's Inn-lane. Particulars and conditions of Sale of valuable copyhold property, situate in Gray's Inn-lane, near King's-cross, Battle-bridge, which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Warlters and Co., at Garraway's Coffee-house, Change-alley, Cornhill, on Thursday, the 14th September, 1837, at twelve o'clock, the well-known and valuable premises, dwelling-house, large garden, and offices, with the very celebrated spring of saline water, called St. Chad's Well, which in proper hands would produce an inexhaustable revenue, as its qualities are allowed by the first physicians to be unequalled. May be viewed; particulars had on the premises; at Garraway's Coffee-house, Change-alley, Cornhill; of Mr. Patten, solicitor, Hatton-garden; and at the Metropolitan, Holborn; and of Messrs. Warlters and Lovejoy, Farringdon-street. Particulars.—The house is brick-built, of modern elevation, having a spacious lofty pump-room with a dwelling over, a considerable frontage to Gray's Inn-lane, with a large garden at the back, on part of which is erected a school-room, let to Mr. H. W. Moore, at per annum, £12. A piece of ground let to Mr. Kirby, baker, on an agreement for two leases, of which thirty-three years and a half were unexpired at Midsummer last, at per annum, £5. Mr. Kirby has erected a substantial brick building on the ground. A piece of ground let to Mr. Askew, butcher, at per annum, £4 10s. The premises in hand are of the estimated value of, per annum, £60—£81 10s. This valuable property is copyhold of the manor of Cantlowes, otherwise Cantlers, subject to a small fine certain, of 6s. 8d., on death or alienation, and to a quit rent of 5d. per annum." Annexed to these particulars is a plan of the estate, which shows that a forecourt or garden adjoined Gray's Inn-road; next to the forecourt were the house and pump-room; and beyond them was the garden, in which on the north side were eleven water-closets. North of the forecourt was a school-room. In one corner of the garden were the premises let to Mr. Kirby, and a shed; and in another corner the premises let to Mr. Askew. On the north the garden was joined by the backs of the houses in Cumberland-row, and on the south by a timber yard. The shape of the whole estate was somewhat like an obtuse-angled triangle. At the time of the sale by auction Mr. Salter was the proprietor of the wells.

WINCHESTER STREET.

This street, which is situated on the northern side of Pentonville-road, was first formed towards the end of the last century. In a lease from Henry Penton, dated in 1786, of building ground in this street, it is stated to be part of a field "called Great Grace field, abutting east on a new intended street, intended to be called Winchester-street;" and in the same lease reference is made to "a new intended street, intended to be called Henry-street, being other part of the said field, called Great Grace field."

The growth of this neighbourhood is incidentally referred to in Hone's "Every Day Book," vol. i., p. 1042:—"At Pentonville, a place abounding in springs, and formerly abounding in conduits, all the conduits are destroyed, and the pumps there, in the midst of that healthy and largely growing suburb, during the hot days of July, 1825, were not equal to supply a tenth of the demand for

water; they were mostly dry and chained up, during the half of each day, without notice, and persons who came perhaps a mile, went back with empty vessels."

The next street in Pentonville-road, eastward, is

SOUTHAMPTON STREET.

At No. 33, in this street, lived poor Joe Grimaldi, the clown, after his premature retirement from the stage, in a house which was furnished for him by his friends. After the death of his wife, several letters were addressed by him from No. 31, George-street, Woolwich; one is emphatically dated, "Wednesday, June 3rd, 1835: Poor Mary's Birth-day." Joe says:—"The repairs of my new house are now complete, and I shall very soon be able to quit where I am; next door but one to Arthur's is my future residence." It was his last; the house he referred to was No. 33, Southampton-street. The wife of Mr. Arthur, then residing at No. 35, was originally a servant to Mr. Hughes, Joe's brother-in-law. Grimaldi, for some months previous to his death, frequented the coffee-room of the Marquis of Cornwallis tavern, at the south-west corner of Southampton-street. Mr. George Cook, the then proprietor, considering his infirmity, or the loss of the use of his lower extremity, used to fetch him on his back, and take him home in the same manner. On Wednesday evening, May 31st, 1837, he was brought to the coffee-room by Mr. Cook, and seemed quite exhilarated, his conversation and humour smacking of the vivacity of former years, and his anecdotes of olden times and past events contributed a fund of amusement to those enjoying the conviviality of the night. Joe's customary beverage was a little Scotch ale, or a small quantity of gin-and-water, during the evening. On the night of the 31st Grimaldi's housekeeper came to the Marquis of Cornwallis tavern to apprize her master that it was time to return home, and assisted him on to Mr. Cook's back. Joe, as usual, quite sober, reached home at a quarter to eleven o'clock, and on parting, said to Mr. Cook, "God bless you, my boy, I shall be ready for you to-morrow night." This was his last farewell. Grimaldi retired to rest that night, but never rose again; his housekeeper, on going to his room on the following morning, found him dead in his bed. The verdict which the jury returned on the inquest was that he died by the visitation of God. On Monday, June 5th, he was carried to his last long home in a hearse, followed by two mourning coaches, containing some of his most intimate friends, and was decently interred in the burial ground of St. James's Chapel, Pentonville, next to the grave of his friend, Charles Dibdin. The following inscription is on his gravestone:—"Sacred to the memory of Mr. Joseph Grimaldi, who departed this life May 31st, 1837, aged fifty-eight years."[1]

In 1834, the house No. 17, Southampton-street, was the scene of a most frightful tragedy, which for a period filled the public mind with horror and indignation. At this time the house was tenanted by one John Nicholas Steinberg, a German, who, without any assignable cause, barbarously murdered, on the night of the 8th of September in that year, a young woman, aged twenty-five, with whom he lived, and her four children, the eldest of whom was only five years and a half old, and the youngest an infant of eight months, by cutting their throats from ear to ear, and then committed suicide. The details of this scene of blood are too horrible for minute relation; suffice it to say, that these inhuman murders were not committed on unresisting victims, for two of them were much mutilated in their struggles for life. Suspicion was aroused, and a forcible entry was made upon the premises. The persons who made the shocking discovery described the scene which they witnessed as one most dreadful; every room they entered had the appearance of a slaughter-house, and was deluged with blood. Steinberg, the unhappy murderer, they found in the back kitchen, where he lay weltering in his blood, with a white-handled knife, the instrument of his crimes, under him. On the 11th of September, the bodies were removed from the house in shells. When that of Steinberg made its appearance the large crowd outside the house gave vent to its indignation and disgust, in such epithets as "the wretch," "the monster," "he ought not to be carried away, he ought to be kicked through the streets." An inquest

[1] *The Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi*, by "Boz," edited by Whitehead, 1846, Bentley, vol. ii. pp. 202-208.

was held upon the bodies at the "Three Kings," in Clerkenwell-close; and those of the murdered were decently buried in St. James's-churchyard, in the rear of a lapidary's house facing on to the Green. The funeral was at the public expense, a subscription for the purpose being quickly raised; and a headstone to commemorate the victims of this dismal tragedy was afterwards erected by the liberality of strangers.

The inscription on the tombstone is as follows:—

"A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land.—Jer. ch. 5, v. 30.

"Beneath this stone are deposited the remains of Ellen Lefevre, aged 25 years, and her four children.

"Henry, aged 5 years and 6 months.
"John ,, 4 ,, 6 ,,
"Ellen ,, 2 ,, 6 ,,
"Philip ,, 8 ,,

"Who were murdered at their residence in Southampton-street, Pentonville, during the night of the 8th of September, 1834, by John Nicholas Steinberg, aged 45 years, a native of Germany, and father of the above children, who afterwards murdered himself, and was buried according to law.

"Poor babes could not your innocence prevail!
And when your father heard your plaintive wail
Did no compunction smite his guilty soul,
Dark thoughts of murder to control—
None!—
None heard your cries, in sleep the world was bound,
A gloomy, death-like stillness reigned around,
While guilt with gliding footsteps noiseless trod,
You slept on earth, you woke and saw your God.
'Neath your Creator's wings in peace you're blest,
For angels wafted you to realms of rest.

"This stone was erected by public subscription to commemorate the lamentable event.

"Where is the flock that was given thee, thy beautiful flock?—Jer., ch. 13, v. 20.

"His remembrance shall perish from the earth, and he shall have no name in the street.—Job, ch. 18, v. 17."

The poetical epitaph was composed by Mr. Campbell, formerly of Sadler's Wells Theatre.

The "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1834, vol. civ., part 2, page 423, thus notices the murder:—"A German, of the name of Steinberg, a whipmaker by trade, residing in Southampton-street, Pentonville, barbarously murdered Ellen Lefevre, with whom he cohabited, and his four children, the eldest about five years old, by cutting their throats, and then terminating his own existence by the same means. On Sunday, the 13th, all the bodies were interred in the burying-ground of St. James's, Clerkenwell, where a great concourse of people assembled to witness the solemn occasion. A committee had been appointed to conduct a subscription, in order that the bodies might be decently interred, and some memorial of their unhappy fate might be raised at the public expense."

Steinberg was buried in the paupers' burial-ground in Ray-street, the site of which was marked by a mausoleum on the west side of that thoroughfare.[1] At his ignominious funeral, which took place at night, a peculiar ceremony in lieu of the old custom of driving a stake through the body was observed. The shell, containing the deceased, was laid by the side of the grave; the body was taken out by two men; they held it horizontally over the grave; when they gave it a turn it fell to the bottom with the face downwards resting upon the arms. The earth was partly put over the body, and one of the assistants struck the earth immediately over the deceased's skull several times as hard as he could with an iron mallet, the object being to break the skull. This shameful burial of a murderer and a suicide attracted together a considerable number of persons, in whom a morbid curiosity had been excited.

In a newspaper dated September 29th, 1834, we read as follows:—

"The Steinberg Murder.—The house in Southampton-street, Pentonville, that was the scene of this horrible tragedy, was on Monday last taken possession of by the new tenant, to whom it has been let by Mr. Cuthbert, the

[1] *Vide* pages 166, 167.

landlord, at the yearly rent of £28, being £2 less than the amount paid by Steinberg himself, and yesterday the premises were submitted to the inspection of the public, each person paying a trifle according to his circumstances. The house remains exactly in the same state it was in when viewed by the Coroner's jury, with the exception that some part of the flooring has been attempted to be cleaned; but the blood was found to have saturated so deeply into the wood, that the stains could not be effaced without planing a great part of it away. The whole of the premises have at present a most melancholy and desolate appearance. It appears that the house has been taken by the present occupant, joined with two or three other persons, on the speculation solely of showing it to the public; and, to render the sight as attractive as possible to the lovers of the horrific, this scene of cruel butchery is intended to display a set of wax composition figures, vividly representing the murderer and his victims, and wearing the identical clothing they had on at the time the murder was perpetrated. It is stated that the enormous sum of £25 was given for the clothes in question. The figures were expected yesterday afternoon, and for hours Southampton-street was thronged by persons who anxiously waited taking their chance of catching a sight of them as they were being carried in. The speculation promises to turn out a profitable one, as in the course of yesterday nearly £50 were taken. The adjoining houses on either side have become vacant. Two police constables were in attendance to preserve order."

In a newspaper, of a few days' later date, we read—

"Hatton-garden.—Nuisance in Southampton-street, Pentonville.—The Late Murders.—Yesterday several respectable inhabitants of Southampton-street, Pentonville, attended at this office to complain of a gross nuisance which had existed during the last week in the above street, and to solicit the advice of the magistrate under the circumstances.

"One of the applicants stated that he resided with his family in a house adjacent to that in which Steinberg murdered Ellen Lefevre and his children. Some cunning individual had taken the house of Mr. Cuthbert, the landlord, and had got up wax effigies of the murdered persons, which were laid out in the various apartments in the same postures as they were found when discovered, and the public were admitted to view them and the house at so much per head. The consequence was, that immense crowds of persons daily assembled in the neighbourhood, and the respectable part of the inhabitants were so extremely annoyed that many of them had quitted their residences, and others were about to do so unless the nuisance could be checked. Applicant here handed a letter to Mr. Rogers, which stated the inhabitants were annoyed and disgusted by the gross and indecent exhibition of the figures of the murdered persons, and having the awful circumstances revived in their memory by such proceedings. The letter assured the magistrate that it would do great injury to persons holding house property in the neighbourhood, and was truly horrible and disgusting to the respectable portion of the inhabitants, especially to the ladies. The letter was signed by Mr. Lever, of Southampton-street, Pentonville.

"Mr. Rogers concurred with the applicants, that it was annoying and disgusting, but he could not see how he could interfere as a magistrate, although he conceived it to be a very fit subject for the interference of the parish authorities. He advised that the housekeepers should make their formal complaints to the parish officers, and cause the parties belonging to the exhibition and house to be indicted for the nuisance.

"Applicant.—The housekeepers did complain to the parish officers, and on Sunday morning the overseer and churchwarden attended and took down their names; but I am surprised not to see him here, or more of the inhabitants.

"Inspector Thompson, of G division, here stated that on Saturday evening last Inspector Miller, of N division, attended to ask the advice of Mr. Sergeant Sellon upon the subject, when he stated that the proprietor of the exhibition intended to exhibit the house and figures on the Sunday. Mr. Sergeant Sellon then expressed his indignation, and said that it would be a disgraceful proceeding, and the parties ought to be indicted for the nuisance.

"It was here stated that parties were actually admitted into the house on Sunday, and that the proprietor had bought a knife, which was represented to be the instrument with which the awful tragedy was perpetrated, and for the purpose of effect, had steeped the blade in blood; whereas, the identical knife is still in the safe keeping of Bugg, the beadle, in the event of any legal proceedings being instituted by the Steinberg family.

"Waddington, the gaoler, stated that on Sunday morning last he passed by the house where the figures were exhibited, when he saw a crowd round the house, and a constable named Atkinson, who is an ex-inspector of police, standing in an upright position, with a large brass staff in his hand, before the door, to attract the attention of the passengers. He saw several persons admitted into the house, and he cautioned the constable, who said that there was no exhibition.

"The applicants waited for some time, under the expectation that the parish authorities would meet them, but they eventually quitted the office.

"Mr. Garland, the churchwarden, ultimately arrived at the office, when he was informed of the applications that had bee made.

"Mr. Garland said that he had been detained on parish business, and expressed his surprise that more of the

inhabitants had not attended to meet him, as he had taken down the names of several complaining of the nuisanee, which he had witnessed himself; but he would not interfere further, unless the inhabitants more generally came forward to put down the nuisanee.

"It has been stated that the figures exhibited have on the identical clothes worn by the deceased; such is not the fact. Steinberg was buried in the same elothes in which he was found on the morning that the murders were discovered."

We now return into the Pentonville-road, in which, at No. 166, is

THE LONDON FEMALE PENITENTIARY.

The central portion of the premises now occupied by this excellent institution, was formerly Cumming House, it having been erected by John Cumming, Esq., for his own residence. After his death the house was taken by a Madame Florence, who here presided over a small establishment of nuns, in connection with a Roman Catholic seminary for young ladies. Madame Florence left the house in 1806, and the committee of the London Female Penitentiary, which was instituted on the 1st of January, 1807, purchased the lease and fixtures, and fitted up the building for the reception of about thirty-five females. In 1811, an east wing was erected, in size equal to the original building; and before the close of the next year a contract was entered into for another addition to extend one hundred feet from the rear, and to include both an infirmary and prompt reception ward. On the completion of these designs the whole was found capable of accommodating one hundred females.

The object of this charity is to afford an asylum to females, who, having deviated from the path of virtue, are desirous of being restored by religious instruction and the formation of moral and industrious habits, to a reputable condition in society. We beg to depart a moment from our province of historian, in order to act as advocate for this commendable penitentiary. All must feel a conviction of the necessity for keeping widely open the door of mercy for the hapless victims of sin, and of following the good old path which has been prescribed by Infinite wisdom for their recovery. The streets of the metropolis still teem with the victims of vice; and the gorgeous adornments of those nurseries of evil—the gin and beer shops, the casino, and the concert-room—are increasingly spread out to allure and entrap the unwary. Under these circumstances it becomes the imperative duty of all the champions of suffering humanity to have renewed and untiring enterprise in this vast field of Christian philanthropy, not deterred by difficulties or cast down by disappointments. The external affairs of the institution now under notice are managed by a committee of gentlemen, while its internal economy is under the superintendence of married ladies. They meet every Wednesday, at twelve o'clock, to receive applications for admission, and to direct the affairs of the house. The greatest care is taken to prevent any one being received into this institution who does not appear sincerely desirous of reformation. With a view to test her sincerity every female is subjected to a probation of three months, and is liable to be expelled if she exhibit a refractory disposition, or unmanageable temper, or refuse to conform to the regulations or discipline of the house. All are instructed in a knowledge of Christian truth according to the doctrines and articles of the Church of England. Divine service is performed twice every Sunday, and every week day evening; but for obvious reasons it is not deemed expedient that the worship should be open to the public. Industry is the rule of the house; each female is regularly engaged in some useful and profitable employment. The occupations in which they are engaged are plain needlework, household work in all its departments, and especially the business of a laundry—washing, ironing, and mangling—to qualify them for domestic service. The earnings of the inmates by laundry and needlework are the principal means of maintaining this excellent institution. In the year ending March 31st, 1863, the receipts for washing done by the inmates amounted to £1181 15s. 4d.; and for needlework and articles of clothing sold, £129 10s. 1d. The subscriptions received during the year amounted to £302 6s.; the donations to £113 12s. 10d.; dividends on stock, £417 3s. 2d.; and legacies, £495. The expenses of the year were £2381 2s. 2½d.

The following statement appears in the last report of the institution:—

APRIL 1ST, 1863.

Number in House, April 1st, 1862	92
Admitted during the year	79
	171
Placed out to Service	31
Reconciled to Friends	8
Left at their own request	19
Dismissed for bad conduct	16
Left on account of ill health	6
Ditto from other causes	6
In the House, April 1st, 1863	85
	171
Number received into the Institution since its Establishment in 1807	4172

OF WHOM THERE HAVE BEEN

Placed out to Service	1401
Reconciled and Restored to Friends	941
Married, besides those from Service or Friends	13
Left at their own request	616
Discharged from various causes	728
Left from ill-health	198
Ditto on account of Pregnancy	67
Sent to their Parishes	37
Discovered to have been in before	3
Emigrated	48
Died in the Institution	31
Left on account of Insanity	4
	4057
In the House, April 1, 1863	85
	4172

The subjoined figures will show the amounts earned and received in the twelve months ending 31st March:—1855, £1016 17s. 7d.; 1856, £1072 19s. 9d.; 1857, £1305 16s. 1d.; 1858, £1112 12s. 5d.; 1859, £1154 11s. 11d.; 1860, £1172 11s. 4d.; 1861, £1097 19s. 2d.; 1862, £1194 13s. 2d.; 1863, £1311 5s. 5d., less value of clothing sold, £27 13s. 6d., £1283 11s. 11d.

ST. JAMES'S CHAPEL, PENTONVILLE.

The history of St. James's Chapel, Pentonville, is somewhat complicated, and needs to be given in detail in order to be fully understood. While a very small portion of the district was as yet built upon, Mr. Penton perceived the advantages that might be expected to flow from the erection of a place of public worship on some part of his estate. He therefore, early in 1777, entered into a friendly arrangement with the Commissioners of Paving that part of the parish called St. James's, in pursuance of which a clause was inserted in a Bill then carrying through Parliament,[1] by which the Commissioners were empowered to build a place of public worship near Penton-street, as an appendant to the mother church. The Bill passed, and in December of the same year, Mr. Penton made application to the Commissioners to carry that part of their new Act into execution. The latter

[1] 17th Geo. III., cap. 63.

showed no unwillingness, and even surveyed the ground and advertised for loans both by way of bond and annuity, as authorised by the Act, to enable them to proceed with the intended chapel. But an unexpected obstacle arose; the Act provided that the erection should be with the privity, approbation, and consent, not only of Mr. Penton, but "of the minister of the parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, for the time being;" and though the last mentioned gentleman (the Rev. William Sellon[1]) did not withhold his consent, he started what appeared to be an "insuperable difficulty." This was a requirement of a bond to the Bishop of London, for the regular and certain payment of the salary to the minister of the chapel: which bond neither the commissioners nor the churchwardens felt themselves in a situation to give. Upon this the matter dropped as far as the Commissioners of Paving, &c., were concerned, until nearly ten years had elapsed. But in the meantime the erection of a chapel had, by means of private subscription, been commenced.

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lvii., page 634, that on Saturday, June 16th, 1787, "the foundation stone of Pentonville Chapel, now building near Islington, was laid with great ceremony. On the top of the stone was placed a glass vessel with some coins of the present year, underneath which is engraved the following inscription:—'Collatitis pecunia ædificabatur, Ann. Dom. 1787. Deo Sacram hac legalis moneta epochæ suæ deponetur.'" This perhaps would be more correctly rendered as follows:—"Collatitia pecunia ædificabatur, Ann. Dom. 1787. Deo Sacrum. Hæc legalis moneta epochæ suæ deponitur." By subscription was built A.D. 1787, devoted to God. This legal coin of its epoch is deposited. The stone was conveyed to the ground of the chapel attended by the subscribers and others, and was deposited at the north-east angle of the communion table. After the president had struck the stone with a mallet, he offered up the following prayer:—"Almighty Founder of the Universe! pour down Thy blessings on this infant edifice, humbly dedicated to Thy service! Preserve that perfect unanimity which has hitherto reigned among us, and render it hereditary. Impart Thy gracious aid in the completion of this work; and grant, we humbly beseech Thee, that this Thy house may become a copious fountain of pure religion and sound morality, and an endless blessing to us and posterity." The ceremony being ended, the subscribers returned to an entertainment prepared on the occasion, which was conducted with suitable decorum.[2]

In October, 1787, the building was in a state of forwardness. The Commissioners now met the proprietors, and proposed to them to take this chapel under their direction; to this, in the absence of the minister of St. James's, who neither attended in person nor by deputy, they would not consent. Under such circumstances, though the erection proceeded, the plan of uniting it as a chapel of ease to the mother church was for a time defeated; but it was opened notwithstanding in 1788, under the provisions of the Toleration Act, and its religious services assimilated as nearly as possible to those of the Establishment. The first minister was Mr. Joel Abraham Knight, who had previously preached at Spafields Chapel, and who, after twelve months' ministration in Pentonville Chapel, quitted it. The chapel being at this period private property seatholders only were admitted, a bar being placed at the entrance and entrusted to the doorkeeper to prevent the admission of strangers. This state of things continued until the year 1790.

The present parochial church of St. James was at that time in progress, but the trustees who had been appointed to superintend its erection, finding that the sum of £8000, which Parliament had empowered them to raise, would prove quite inadequate for its completion, were making application to the legislature for powers to borrow a further sum to the same amount. In this they were opposed by the inhabitants of Pentonville, until a compromise was effected by the introduction of clauses empowering, or rather obliging, the trustees to purchase also the new chapel for their use. With these clauses the bill passed, and agreeably to its enactments, the proprietors, who were fifty-five in number, received for their chapel the sum of £5000 in bonds of £100 each, transferable, and bearing interest at four per cent. The lease, dated January 1st, 1789, granted by Henry Penton, Esq., of the ground for the chapel and cemetery, was included in the purchase, and by its terms, confirmed by the Act, the trustees bound themselves to the payment of the annual rent of £40, together with a fine of

[1] *Vide* pages 51, 62, 69, 70, 104, 144, 145.

[2] *The London Chronicle*, June, 19th, 1787.

twenty guineas for its renewal at the end of every twenty-one years. By the same Act the trustees were compelled to keep the chapel and its appurtenances in repair, and to pay the yearly sum of £20 to the minister of the parish for the time being; the minister to be also entitled to the pew-rents and surplice fees, and on his part sufficiently to provide for the care of the chapel, and pay reasonable stipends to the officiating minister, clerk, organist, and attendants. The lease above-mentioned was granted to Alexander Cumming, Thomas Collier, and Abraham Rhodes; and secured the rights of persons in certain vaults which had been previously sold—one being sold to Joshua Johnstone, one to John Davenport, and one to John Ranson, a certain vault in the burial-ground to Alexander Cumming, and a vault under the west steps to Thomas Collier.

In consideration of the purchase of the chapel, and that three of the pews and a vault under it should be secured to him and his assignees, the late Henry Penton, Esq., conveyed to the trustees the fee-simple of a piece of land of about one acre in extent in the parish of St. Mary, Islington. The land was duly conveyed to trustees by deeds dated August 17th and 18th, 1792; and the same are deposited in an iron chest at the church. The following recital is contained in one of them:—"And whereas the said Henry Penton, in consideration of the parishioners having agreed to purchase the said chapel as aforesaid, and of his being allowed the sole use of the pews numbered 39, 40, and 41, in the west gallery of the said chapel, and the exclusive use of a vault under the said chapel being secured to him, his executors, administrators, and assigns, hath promised and agreed to and with the said parishioners to convey to trustees for their use the fee-simple and inheritance of one acre of land in the parish of St. Mary, Islington, situate and being at the north-west corner of a new street, called Winchester-street, and abutting on the north on land in the tenure of Christopher Bartholomew, and on the south and west sides thereof on land belonging to the said Henry Penton, and east on Winchester-street aforesaid." Some years after the last-mentioned date, a dispute arose between Mr. Horsefall and the parish about the right to the land, which was settled in favour of the parish by a judgment given in an action of ejectment, and the trustees took possession from Lady-day, 1821, and recovered two years' rent. An arbitrator was appointed to set out the land, and the right of way to the same, as defined by the plan in the church.

Previous to the year 1846, this land was let for various purposes, and mostly by the month, at a small rent. By the minutes of the trustees, several offers appear to have been made for purchasing it, or renting it on lease, in the years 1821-3-4-5-6-7, and 1830; but none were thought to be advantageous, and for the last few years it had been let for £12 per annum to a carpet beater. In the year 1846 the ground was advertised to be let on a building lease; and as an offer to cover the ground was under arrangement, it was considered desirable to redeem the land tax at the amount of its then value as vacant ground; and the same was redeemed accordingly. An agreement was then entered into with Mr. William Dennis, builder, for a lease of the whole ground, to build several houses thereon, and to obtain from Mr. Thornhill the reversion to a slip of freehold land lying between the parish land and the canal, and the same to be surrendered up to the trustees at the expiration of the lease to be granted by them. On these conditions a lease was granted for the term of ninety-nine years from Lady-day, 1846, at the rent of £50 per annum for the first five years, and for every year after at the rent of £100.[1]

With the exceptions before-named the entire building, cemetery, and appurtenances of Pentonville Chapel, including the chapel furniture and two lodges erected at the north entrance, became the property of the trustees of St. James, Clerkenwell. The entire cost of this chapel to the parish amounted to £5147 2s. 5d., it being necessary, in adapting it for worship according to the established form, to expend £147 2s. 5d. in additional furniture and alterations.

The architect of the chapel was Mr. A. H. Hurst, who died in 1799, and lies in a vault, which he purchased, beneath the edifice.

The chapel was, together with the cemetery, consecrated by Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, on the 8th of June, 1791.

[1] Pascall's *Clerkenwell Charity Estates*, 1851.

We read in Caulfield's "Portraits," vol. i., note, p. 25, that "Mr. Francis Linley, organist of Pentonville Chapel, was blind from his birth. His greatest amusement was to explore churchyards, and with his fingers trace out memorials of the dead from tombstones; indeed the fineness of his touch would lead him to know a book from the lettering on the back of a volume, and he could without a guide make his way throughout the bustling streets of London."

In the "Gazetteer," for July 17th, 1789, we read, "To such daring outrages have pickpockets arrived, that on Tuesday last, as the Society of 'Sols' was going into Pentonville Chapel, Islington, eight or ten surrounded a gentleman who lives near the spot, and was standing to see the society pass. They jostled him and turned his breeches pockets out. He cried aloud, 'Take care of your pockets!' In a few minutes one came up to him, and without speaking a word, struck him a violent blow on the head, which knocked him down. A person who was standing near informed the gentleman his pocket was picked, on which they knocked him down also, and dragged him about the road by his hair, and then dispersed, no person choosing to secure them, though it was noonday and hundreds present."

We read in a newspaper dated March 19th, 1854, "The Bishop of London has issued a notice prohibiting for the future the solemnization of marriages in the chapel of St. James's, Pentonville, in the parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell, which license was granted by the bishop on the 11th of December, 1846. No cause is assigned for the revocation of the license." In pursuance of a memorial from the clergy and the inhabitants of the district, a license for the solemnization of marriages in St. James's Chapel was first granted. By an order in council, dated April 7th, 1854, the district chapelry of Pentonville was created.[1] The law requires that in all cases of chapels or churches having districts assigned to them by order in council, any existing licenses shall be suspended fourteen days before the sovereign signs the order, which has the force of an act of parliament, and confers the power to publish banns, and to perform marriages, with other offices; but the law also requires the bishop and his registrar to restore the license, that being the official recognition of the power thus conferred. All this was done in the case of Pentonville chapel.

St. James's Chapel is built chiefly of brick, but has a neat façade of Portland stone. In the centre are four Ionic pilasters, two on either side of the south window, and supporting a pediment, in the centre of which is a clock. On the summit of the chapel is a small cupola with a bell. There are three entrances in front, the principal one, beneath the south window, leading to the body of the chapel; the other doors conduct to the galleries. There are porched entrances, approached by flights of steps, on either side of the chapel at the north end. The position in which this chapel stands—nearly due north and south—would hardly now be considered orthodox, especially as the chancel is erected at the northern extremity. The interior, which is very plain, is surrounded by a gallery, and contains pew sittings in all for about seven hundred persons. The extreme length of the chapel is eighty-eight feet three inches, and its greatest width forty-eight feet. The chancel is formed by an arched recess at the north end of the chapel, and is adorned externally by Ionic pilasters, supporting the arch above. Within the chancel over the communion table is written, in gold letters upon a black ground, the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the Creed, separated by four reeded pillars, sustaining an entablature. Above this is the altarpiece, having as its subject "The Raising of Jairus's Daughter." This painting, after the manner of West, possesses considerable merit, and was the work of Mr. John Frearson, an amateur artist, of whom it was purchased for the small sum of £70, a price far below its intrinsic value, and presented by Mr. Samuel Walker, one of the proprietors of the chapel. It is enclosed in a massive gilt frame, on the upper part of which are inscribed the words, "Talitha Cumi. Mark v. 41." In a semi-circular compartment over this picture is painted upon glass a dove descending in clouds of glory, the usual emblem of the Holy Spirit. The chapel having been erected by Dissenters, the altar is placed at the north instead of at the east end, which is contrary to all ecclesiastical usage.

In a niche, on the left-hand side of the altar, is a small tablet, inscribed:—

"Sacred to the memory of Paul Hamilton, Esq., a native of South Carolina, where he had a good estate, and

[1] *Vide* page 490.

lived about sixty years very generally and deservedly esteemed. But, during the unhappy rupture which took place between Great Britain and her Colonies, being attached to the British Constitution from principle and conviction of its excellence, he refused to join those who meditated a separation from the parent state; and therefore left Carolina, and passed the remainder of his life in England; where, having supported a fair and irreproachable character, he finished his course of trial, and was removed to a better country by a stroke of the palsy, on the 11th day of December, 1797, in the 73rd year of his age; and his remains are deposited in a vault of this chapel."

The pulpit, which stands a few feet from the communion rails, is quite plain. The font is of artificial stone, painted to imitate marble. It is of classic design—a vase, supported upon a pedestal, ornamented with flowers and fruit. In the south gallery there is a small organ.

"The chapel underwent a complete survey and reparation in 1816, when various improvements were made; in particular, the nakedness of the ceiling was relieved by a handsome circular ornament in the centre, so contrived as, at the same time, to ventilate the building by a connected aperture in the roof. At this period the galleries for the charity children were enlarged by the substitution of convex for concave fronts, with light iron balustrades, in lieu of the previous panels." The interior was again repaired and beautified in 1823.

The Rev. Anthony Lefroy Courtenay, M.A., and D.D. of Trinity College, Dublin, domestic chaplain to the Earl of Hardwicke, was lately curate of St. James's, Pentonville. The reverend gentleman resides in Claremont-square, Pentonville. The curate in sole charge of this chapel is now the Rev. W. J. Rundell, who entered upon the duty June 24th, 1863. He resides at No. 33, Holford-square, Pentonville.

When the incumbency of Clerkenwell was vacated by the death of the late Mr. Faulkner,[1] the Bishop of London issued a notice to the churchwardens of Clerkenwell, calling upon them to sequester the "fruits, tithes, profits, oblations, obventions,[2] and other rights and ecclesiastical emoluments" then due to the church, for the benefit of the next appointed incumbent. This notice was posted upon the church of St. James's, Pentonville, as a church yielding profit to the incumbency of Clerkenwell, the pew-rents, marriage fees, and such like having been the undisputed property of the incumbent of Clerkenwell. This act brought forth a letter from Dr. Courtenay, who was appointed curate under the late incumbent, declaring that, through the avoidance of the incumbency by death, he had, by law (the 8th and 9th of Vic.), become the perpetual curate of the district chapelry of Pentonville, and laid claim to all the "profits," &c., of that district.

The churchwardens took the opinion of Sir Fitzroy Kelly upon the point, and that learned gentleman advised that Dr. Courtenay had acted in an "unauthorised manner," and said that the officials of the parish ought to have interfered long since to check certain proceedings of the doctor. A letter was written to Dr. Courtenay, declaring that he was only the curate of the late incumbent, and that, upon the death which had just vacated the incumbency, that curacy ceased; and warning the doctor that, as Pentonville Chapel was still the bonâ fide property of the parish, the pew-rents and other rights belonged to the incumbent to be appointed by the parish.

The opportunity to try the question soon presented itself. Dr. Courtenay had given the person who filled the offices of clerk and sexton (a Mr. Jackson) notice to quit his situation, but he refused to take the notice. One evening Dr. Courtenay found Mr. Jackson in the vestry of the church and ordered him out. Mr. Jackson refused to go, upon which Dr. Courtenay committed what he himself termed a "legal assault," by laying hands on Jackson and attempting to remove him. An action thereupon was brought, and the questions argued were whether Dr. Courtenay had the power to dismiss the complainant. It was maintained on Dr. Courtenay's part that he was constituted perpetual curate, or incumbent, by an order in council; and on the other part it was contested that an order in council could not interfere with the right of the people, *i.e.*, the ratepayers of Clerkenwell, who were the only patrons of the living. The case was referred to arbitration, and the arbitrator gave judgment in favour of the plaintiff (Jackson), but reserved some points of law for the judges to decide. This

[1] *Vide* page 71.

[2] Obventions is from the Latin, and means in law offerings; also tithes and oblations.

decision was given on July 4th, 1857, by Justices Erle and Coleridge, sitting in *banco*, to the effect that Dr. Courtenay had the power of annual re-appointment of clerk, whom, however, he could not dismiss from office by giving notice, as the Doctor had maintained he could.

The question whether Dr. Courtenay was or was not really the incumbent *de facto* of Pentonville was never tried as a distinct case, and his claim to be so considered was not disputed in a law court, from the unwillingness of the trustees to enter upon litigation. The trustees of Clerkenwell receive no income from the church of Pentonville, which may arise from the fact that there are scarcely any pew-rents, if any, the congregation worshipping there being very small. The trustees have to pay the ground rent of the chapel, and to keep the building in repair, which they do from the funds arising out of the rent of an acre of ground in Islington, presented by the founder of the Penton estate, Henry Penton, Esq., on condition that the family should be allowed a pew in the chapel, as before stated. This acre of ground in 1851 brought in an annual rent of £100.

During the last few years Dr. Courtenay has been striving to erect a new church in Penton-street. His objection to the one on Pentonville-hill is that the people will not come to it on account of the graveyard around it, the peculiar shape of the pews, and the noise arising from the busy thoroughfare in which it stands. A site of ground was purchased in Penton-street at the corner of John-street, and about the year 1859-60 an iron church was erected for the purpose of forming the nucleus of a congregation for the proposed new church. After a short time the iron church was pulled down and the permanent one commenced, the first stone being laid on July 19th, 1860; but the Doctor became involved in a law suit with the Clerkenwell Vestry for building beyond the line of frontage. This suit he eventually lost, and had to pull a portion of the church down and set it back. Soon after this he brought actions against the builder of the first portion of the church for using bad materials, and then against the architect of the temporary church for misdirection, as well as against the builder of the temporary church, on the same grounds as against the builder of the permanent church. In the first of these suits the Doctor was successful, but in the others he lost, and had to pay the costs of an arbitration which extended over many months. These suits caused much disquietude in the parish, and which was greatly heightened by the publication of allegations with respect to the spiritual condition of the neighbourhood, in circulars soliciting the aid of persons living in different parts of the country.

The new church was finished about March, 1863, and opened to the public in the following month. Its exterior is handsome and striking, and is an ornament to the district. It is a second pointed building, consisting of chancel, nave, north and south aisles, and tower at the east end of the south aisle. The arcading, instead of being of stone, is of wrought iron foliated caps of hammered iron, the spandrels of the arches being filled with the foliation of hammered iron. The tower is surmounted with an octagon lantern, terminating in a conical spire, the whole in brickwork of a mosaic pattern, with gems and tracery of stone. The roofs are open-timbered, and the seats open benches. Mr. S. S. Teulon, of Craig's-court, Charing-cross, was the architect, and the contractors were Messrs. Child, Son, and Martin, of Doctors'-commons. The church contains sittings for one thousand two hundred and fifty-nine persons. The edifice, including the site, cost about £8600.

The church is called Christ Church. The presentation to the living of St. James's, Pentonville, is vested in the incumbent of St. James's, Clerkenwell. Some years ago Sion College, amongst other suggestions, made one that the Rev. R. Maguire, should give up this right, and in return that the Pentonville church should have a grant of £300 a year. This was refused, as were also offers to endow the incumbency of Clerkenwell if the people would give up their right of presentation.

In Winchester-place, now Pentonville-road, near to the south-east corner of Penton-street, stood "Prospect House," so called from the fine view which it commanded over London and the circumjacent country. In the line of the New-road at Penton-street, Winchester-place, and up to the Angel, was a magnificent prospect over London. This was the ancient down called Islington-hill.[1] In "An Echo from Heaven, &c., printed for the author, in 12mo., and sold at his house in Long-alley,

[1] Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p. 187.

Blackfryers, 1652," the author describes his dream, which he wished to be deemed a prophecy:—"And at the time me thought I was on Islington-hill by the Waterhouse, and London appeared before me as if it had been burnt with fire, and there remained nothing of it but a few stone walls; but I made nothing of this dream." In the British Museum is a fine pen and ink drawing of a view of London from Pentonville, by Antonio Canaletto. Prospect House existed at a very early period. A Mr. Ireland was rated "for the Prospect" in 1669, and some years later its position is distinctly marked in an old map of London and its suburbs.[1] There were bowling-greens attached to it, which in the spring of 1718 were advertised to be open "for the accommodation of all gentlemen bowlers." Subsequently the house was named from its proprietor, and became popularly known as "Dobney's," or D'Aubigney's. In a newspaper of this period we read:—"On Thursday morning last, about six o'clock, a single highwayman robbed a gentleman in a post-chaise opposite to Dobney's Bowling-green House."

Mrs. Dobney, who kept the house for many years, dying in 1760, at the mature age of eighty-six,[2] it passed into other hands; and the new proprietor, a Mr. Johnson, anxious to extend his business, converted the bowling-green, which was near the corner of Penton-street, into an amphitheatre for equestrian performances *al fresco*, and engaged one Price, who had been starring at the Three Hats, a rival house close by, to exhibit his original feats of horsemanship.[3] We read in the "Public Advertiser," April 22nd, 1767, as follows:—"Mr. Price's original feats of horsemanship (which he exhibited before their majesties) will be performed exactly at six o'clock, and continue every evening during the summer season, at the Prospect House, known by the name of Dobney's Bowling-green, Islington," &c. Price was so successful as an equestrian, that he amassed by his performances here and elsewhere a sum of £14,000.

We read in a newspaper, dated June 30th, 1766:—"Monday evening, a brickmaker and his wife having some words in a field near Dobney's Bowling-green House, the man dragged the woman into a ditch, where he continued beating her with a large stick until she was quite dead. Several persons went to the poor woman's assistance, but too late to do her any service. It was with great difficulty that six men could secure the fellow, he made so vigorous a defence, and two of the men were greatly wounded in the scuffle."

In 1769, Johnson's Prospect and Bowling-green House, as the place was then called, was the scene of "Philip Jonas's exhibition of the extraordinary art of dexterity of hand," when the price of admission was two shillings, including tea and coffee. About this time, if the doggrel verse of a rhymester may be trusted, the skeleton of a whale was exhibited:—

Not long ago, as folks well know,
At Dobney's was a whale,
Which measured quite, if I am right,
From head unto the tail,
Just three score feet—it was a treat
For those who loved such sights,
And paid their pence, like men of sense,
When such a maggot bites.[4]

In 1770, Prospect House was taken for a boarding school by the Rev. John Davis, but it was not long retained for this purpose. The place was re-opened as the Jubilee Tea Gardens, in compliance with the then prevailing taste, which could not relish anything but what savoured of the jubilee got up at Stratford-upon-Avon by Garrick in honour of Shakespeare. The interiors of the tea-boxes were painted with scenes from some of his principal plays. In 1772, a person named Wildman exhibited bees here.

"Exhibition of Bees on Horseback.—June 20th, 1772.—At the Jubilee Gardens, late Dobney's, this evening, and every evening until further notice (wet evenings excepted), the celebrated Mr. Daniel Wildman will exhibit

[1] Morden and Lee's *Survey of the Cities of London, Westminster, and Southwark*, 1700.

[2] Tomlins in his *Yseldon*, p. 160, cites from an old newspaper:—"Died (15 March, 1760), aged about 90, the widow Dobney, many years mistress of the Prospect House, near the Upper Pond, Islington."

[3] Lloyd's *Evening Post*, April 20th, 1767.

[4] *Public Advertiser*, May 24th, 1769.

several new and amazing experiments, never attempted by any man in this or any other kingdom before. He rides standing upright, one foot on the saddle and the other on the horse's neck, with a curious mask of bees on his head and face. He also rides standing upright on the saddle with the bridle in his mouth, and, by firing a pistol, makes one part of the bees march over a table, and the other part swarm in the air and return to their proper hive again. With other performances. The doors open at six, begins at a quarter before seven. Admittance in the boxes and gallery Two Shillings, other seats One Shilling."

A handbill of the year 1772 (in a volume formerly belonging to Lysons) thus describes the nature of Wildman's performance:—"The Bees on Horseback.—Daniel Wildman rides, standing upright, one foot on the saddle and the other on the horse's neck, with a curious mask of bees on his face. He also rides standing upright on the saddle, with the bridle in his mouth, and, by firing a pistol, makes one part of the bees march over a table, and the other part swarm in the air, and return to their places again." This exhibition was noticed in the "Mirror," vol. xxxiv., p. 107.

Wildman's performances were thus poetically mentioned:—

He with uncommon art and matchless skill,
Commands those insects, who obey his will;
With bees others cruel means employ,
They take the honey and the bees destroy;
Wildman humanely, with ingenious ease,
He takes the honey, but preserves the bees.

We read in the "Gazetteer," for July 20th, 1772:—"The nobility and gentry may be supplied with any quantity of bees from one stock in the common or newly invented hives by sending their orders to Mr. Wildman at the place of performance." Subsequently was published "A Complete Guide for the Management of Bees, by Daniel Wildman. Sold by him at his Bee and Honey Warehouse, No. 326, Holborn," 1779, 8vo., 1s. 6d., pp. 48.

In 1774 the gardens were still open, but are described as being "in a very ruinous condition, the walks not being kept in order, nor the hedges properly cut; there were, however, at this time several good apartments in the house, and two handsome tea-rooms on the north side of the bowling-green, built one above another."[1]

In the "London Evening Post," August, 1776, Dobney's was referred to in the lines which we have quoted at page 143. In 1780, the house was converted into a somewhat novel but rational use; it became a discussion and lecture-room, and continued so for a time; but the place falling into disuse, the ground was partly cleared, and the present handsome dwelling-houses in Winchester-place were erected on a portion of it, about the year 1790. The gardens, however, shorn of much of their beauty and attractiveness by these spoliations, continued in existence till the year 1810, when they for ever disappeared, and the only memorial that remains on the site of this once famed place of amusement is a mean court in Penton-street, known as Dobney's-court. The late Mr. Upcott had a drawing of Prospect House taken about 1780.

Until the building of Pentonville, the only carriage way to "Dobney's" was one leading from High-street, Islington, under the gateway of the White Lion Inn, and continued thence to the bowling-green.

At No 16, Winchester-place, now No. 61, Pentonville-road, lived, for a period of fifteen years, Thomas Cooke, a notorious miser, who heaped up wealth by the most ungenerous means and servility of behaviour—

Gold banished honour from his mind,
And only left the name behind.

He was born about the year 1725 or 1726, in the pretty village of Clewer, near Windsor, and was of very humble origin, being the son of one of those itinerant fiddlers who used to get a living by playing for the amusement of the rustics at alehouses and country fairs. The poor musician died while his son was yet an infant, and the care of the child devolved upon a grandmother, who resided

[1] *Sunday Ramble*, p. 48.

at Swannington, near Norwich, till he was able to provide for himself. He obtained employment in a factory, and it was then and there that the leading trait of his character manifested itself. His companions in labour each clubbed a portion of their week's earnings to form a mess. This Cooke declined, and determined to live cheaper, and when others went to dine he went to the side of a neighbouring brook and partook by himself of the simplest fare, making of breakfast and dinner one meal, which consisted of a half-penny loaf, an apple, and a draught of water from the brook, taken up on the brim of his cap. His economy so far seems to have been judicious, as it enabled him to pay a boy who was an usher in the village school to instruct him in the rudiments of education.

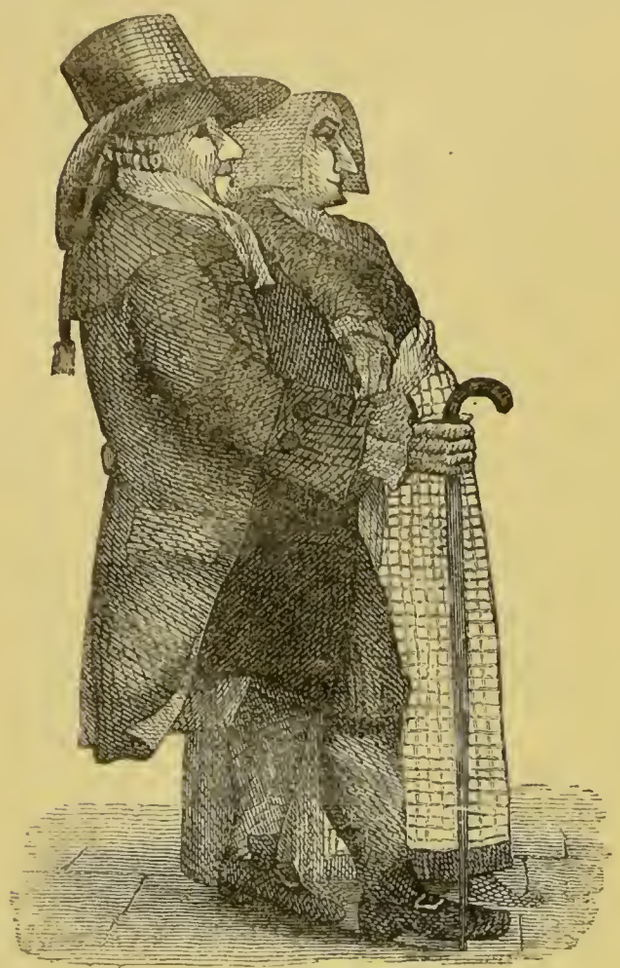
When he arrived at manhood he obtained employment as a porter to Mr. Postle, of Norwich, a drysalter and paper maker, and so well did he acquit himself in this service by his sobriety and industry, that his employer made him a journeyman, and increased his wages. From his conversation with the excisemen, who came frequently in discharge of their office to Mr. Postle's mill, Cooke was led to think theirs to be a lucrative post, and, spurred on by his dominant passion, the love of gain, he asked his master to procure him an appointment, which he did, in a district near London, and on Cooke leaving gave him a letter of introduction to a sugar baker in the metropolis. After a tedious journey, by waggon, he reached London, with only eight shillings in his pocket. There was great delay and expense before he could act as an exciseman, and his immediate necessities compelled him to take the situation of a porter to the sugar baker. Eventually in this employment he became a journeyman, and by his parsimonious habits gained enough money to pay the preliminary expenses, and was enabled to assume the office to which he had so long aspired. He was much pleased at being appointed to inspect a paper mill at Tottenham, as by watching the new processes he was enabled to extend the knowledge he had formerly acquired of the art of paper-making.

During Cooke's official visit to this mill, the owner died, and his widow resolved to carry on the business with the aid of a foreman. Cooke's knowledge of paper-making, and the general exactness with which his accounts were rendered, induced the Commissioners of the Inland Revenue to retain him in their employ. At this mill he noted many infractions of the law, which designedly or otherwise were daily taking place. Of all these he took note, and having summed up the penalties incurred thereby, which he set off against the value of the concern, he privately informed the widow that he had cognizance of these malpractices, and told her that if the fines were levied they would amount to double the value of the property she possessed, and reduce her to want and imprisonment. This he followed up by an overture of marriage, and assured the lady that he only knew of the frauds of her establishment. To this proposal she lent a favourable ear, and consented to be his wife when the appointed days of mourning for her first husband had expired. To this Cooke agreed, but lest she might prove fickle, he required of her a promise in writing.

On his marriage with this lady, Cooke became possessed of her property, which was considerable, together with the lease of the mills at Tottenham, on the expiration of which he made an applicatio for its renewal; this, much to his chagrin, was refused by the owners of the property.

He next purchased a large sugar baker's business in Puddle Dock, conceiving that as he knew something of the trade he should be able to realise a handsome profit out of the concern. His parsimony now became extreme; he kept no table, but obtained the greatest part of his daily food by well-timed visits to persons of his acquaintance. He had good conversational powers, and these he used much to his profit. Sometimes, when walking the streets, he fell down in a pretended fit opposite to the house of one whose bounty he sought. No humane person could well refuse admission to a man in apparent distress, and of respectable appearance, whose well-powdered wig, and long ruffles, induced a belief that he was some decayed citizen who had seen better days. For assistance thus kindly given, he would express his gratitude in the most energetic manner. He would ask for a glass of water, but if wine was offered he said, "No, he never drank anything but water;" but, when pressed by his kind host, would take it, and exclaim, "God bless my soul, sir, this is very excellent wine! Pray, sir, who is your wine merchant? for, indeed, to tell you the truth, it was the difficulty of getting good wine that caused me to leave it off entirely." Upon invitation he would take another glass, and, thanking his host a thousand times, depart. A few days after, he would call

at the house of his kind entertainer just at dinner time, professedly to thank him for having saved his life, and on being invited to dine, would at first demur, urging that "My gruel is waiting for me at home." On sitting down to dinner, he would take great notice of the children. "God bless these dear children. Pray, madam, are all these fine children yours?" "Yes, sir." "And pray, madam, how many more have you?" "I have five in all." "Ah, ah! a sweet flock. God bless them, pretty dears. Pray, madam, will you have the goodness to give me all their names in writing?" Thus artfully did he contrive to make his kind entertainers think that he designed to do some good thing for their children, and they now sought the continuance of his friendship by occasional presents of game, or a dozen or two of the wine he had so much approved. Many persons were in this way made the victims of the miser's sophistries. By reason of these gifts, his housekeeping expenses were reduced to fifteenpence a day, and he considered that it was sinful extravagance if they reached two shillings. Such comestibles as he could not consume he disposed of to the dealers and others. In the case of a bird that would not sell well, he kept it; and as he was not fond of cold meat, he would quarter a goose or turkey, and roast a joint every day while it lasted; this, with a dish of cabbage, formed his usual entertainment. He drank only water, but as to the "gormandising gluttonous maids, they could not drink, not they, what he did; nothing would serve them but table-beer." This he kept in his front parlour, with a lock tap to it, of which he kept the key, and at meal times he drew exactly half-a-pint for each woman.



THOMAS COOKE, THE MISER.

With all this rigid economy, Cooke found, to his great grief, that he was losing by his sugar bakery, having lost £500 in twelvemonths. To amend this state of affairs, and to discover some of the secrets of the trade, he invited several sugar bakers to dine with him, and, plying them well with wine, wheedled out of the juniors in business the coveted information. His wife was alarmed at his seeming extravagance, but he silenced her scruples by telling her he would "suck as much of the brains" of some of the fools as would amply repay him.

Ink was an article for which Cooke had a great partiality, and this he obtained by begging. He usually carried a strong bottle about with him, and on going into the counting-houses of those on whom he was in the habit of calling, he would ask for a little ink in his bottle, and if they chose to fill it he had no objection. The quantity of ink he thus obtained, he economised, by reserving some for writing with, and some for blacking his shoes. His writing-paper was obtained by purloining pieces which he saw upon the counter of the Bank, on his daily visits.

About the year 1789, when Cooke resided in Red Lion-yard, behind St. Sepulchre's Church, he received a visit from the parish officers of St. James's, Clerkenwell, for the maintenance of a female child, which one of the parishioners had sworn to him. By false representations of his circumstances, which he alleged to be very poor, he induced the officers to accept eighteen guineas in discharge of his liability; and that sum was paid by him into the hands of Mr. John Shallis, of Vineyard-gardens, Clerkenwell.

Having retired from business, he determined to live a little way out of town, and until he could suit himself with a house he resided at the Angel Inn, Islington, from whence he removed to Winchester-place. In the rear of the house was a plot of ground, which, when he first took it, was

laid out for the culture of flowers, but the sordid mind of Cooke saw neither use nor beauty in flowers, and, accordingly, he rooted them up for the purpose of making a cabbage garden of it, and, to avoid paying a labourer, or the tax for a gardener, he sowed the ground with cabbage seed, and with his own hands manured it. For this he would venture out on moonlight nights with a little shovel and basket, and take up the horse-dung which lay in the City-road; but as this did not afford him a constant supply, he used to avail himself of a different sort of manure, procurable from a source nearer home; and it was said that he would take the half of a pennyworth of Glauber's salts, for the double purpose of fertilizing his ground in person and correcting his system. This management obtained for him the name of Cabbage Cooke, which name he retained ever after.

The only luxury Cooke allowed his wife was a small quantity of table-beer; and by his general maltreatment he caused her so much grief that she died of a broken heart. In Cooke's estimation marriage and money were synonymous, and soon after his wife's death he paid his addresses to several rich widows, but none of these would listen to his suit, especially as his desire was that all their property should be made over to him.

Cooke was fond of horse-racing, and contrived once a year to be present at the Epsom races; but this never cost him anything, as he generally got some one, by his specious promises, to give him a lift. At one time he had a horse of his own, which he kept at a livery stable, but finding this expensive he resolved to keep the horse at home; and, for this purpose, actually converted the kitchen of his house, in Winchester-place, into a stable; and he used to curry and fodder the horse with his own hands to obviate expense. He thought that as he had a horse, it would not cost much to have a chaise for the horse to draw. One was accordingly ordered; but he soon found he had made an error in his calculations. He had no chaise-house; and, moreover, he had forgotten that he should have to pay the carriage duty. He now had the wheels taken off the chaise and put in the back garden, and the body was lifted up through a back window into his bed room, and year by year did it remain there; and the wheels in the garden, exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather, became rotten.

During the fifteen years of his residence in Winchester-place, he never once painted the house inside or outside; this did not please the landlord, who, anxious to preserve his property from utter ruin, offered to do some repairs at his own expense. Cooke, however, opposed the workmen coming into his house, and the landlord, finding that he could do nothing with him, gave him a legal notice to quit. Of this Cooke took no heed; the time had nearly expired, and the owner waited upon Cooke to learn his intentions, telling him that he should expect him to give up possession at the appointed time. Cooke solicited a month to look out for another house, which was granted; and on this expiring, he begged another month. The landlord, impatient at these delays, wrote to him, telling him that, on such a day, he should certainly expect him to give up possession. He came accordingly, and fell into the trap that the miser had artfully laid for his reception. With tears and groans and sighs did he beseech that he would not turn an old man into the street to die. His well-feigned grief touched the landlord's heart with compassion, and he declared on his word that he would not put him to distress or trouble him to remove until he was suited with a house. As soon as he was gone, Cooke turned round to an associate whom he had purposely with him in the room, and said, "How easily some fools are gulled in this world. Did not you remark that he gave me his promise that he would not put me to distress or trouble, nor trouble me until I should be suited with a house? Make a memorandum of that, and be sure you mention the day of the month, and the year, and the hour." After this *ruse*, which had so well succeeded, Cooke made himself no longer uneasy about the house, and treated with absolute indifference the wishes of its owner that he should quit. An ejectment was served, but upon the case being brought to trial, Cooke brought forward in evidence the witness to the promise of the landlord, who was accordingly non-suited.

The landlord soon after brought against him another action of ejectment and also an action for dilapidations, laying the damages at £30. In these he succeeded, and Cooke, finding he was now worsted, removed to No. 85, White Lion-street, Pentonville.

Sickness and the infirmities of old age compelled him to seek medical advice and assistance, and he obtained, by some artifice, a patient's letter for one of the public dispensaries, but his cheat was

discovered, and he was well lectured by the surgeon for his meanness. Cooke's principle was "no cure no pay," and when a physician to whom he had been very troublesome told him he could do nothing more for him, he said, "Then give me back my money, sir. Why did you rob me of my money unless you meant to cure me?"

However anomalous it may seem in a man so thoroughly selfish and so unchristian in his conduct towards his fellow men, Cooke was a professing Christian, and a regular attendant on the ordinances of religion, and he seldom failed to receive the Sacrament.

In the year 1811 he was confined to his bed, and sent for several medical men to attend him, but he had tampered with them so long, and disgusted them by his meanness, that all who knew him refused to come, except a Mr. Aldridge, residing in White Lion-street, who sent him some medicine. On the last visit of that gentleman to him, Cooke asked him to tell him candidly how long he might live, and on being answered that he might last six days, Cooke, with all the energy and strength he could muster, raised himself in bed, and with a look of indignation at the surgeon, exclaimed, "And are you not a dishonest man—a rogue, a robber, to serve me so?" "How, sir?" asked Mr. Aldridge. "Why, sir, you are no better than a pickpocket, to rob me of my gold, by sending two draughts a day to a man that all your physic will not keep alive above six days. Get out of my house, and never come again." The remaining days of his existence he employed in arranging his affairs, and he died on August 26th, 1811, at the age of eighty-six, and was buried on the 30th, at St. Mary's, Islington. Some of the mob who attended his funeral threw cabbage-stalks on his coffin when it was lowered into the grave.

The wealth that he had amassed during his long lifetime, by meanness, artifice, and affected poverty, amounted in the aggregate to the large sum of £127,205 in the Three per Cent. Consols.

High-built abundance, heap on heap, for what?

During his long lifetime his charities were but few. For the last fourteen or fifteen years of his existence he was the annual subscriber of a guinea to the Pentonville Charity School. In the winter of 1805-6, he contributed £20 towards providing the Clerkenwell volunteers with great coats. He was once generous to a family in distress, and on one memorable occasion so far relaxed his purse-strings as to give a guinea to a club wherewith to drink his health. Such is the sum of his benevolence. But, as if to atone for a life of avarice, he, by will, dated March 28th, 1810, left the bulk of his riches to several charitable societies, and a few trifling legacies to individuals. Amongst the bequests were the sum of £25 each to Robert Overton and Thomas Overton, brothers of Mary Clapton, wife of Thomas Clapton, of Goswell-street, carpenter; £200 each to Hester and Hannah Provo, two orphans of the then late Doctor Provo, of Barron-street, Pentonville; £1,050 Three per Cent. Consols for the benefit of the inmates of Badger's Almshouses, Shoreditch; £2,100 Three per Cent. Consols for the benefit of the inmates of Fuller's Almshouses, Shoreditch; and failing the performance of certain conditions the dividends on the two last mentioned sums were to be paid to the trustees or treasurer for the time being of the Charity Schools of St. James, Clerkenwell, to be applied towards the support of the said schools;[1] and £1,400 Three per Cent. Consols for the use of eight almspeople in Reynardson's Almshouses, Tottenham; but if any person should be placed in either of the almshouses not a parishioner of Tottenham, the share of such person was to go to the Charity Schools of St. James, Clerkenwell. The witnesses to the will were Samuel Sewell, of 12, St. John-street, Clerkenwell, and Joseph Windsor, of 12, St. John's-lane, Clerkenwell. The three codicils to the will were also witnessed by Mr. Sewell, and one by Isaac Isles, of 119, St. John-street. One of the executors was William Reynolds, of St. John-street, to whom the testator bequeathed £200. The will was proved on November 18th, 1811.

In 1813 was published the life of Thomas Cooke, by W. Chamberlaine, pp. 86, printed by Law and Gilbert, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell; it contains the portrait of the miser, who is represented with a tailed wig, frilled shirt, and knee breeches.

[1] For a full account of these two latter gifts *vide* WARE'S *Shoreditch Charity Estates*, 1836, pp. 4, 29, 30, 31, citing certain Chancery proceedings relative thereto, and also Charity Reports thereon.

PENTON PLACE

is a wide thoroughfare, leading in an oblique direction from Pentonville-road into the Bagnigge Wells-road, and to that part of it formerly known as "Bagnigge Wash." It once lay lower than it does at the present time. It was in consequence overflowed when the current of the Fleet sewer was swollen by heavy rains or rapid thaws. This avenue was formed about the year 1776, an Act of Parliament[1] having been obtained for the purpose, in the preamble of which it is stated "that the opening and making of a new road from the said New-road, at or near a place called Queen's-row, over the lands and grounds of Henry Penton, Esq., to Bagnigge Wash, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, will be of public utility, as thereby a much more commodious and nearer communication will be opened from the city and liberty of Westminster and the adjacent parishes to Islington, the great northern road, and the Essex-roads." The ninth clause of the Act ordains "that the trustees, or any five of them, shall, as soon as conveniently may be, open, and make, and keep in repair, a new road from a place called Queen's-row to a place called Bagnigge Wash," and determines that the said road shall be forty feet wide. Penton-place, or the "road to Bagnigge Wash," as it was at first called, is a remarkably short cut, being only two hundred and three yards in length.

In the early part of the year 1794 Joe Grimaldi took a six-roomed house in Penton-place, with a garden attached, a part of which he let off to Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, who then belonged to Sadler's Wells. Grimaldi removed from Penton-place to Penton-street in 1797.

KING'S ROW,

on the north side of Pentonville-road, was erected prior to 1774. Until this year, when the name was altered by the Commissioners of Paving, it bore the amusing title of Happy Man's-row, from a public-house which bore the sign of "The Happy Man."

We read in the "Public Advertiser" for March 8th, 1774:—"Saturday night three villains broke into the 'Happy Man,' in the New-road, Islington; but being overheard by Mr. Ridley, the landlord, he ran down stairs, and they fired a pistol at him, but fortunately without effect, and then made off."

QUEEN'S ROW

is a range of pleasant dwelling-houses, erected in 1773, on the south side of the Pentonville-road, upon a field once known as Clay Marls. The row extends from the corner of Amwell-street to that of Penton-place, and is named in honour of Charlotte of Mecklenburgh, Queen Consort of George III.

In the Pentonville-road resided Mr. James Pascall, who for nearly forty years laboured for the interests of the parish of Clerkenwell, sparing neither time nor money, and sacrificing his own feelings and comfort for the good of it. In the year 1827 he began to take a part in parochial matters, and he was chosen a member of the Board of Guardians for the district of St. John. Previously to the passing of the Metropolis Local Management Act he had an appointment in connexion with Her Majesty's Commissioners of Sewers. The first act which brought him into notice was the detection of Mr. John Scott, a guardian, who defrauded the parish in the year 1834 to the extent of upwards of £10,000. At that time a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Mr. Scott, but before it could be put in force he had fled from the country, and was absent two or three years; at last, through the mediation of a friend, it was agreed that he should pay a certain part of his defalcations every year, and be allowed to return to this country. Immediately that was done, he

[1] 16 Geo. III., cap. 76.

turned round upon the Guardians and filed a bill in the Court of Chancery to set aside the security given by him for the repayment of the money, as having been obtained from him under duress. The proceedings in the suit were long and troublesome, and ultimately ended in a compromise, by which the parish had a certain amount repaid. Other parties were suspected of complicity in the transaction; some of the parish servants were dismissed, and a clerk was sentenced to a term of imprisonment. There is but little doubt that the harass, anxiety, and dread of consequent ruin from the legal proceedings, had the effect of shortening the life of Mr. Adams, who was joint defendant in the suit with Mr. Pascall. During the time Mr. Pascall was a member of the Sewers Commission he was enabled to render Clerkenwell the essential service of getting the old, offensive, and unhealthy Fleet ditch covered over. His connection with the Vestry Board may be dated from its first existence, and he was representative of the parish at the Metropolitan Board of Works, but owing to ill health he was compelled to resign that post, and was succeeded by Mr. M'Donnell, who has so ably filled that office since the summer of 1861. Mr. Pascall went out of office as vestryman by effluxion of time in 1862, but he continued to fulfil the duties of trustee and treasurer to the Guardian Board. He wrote several useful books, the chief of which was his "Clerkenwell Charity Estates," 1851, which is a compendious statement on behalf of the poor, containing particulars of the various charitable bequests, gifts, estates, rent-charges, annuities, &c., belonging to the parish. The Editor is much indebted to this work for information which he has made available for this history. Mr. Pascall also wrote a book with suggestions on subjects of parochial interest connected with the County Magistracy, the Commissioners of Sewers, the Paving and Highway Boards, &c., and a pamphlet on Scott's defalcations, showing the absolute necessity for an active and vigilant investigation by the members into every department belonging to the management of the poor.

During his career he received several marks of the kindness of the parishioners; amongst others, about twelve years since, the presentation of his portrait, accompanied by a silver tea service, which was presented by many of the principal gentlemen in the parish. Votes of thanks from the various boards were also recorded in the minute-books in his favour, and on his resigning the office of representative at the Metropolitan Board, a very handsome address, engrossed on vellum, and containing the signatures of sixty-six members of the Vestry Board, was presented to him. He died at his house in Pentonville-road on Sunday, January 10th, 1864, at the age of seventy-eight years. He was buried in Highgate Cemetery, in a plain brick grave, on the 16th of January, when many of the parochial authorities of Clerkenwell attended. A letter of condolence was sent by the Guardian Board to his surviving daughter after his death.

HERMES STREET AND HERMES HILL.

At the large house on the summit of Hermes-hill, resided for many years an eminent Swiss, Doctor Francis Joseph Pahuo De Valangin, who was born at Berne, about the year 1719 or 1720, and whose mother, it is said, stood in some degree of relationship to the Prince of Orange. He was brought up to the study of medicine, and, at the University of Leyden, was a pupil of the famous Professor Boerhaave. Though educated in this line of life, it was not originally his intention to follow it as a profession; his connections having led him to look for advancement in a different career. Towards the end of George the Second's reign, he kissed that king's hand on receiving some diplomatic appointment to the Court of Madrid; but on the retreat of his patron from administration, about the same time, De Valangin declined the intended honour, and soon after recurred to medicine, which he thenceforward adopted as a profession, and fixed his abode in Soho-square. In 1768, he published a "Treatise on Diet, or the Management of Human Life, by the Physicians called Non-naturals, Air, Food, Excretures and Retentions, Motion and Rest, Sleep and Watching, and the Affections of the Mind." He soon after removed to Fore-street, Cripplegate, and there acquired a very extensive practice. About the year 1772 he purchased ground in Pentonville, on which he built a residence, on a plan laid down by himself, more fanciful than convenient. The pleasant eminence on which his

dwelling stood he named Hermes-hill, after the fabled discoverer of the chemist's art, Hermes Trismegistus, "the thrice great Hermes," and it was then almost the only house on or near the spot, excepting White Conduit House.

His pursuit of the several branches of knowledge relating to his profession was unremitting, and the result of his perseverance was the discovery of several simple medicines. One of these, called the Balsam of Life, he presented to Apothecaries' Hall, where it was sold under his name. Besides his diploma from the Royal College of Physicians, London, he received like honorary distinctions from Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland. Several years before his death he was physician to the Royal Freemasons' charity. For some favour conferred (but what we do not learn) he was presented by the Worshipful Company of Loriners with the Livery of that Corporation, and twice served the office of Master.

By his first wife he had three children, of whom two sons survived him; the third, a daughter, dying at nine years of age, was buried, by her father's direction, in the garden at Hermes-hill. He married, secondly, about 1782, the widow of Mr. Hillier, an eminent surveyor and builder, who had recovered one thousand pounds for breach of promise of marriage from a person who had made her that offer, but broke his word. She was a native of Shering, in Essex; and her sister married and survived Mr. Sandford, brewer, of Newington.

Dr. De Valangin was a man of refined taste, was skilful in music, and a connoisseur of paintings, of which he formed a choice collection, but which were dispersed by public auction at his death, the proximate cause of which was an accident which befel him as he was alighting from his carriage at Hampstead, on January 2nd, 1805. The ground being frosty, he slipped and fell; though apparently not much injured, he predicted that this event would shorten his life, and this prediction was accomplished on the 1st of March, after four days' confinement to his bed. He was interred in a vault under Cripplegate Church, to which the remains of his daughter had been removed from the garden at Hermes-hill only the day before, by order of his executors.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1805, vol. lxxv., part 1, page 291, we find the following obituary notice of De Valangin, under date March 1st:—"At his house on Hermes-hill, Pentonville, after a short illness, aged 80, Francis De Valangin, M.D., of Fore-street, Cripplegate, and licentiate of the College of Physicians. He married to his second wife a sister of the wife of the late Mr. Sandford, a brewer, at Newington, who brought him a handsome fortune. His daughter, who died about 20 years ago, was deposited in a very handsome tomb in his garden at Pentonville, whence she was removed to the family vault in Cripplegate Church, where her father is also deposited. He was author of 'A Treatise on Diet, 1768,' 8vo." At page 382 of the same volume, April part, we read:—"Certain leasehold estates at Hermes-hill, adjoining to White Conduit-fields, in Pentonville, three houses, and sundry ground-rents, in the same place, the property of the late Dr. De Valangin, are soon to be sold by auction." In part 2 of the same volume, page 871, is a lengthy biographical account of the doctor.

As a physician De Valangin was distinguished for his kindness; and, from a native benevolence of disposition, it was his constant custom to regulate the amount of his fees by the presumed ability of his patients to afford them. Prefixed to a memoir of the doctor, in the "European Magazine" for August, 1805, from which our information has in part been collected, there is a portrait of De Valangin, engraved from a painting by Lemuel Abbot, to whose skilful pencil we are indebted for the best likenesses of Nelson and Cowper, in which he is represented as dressed in a closely-buttoned coat, and wearing a full-bottomed wig; and his countenance is remarkably expressive of that genuine benevolence that formed so leading a trait in his character.

The mansion at Hermes-hill, after the doctor's decease, became the property of Mr. Aldridge, a timber merchant, who modified it by removing a singular brick tower, or observatory, by which it was surmounted. He also built a dwelling-house in the rear, in which he afterwards resided himself.

Early in the year 1811 the house in which Doctor De Valangin lived became the residence of the eccentric William Huntington, S.S., who was one of those extraordinary men, who, believing

themselves to be inspired to preach the truth, seek to gain the ear of the multitude by an unfaltering boldness of speech and an amusing levity; but,

> He that negotiates between God and man,
> As God's ambassador, the grand concerns
> Of judgment and of mercy, should beware
> Of lightness in his speech. 'Tis pitiful
> To court a grin when you would woo a soul;
> To break a jest when pity should inspire
> Pathetic exhortation; and to address
> The skittish fancy with facetious tales,
> When sent with God's commission to the heart.

S. S.—"Sinner Saved"—the name and title assumed by this rude genius, have been amusingly explained by himself. It should be noticed that his real name was Hunt; but owing to one of the follies of his early days, he was called upon to support an illegitimate child, to escape which he left the parish in which he was living, and had recourse to several expedients to conceal his identity; one of these was the augmentation of his name, which alteration he thus narrates in his own peculiar style:—"If I change my name the law may follow me for that; and if I let the present name stand, I may be traced by means of the newspapers. There is but one way for me to escape, and that is by an addition. An addition is no change, and addition is no robbery. Well thought on, said I; it is—i n g t o n, which joined to H u n t, when put together, make 'Huntington;' and thus matters were settled without being guilty of an exchange, or of committing a robbery, for the letters of the alphabet are the portion of every man; and from that hour it was settled, nor did I ever make a single blunder for anybody to find it out. With this name I was born again; I was baptised with the Holy Ghost; and I will appeal to any man of sense if a person has not a just right to go by the name he was born and baptised with. Some have been inquiring what I mean by 'S. S.' at the end of my name, and various constructions have been put upon it. I now choose to inform my readers of my meaning. You know, *we clergy* are very fond of titles of honour. Some are called Lords Spiritual, though we have no such lords, but in the person of the ever-blessed Trinity; others are named Doctors of Divinity and Prebends, though God gives no such titles; therefore I cannot conscientiously add D.D. to my function, though some hundreds have been spiritually healed under my ministry, nor have I fourteen pounds to spare to buy the dissenting title of D.D.; being thus circumstanced I cannot call myself a Lord Spiritual, because Peter the Pope's enemy condemns it; nor can I call myself Lord High Primate, because a supremacy in the Scriptures is applied only to kings, and never to ministers of the Gospel. As I cannot get at D.D. for want of cash, neither can I get at M.A. for want of learning, therefore I am compelled to fly for refuge to S.S., by which I mean 'Sinner Saved,' or that I am wise to salvation."

From Huntington's own statement we learn that he was an illegitimate child, and born about the year 1744, in the parish of Cranbrook, in the Weald of Kent. His reputed father was a day labourer, but his real parent was a wealthy farmer in the vicinity. He was the tenth of a family of eleven children of doubtful paternity. By the intercession of his mother, her paramour procured William admission into a free school; but here he learned only to read the New Testament, and to write a little. His childhood was one continued scene of privation and discomfort, owing to the extreme poverty of his family, from which he was a sad outcast. As he grew to maturity his employments were various, for "he was everything by turns and nothing long"—first an errand boy, then a day labourer, a general servant, a gardener, a cobbler, a coalheaver, and lastly a parson.

At Ewell, in Surrey, where he resided in the capacity of a gentleman's gardener, he felt what he conceived to be a call to the ministry, and, unlettered as he was, he engaged at once in the work, and with such hearty zeal, that he disturbed almost the whole parish, and raised a great outcry against himself. "I continued preaching," says he, "at Ewell Marsh, and the Lord was with me. My congregation increased till the little thatched house was full of hearers, and the Lord often visited me with precious gales from the everlasting hills, and made that little thatched hovel a Bethel to us; yea,

the house of God in reality, and the very gate of heaven." In this little thatched hovel he lived with his wife and child in a ready furnished room, at two shillings per week, and to meet all his other necessities he had frequently only eighteenpence or two shillings, and sometimes half-a-crown, and yet contriving somehow to live through the whole week without contracting any debts.

From a conscientious refusal to violate the Sabbath by working in his employer's garden, he lost his situation, and afterwards removed to Thames Ditton, where he first followed the calling of which in the days of his prosperity he was so proud—that of a coalheaver. He carried coals in the river for fourteen months at ten shillings per week, and preached during the time on the Lord's day, and lectured one evening during the week. Here he first donned "parsonic attire," being enabled to do so by a gentleman giving him a left off black coat and waistcoat, which, being too large, did not sit very gracefully upon him, but they were better externals than a woollen jacket or a cotton smock. He now for the nonce appeared in the external habits of a priest:—

> Cleric before, and lay behind,
> A lawless linsie-woolsie brother,
> Half one order, half another.

Severe domestic trials and his own pressing necessity led him next to adopt as a means of replenishing his exhausted pockets the profession of a cobbler.

> ——— One
> Who out of doctrine could cut use,
> And mend men's lives as well as shoes.

But he says, "I found it impossible to preach five or six times a week and carry on the business of cobbling at the same time; wherefore I determined to give up this employment, and continue in the work of God only, whatever I might suffer. At this time I rented a little cottage at three pounds eighteen shillings per annum, and we had about half as much furniture to put in it as a porter would carry at one load." This resolution, which he carried out with laudable perseverance, was the means of exercising his faith and patience very sharply at times. After a while his zeal as a preacher of righteousness was bruited abroad, and, reaching the metropolis, he was invited and announced to preach one evening in Margaret-street Chapel. Upon this, he, with becoming modesty, tells us he was sorely offended, being much averse to preaching in London for several reasons. "First, because I had been told it abounded so much with all sorts of errors that I was afraid of falling into them, there were so many that lie in wait to deceive; secondly, because I had no learning, and therefore I feared I should not be able to deliver myself with any degree of propriety; and as I knew nothing of Greek or Hebrew, or even English grammar, that I should be exposed to the scourging tongue of every critic. However, I preached that night, and soon found myself induced by sundry persuasions to preach the word of God statedly in that very chapel." His fame as a preacher spread, and his engagements became so numerous that he found it necessary to hire a horse; this proved too expensive for Huntington's impoverished means, and accordingly he went to prayer, and besought God to give him more strength, less work, or a horse. "I used my prayers," says he, "as gunners use their swivels, turning them every way, as the various cases required." In answer to his prayers he received a horse, a present from one of his London congregation. "I believe this horse was the gift of God, because he tells me in his word that all the beasts of the forest are his, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills. I have often thought that if my horse could have spoken he would have had more to say than Balaam's ass; as he might have said, 'I am an answer to my master's prayers.' Having had my horse for some time, and riding a great deal, I soon wore my breeches out." He had recourse to prayer again, and one day he received a pair of leather breeches, with an accompanying note from the sender, begging his acceptance of them, "and if they want any alteration leave a note of what the alteration is, and I will call in a few days and alter them," signed "T. S." Prayer seems to have been Huntington's resource in every emergency, and his unfailing support under the many trying vicissitudes of his worldly circumstances. He lived by faith and prayer, and with the latter he drew largely on the "Bank of Faith," in which he had invested his all. One is apt to smile sometimes at

the specialities of his petitions, but in Christian charity let us believe them to have been sincere. "Some of independent fortune," said he, "have condemned my prayers as carnal in praying for such temporal things, but I know they have taken many worse steps, both to accumulate and keep their independence; and I think it better to beg than to steal, as those say who speak proverbs." Thus boldly, but in a recriminative spirit, did he silence his captious objectors. He depended on the care of a good Providence, in whom he professed implicit trust, and multiplied instances to show that he leaned not on a broken reed. Once, he tells us, in his own simple way, his wife was ill; "the nurse came to her to tell her there was no tea in the house. My wife replied, 'Set the kettle on if there is not.' The nurse said, 'You have no tea, nor can you get any.' My wife replied, 'Set on the kettle.' She did so, and before the kettle boiled, a woman came to the door and brought some tea—a present to my wife. Thus God, who shewed Moses a stick to sweeten the waters of Mamre, sent a little tea to better the dame's kettle." Impressed by a dream he had, which to him was a spiritual vision, wherein it seemed that he was commanded to "prophecy upon the thick boughs," he suddenly determined to remove from Thames Ditton to London. By this time his worldly goods had so increased that "he loaded two large carts with furniture and other necessaries, besides a post-chaise, well filled with children and cats." He next determined to erect a chapel for himself; nor did his personal liabilities, he being some twenty pounds in debt for the common necessaries of life, restrain him from incurring yet heavier responsibility; and, accordingly, when his chapel in Titchfield-street was completed, he was a debtor to an amount exceeding a thousand pounds; and this notwithstanding the freewill offerings of some of the devoted members of his congregation. One good gentleman of whom he bought a load of timber, sent it with a bill and receipt in full as a present to the Chapel of Providence. Another came with tears in his eyes, blessed him, and desired to paint the pulpit, desk, &c. A good couple furnished him with a tea chest, well stored with a set of china; and another admiring pair, with a very handsome bed and bedstead, that he might not be under the necessity of walking home in cold winter nights. A daughter in the faith gave him a looking-glass for his chapel study, another a bookcase for the vestry, and lastly he was furnished with the sword of the spirit—a new Bible, with morocco binding and silver clasps.

Things now went well with him, and his congregation multiplied so fast that the chapel soon proved too small for their accommodation. At this juncture Huntington proposed to enlarge it by building on an adjacent plot of ground, but his intention was frustrated by the extravagant ground-rent that was demanded for it. "'The heavens, even the heavens, are the Lord's; but the earth he hath given to the children of men.' And so I found it," he remarks, "and they are determined to make the most of it. Finding nothing could be done with the earthholders, I turned my eyes another way, and determined to build my stories in the heavens (Amos ix., 6), where I should find more room and less rent." To this shrewd determination of their pastor the chief persons of his congregation agreed, namely, to raise the chapel one story higher, and to carry a flight of galleries all round it. His expenses at this time were chiefly defrayed by his numerous works, opposition to which only served to increase their sale. His chief productions are "The Bank of Faith," "God the Guardian of the Poor; or, the Kingdom of Heaven taken by Prayer;" and "God's Naked Bow in the Clouds." These contain passages of his life, interspersed with many apposite quotations of Scripture, and moral reflections framed in his own peculiar style. His minor works were very numerous. In 1794 he published a small one called "Advocates for Devils Refuted, and their Hope of the Damned Demolished; or, an Everlasting Task for Winchester and all his Confederates. By William Huntington, S.S., Minister of the Gospel at Providence Chapel, Little Titchfield-street, and at Monkwell-street Meeting." This is a most intemperate attack upon Mr. Winchester, who stated that all the souls in hell would be saved at last, which statement Huntington calls a —— lie. In the same year he published a work entitled "The Lying Prophet Examined, and his False Predictions Discovered; being a Dissection of the Prophesies of Richard Brothers. By William Huntington, S.S., Minister of the Gospel at Providence Chapel, Little Titchfield-street, and at Monkwell-street Meeting." This is one of the many paper weapons which were thrown at Richard Brothers, the mad prophet, in the years 1794-5. Brothers was confined as a lunatic in Clerkenwell, as we have mentioned at page



SAINT PHILIP'S CHURCH, GRANVILLE SQUARE.

275. His work, which inflamed both the credulous and the orthodox, was entitled "A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times. Book the First. Wrote under the direction of the Lord God, and published by his sacred command; it being the first sign of Warning for the Benefit of all Nations. Containing, with other great and remarkable things, not revealed to any other Person on Earth, the Restoration of the Hebrews to Jerusalem, by the year of 1798, under their revealed Prince and Prophet. London: printed in the year of Christ 1794." The Second Part, printed in the same year, relates "particularly to the present time, the present war, and the prophecy now fulfilling; the sudden and perpetual fall of the Turkish, German, and Russian Empires; a second sign of warning," &c. Shortly after Huntington's death his works were published in twenty volumes, 8vo.

At last the chapel in Titchfield-street, which the profits upon Huntington's writings had enabled him to finish, was destroyed by fire; but by this time he had obtained by his ministrations such influence over the minds of his congregation, that some of its more wealthy members resolved among themselves to build him another chapel, and forthwith they erected, on the east side of Gray's Inn-lane, at a cost of upwards of £9,000, an extremely commodious building, and when finished, a day was appointed for opening it; but the wily preacher, conscious of the high estimation in which he was held by his devoted flock, refused to officiate in the new chapel, unless they constituted it his own personal freehold. This bold request was acceded to, and, without any compunction, Huntington took the credit to himself of having been the builder, by having inscribed on the pediment of the principal front, "Providence Chapel, erected by William Huntington, anno. 1811." A few years before his death he lost his first wife, who had nobly shared his various fortunes. By her he had thirteen children, seven of whom survived him. He next married the rich widow of Sir James Sanderson, Bart., the daughter of the famous Alderman Skinner, of whom it is said she came at first to "Providence Chapel, only to make its preacher the subject of ridicule among her friends;" but she

Who came to scoff remained to pray.

Other feelings possessed her heart, the preacher and his fair convert were mutually affected, and she became the pastor's loving wife; and in his elegantly furnished mansion on Hermes-hill, the coalheaver and his spouse spent the remainder of their days, in the enjoyment of those luxuries which wealth afforded them. His health declining, it was thought expedient that he should go to Tunbridge Wells. Here he died on the 1st of July, 1813. Before he left Pentonville, he earnestly prayed that God would never suffer him to return. A few hours before his decease he dictated his own epitaph as follows:—

"Here lies the Coal Heaver, who departed this life July 1st, 1813, in the 69th year of his age, beloved of his God, but abhorred of men. The Omniscient Judge, at the Grand Assize, shall ratify and confirm this to the confusion of many thousands; for England and its metropolis shall know that there hath been a Prophet among them. W. H., S.S."

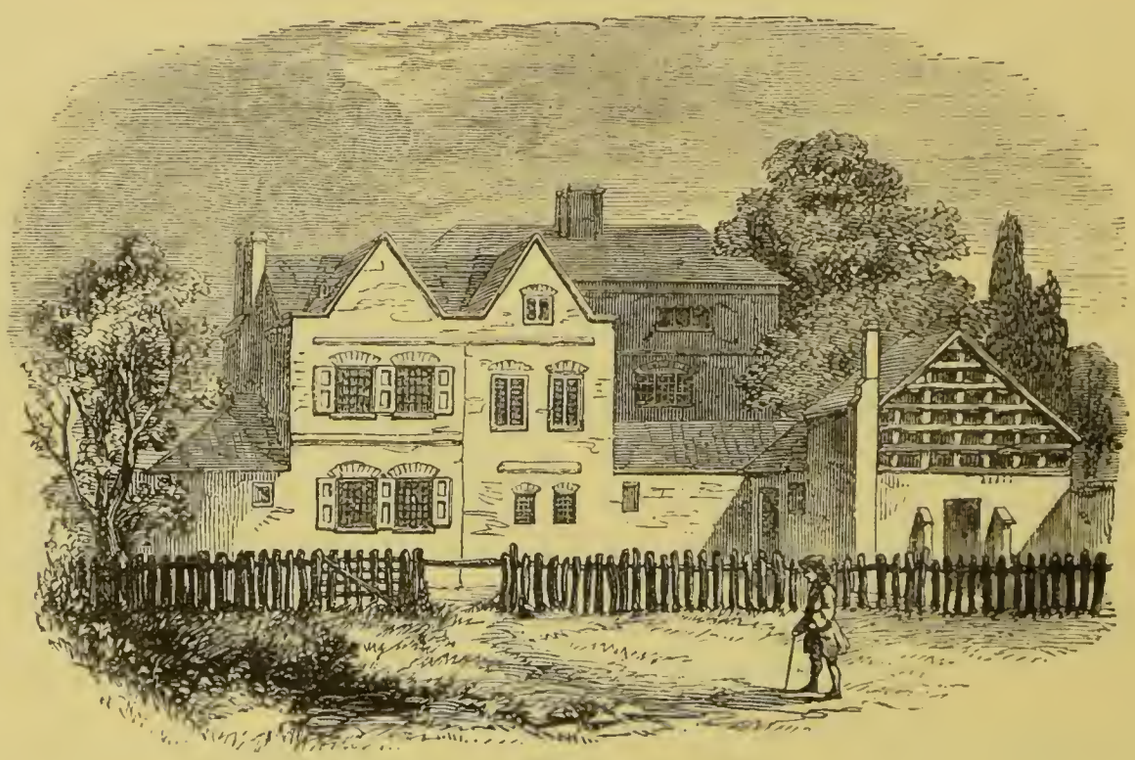
He desired in his will that there should be no funeral sermon, no funeral ode, or pulpit in black for him. His remains were interred by his own desire in a garden in the rear of Jireh Chapel, in the cliff at Lewes, Sussex, where a headstone was afterwards placed, inscribed as he had dictated.

At a sale of his effects, by public auction, which took place soon after his death, at Hermes-hill, and which lasted four days (so large had the worldly possessions become of him whose "little all" a porter might once have carried), his friends and admirers, anxious to secure some memorial of him, paid most fabulous sums of money for articles of no intrinsic value, in the excess of their veneration. A mahogany easy chair, with hair seat and back cushion in canvas, on brass-wheel castors, with two sets of flowered calico cases, sold for £63; an ordinary pair of spectacles sold for seven guineas; a common silver snuff-box, five guineas; every article of plate at from 23s. to 26s. per ounce; realising in the gross £151 14s.; his library sold for £252 19s.; a handsome modern town coach for £49 7s.; whilst the aggregate result of the four days' sale was the sum of £1800 11s. 2½d. In a newspaper, dated October, 1813, we read:—"At the sale of the effects of the Reverend Mr. Huntington, on Friday week, at Pentonville, an old arm-chair, intrinsically worth fifty shillings, actually sold for sixty guineas; and many other articles fetched equally high prices; so anxious were his besotted

admirers to obtain some precious memorial of that artful fanatic." One of his steady followers purchased a barrel of ale which had been brewed for Christmas, because he would have something to remember him by.[1]

Huntington is described as having been towards the close of his career a fat, burly man, with a red face, which rose just above the cushion, and a thick, guttural, and rather indistinct voice.

"His pulpit prayers," writes a contemporary, "are remarkable for omitting for the king or his country. He excels in extempore eloquence. Having formally announced his text, he lays his Bible at once aside, and never refers to it again. He has every possible text and quotation at his finger's end. He proceeds directly to his object, and except such incidental digressions as 'Take care of your pockets! Wake that snoring sinner! Silence that noisy numskull! Turn out that drunken dog!' he never deviates from his course. Nothing can exceed his dictatorial dogmatism. Believe him, none but him—that is enough. When he wishes to bind the faith of his congregation, he will say over and



BUSBY'S FOLLY.

over, 'As sure as I am born, 'tis so,' or 'I believe this,' or 'I know this,' or 'I am sure of it,' or 'I believe the plain English of it to be this.' And then he will add by way of clenching his point, 'Now you can't help it,' or 'It must be so, in spite of you.' He does this with a most significant shake of the head, and with a sort of Bedlam hauteur, with all the dignity of defiance. He will then sometimes observe, softening his deportment, 'I don't know whether I make you understand these things, but I understand them well.' He rambles sadly, and strays so completely from his text, that you often lose sight of it. The divisions of his subject are so numerous that one of his sermons might be divided into three. Preaching is with him talking; his discourses story-telling. Action he has none, except that of shifting his handkerchief from hand to hand, and hugging his cushion. Nature has bestowed on him a vigorous, original mind, and he employs it in everything. Survey him when you will, he seems to have rubbed off none of his native rudeness or blackness. All his notions are his own, as well as his mode of imparting them. Religion has not been discovered by him through the telescopes of commentators."

Huntington's portrait is in the National Portrait Gallery, in Great George-street, Westminster.

[1] Smith's *Book for a Rainy Day*, p. 191.

He "might pass, as far as appearance goes, for a convict, but that he looks too conceited. The vitality and strength of his constitution are fearful to behold, and it is certain that he looks better fitted for coalheaving than for religious oratory."

PENTON STREET.

The oldest houses in this leading thoroughfare were erected about the year 1773. The Belvidere Tavern, situated at the south-west corner of this street, at a very early period was the site of a bowling green and a house of public entertainment, known as Busby's Folly, probably from one Christopher Busby, or Busbee, who kept the "White Lyon," at Islington, in 1668.[1] Under this name it is celebrated as the place where met, on the 2nd of May, 1664, a fraternity of odd fellows, members of the society of Bull Feathers Hall, who claimed, among other things, the toll of all the gravel carried up Highgate-hill. The object of this singular meeting is expressed on the title of a



THE BELVIDERE GARDENS, EARLY IN THE PRESENT CENTURY.

rare tract, entitled "Bull Feather Hall, or the antiquity and dignity of Horns amply shown; as also a description of the manners, rites, customs, and revenues belonging to that ingenious and numerous Society of Bull Feathers Hall; together with an exact relation of their manner of going to Highgate with trumpets and horn musick, and their pioneers intended for the levelling of the hill. London: Printed for the Society of Bull Feathers Hall, 1664." In this amusing *brochure* is related the manner of their going from Busby's Folly to Highgate. "On Monday, being the second of May, some part of the Fraternity met at Busby's Folly, in Islington, where, after they had set all things in order, they thus marched out, *ordine quisque suo*:—First a set of trumpets, then the Controller or Captain of the Pioneers, with thirty or fourty following him with pickaxes and spades to level the hill, and baskets withall to carry gravel. After them another set of Trumpeters, and also four that did wind the Horn; after them followed the Standard, *alias* an exceeding large pair of horns fixed on a pole, which three men carried, with pennants on each tip, the Master of the Ceremonies attending it with

[1] *Vide* pages 11, 518, 543, and 552.

other officers. Then followed the flag, with the arms of the society, with horned beasts drawn thereon, with this motto—

"To have and not to use the same,
Is not their glory but their shame.

"After this came the Mace Bearer, then the Herauld at arms, with the arms of the society. The coat I cannot rightly blazon, but I remember the supporters were on one side, a woman with a whip in her hand, besides that of her tongue, with a menacing look, and underneath the motto *Ut Volo, sic jubeo;* on the other side a man in a woful plight, and underneath him *Patientia patimur.* In this equipage they marched, and in very good order, attended by multitudes of people." A copy of this rare tract, says Mr. G. Daniels, who himself was the fortunate possessor of an original, sold at Brindley's sale for £5 10s.[1]

The club, as the tract informs us, used to meet in Chequer-yard, in Whitechapel, their president being arrayed in a crimson satin gown and a furred cap, surmounted by a pair of antlers; and on a cushion lay a cornuted sceptre and crown; the brethren of this "solempne and grete fraternitie,"



THE BELVIDERE GARDENS, AT THE PRESENT TIME.

drank out of horn cups, and were sworn on admission upon a blank horn book. The object of the warm-hearted citizens composing this club, which met on Tuesday and Thursday evenings, at seven o'clock, was to solace themselves with harmless merriment and promote good fellowship among their neighbours.[2]

Busby's Folly is indicated by name in Ogilby's map of the road to Holyhead, published in 1675; in the map of Middlesex, in Gibson's edition of "Camden's Britannia," in 1695; and in Bowen's "Britannia Depicta," 1720. In a scarce collection, entitled, "A Set of Views of Noted Places near London," drawn and engraved by C. Lempriere, in 1731, there is a view of the south front of the house.

We read in the "Postman," for April 13th, 1710, as follows:—

"Lost, in White Conduit Fields, or thereabouts, a silver pendulum watch, with a silver chain and a brass seal to it. Whoever brings it to Mr. Greatorex, at Busby's Folly, shall have a guinea reward."

[1] Daniels's *Merrie England,* vol. i., p. 61.

[2] Daniels's *Merrie England,* vol. i., p. 61.

The house was afterwards called "Penny's Folly." On the 8th of August, 1769, the following announcement appeared in one of the public journals, in reference to this place of amusement:—

"Philip Jonas informs the public, in answer to a challenge of Mr. Jonas, of the Penny Folly, that he shall be ready to perform against him by Thursday, at the Penny Folly, Islington, at four o'clock in the evening, and the performances of the horse and glass at the same time in the evening. Admittance One Shilling."

Again we read—

"Penny's Folly, Islington New Road.

"This is to inform all Lovers of curious performances and the public in general, That the brother of the famous Mr. Zucker, a high German, who has gained such universal applause, and had the honour of performing before their Majesties and all the Royal Family, is removed to Penny's Folly, Islington New-road, will exhibit this evening, and continue every evening till further notice, several extraordinary performances never before seen in this kingdom. He has brought with him his Learned Little Horse, from Cowland, whose amazing and wonderful performances have been allowed by the Nobility, Gentry, and others, to exceed anything of the kind ever seen in the known world. He has also engaged the so much admired and unparalleled Mr. Jonas, who will display his matchless and curious deceptions with several of his own and Comus's philosophical performances. Also several of the most favourite airs on the musical glasses by Mrs. Zucker.

"N.B.—The doors open at six o'clock, and begin precisely at half-past six.

"The Room is elegant and airy, and commands a delightful prospect, being fourteen windows in front. The Little Horse will be looking out of the windows up two pair of stairs every evening before the performances begin. Admittance, One Shilling only."

The Belvidere Tavern, so named from Belvidere, an Italian word, signifying a place agreeably situated or commanding a fine prospect, does not appear by name in any map of London earlier than 1780. To the present house there is a large racket court attached, much frequented during the summer months by lovers of this healthful sport.

The Belvidere Tavern was advertised for sale by auction, at Garraway's, on June 29th, 1835, "by order of the proprietor, in consequence of indisposition." The lease had then about thirty-two years to run.

At No. 37, Penton-street, for some time lived the famous clown Joe Grimaldi, after his marriage with Miss Hughes, the daughter of the manager of Sadler's Wells Theatre, in 1797. Penton-street was then a *beau quartier*, a kind of northern Belgravia, "the St. James's of Pentonville, the Regent's Park of the City-road, in those days." On the west side of Penton-street is Christ Church, which we have before described.

On the east side of Penton-street is the White Conduit Tavern, formerly

WHITE CONDUIT HOUSE AND TEA GARDENS,

Recollections of which are still fresh in the memory of the living, in whom its mention revives many fading reminiscences, and looses the tongue in a pleasant narrative of the past. With what gusto will they tell us of green fields, where is now a labyrinth of streets; of bowling-greens, tea arbours, and a fish-pond, where now are rows of well-built dwelling-houses; of the ancient conduit, neglected and ruined, its channel choked with filth, the leaden pipes decayed; whilst their ire rises against those who should have preserved it from injury and not, Vandal-like, have despoiled it, and cast its stones upon the common highway. "The old tavern of this name was erected in the reign of Charles I., and the workmen are said to have been regaling themselves upon the completion of the building at the instant the king was beheaded at Whitehall."[1] In 1754 it was advertised by the proprietor, that, "For the better accommodation of gentlemen and ladies, he has completed a long walk, with a handsome circular fish-pond, a number of shady pleasant arbours, inclosed with a fence seven feet high, to prevent being the least incommoded from people in the fields; hot loaves and butter every day, milk directly from the cows, coffee, tea, and all manner of liquors in the greatest perfection; also a handsome long room, from whence is the most copious prospects and airy situation of any now

[1] *Tavern Anecdotes*, p. 95.

in vogue. I humbly hope the continuance of my friends' favours, as I make it my chief study to have the best accommodations, and am, gentlemen and ladies, your obliged humble servant, Robert Bartholomew. Note.—My cows eat no grains, neither any adulteration in milk or cream. Bats and balls for cricket, and a convenient field to play in."

The following verses on White Conduit House appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1760, vol. xxx., p. 242 :—

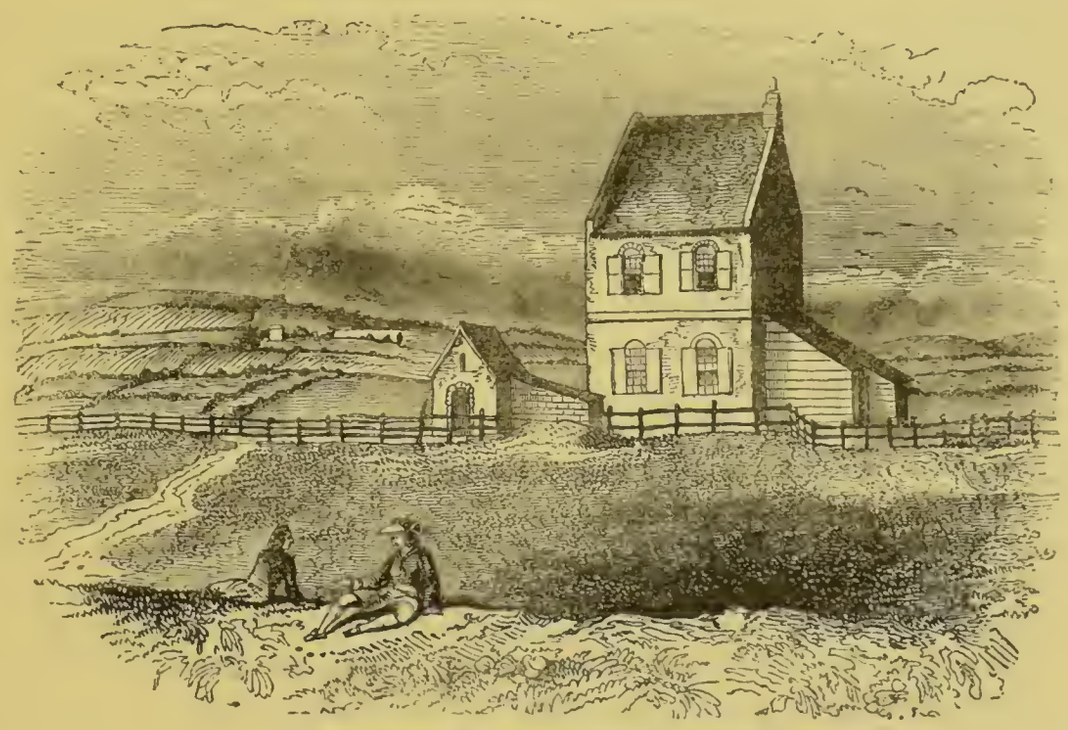
And to White Conduit House
We will go, will go, will go.—*Grub-street Register.*

Wish'd Sunday's come, mirth brightens ev'ry face,
And paints the rose upon the housemaid's cheek,
Harriot, or Mol, more ruddy. Now the heart
Of 'prentice resident in ample street,
Or alley, kennel-wash'd, Cheapside, Cornhill,
Or Cranborne, thee for calcuments renown'd,
With joy distends. His meal meridian o'er,
With switch in hand, he to White Conduit House
Hies merry-hearted. Human beings here
In couples multitudinous assemble,
Forming the drollest groupe that ever trod
Fair Islingtonian plains. Male after male,
Dog after dog succeeding—husbands, wives,
Fathers and mothers, brothers, sisters, friends,
And pretty little boys and girls. Around,
Across, along, the gardens' shrubby maze,
They walk, they sit, they stand. What crowds press on,
Eager to mount the stairs, eager to catch
First vacant bench or chair in long room plac'd.
Here prig with prig holds conference polite,
And indiscriminate the gaudy beau
And sloven mix. Here he, who all the week
Took bearded mortals by the nose, or sat
Weaving dead hairs, and whistling wretched strain,
And eke the sturdy youth, whose trade it is
Stout oxen to contund, with gold-bound hat
And silken stocking strut. The red arm'd belle
Here shows her tasty gown, proud to be thought
The butterfly of fashion : and forsooth
Her haughty mistress deigns for once to tread
The same unhallow'd floor—'Tis hurry all
And rattling cups and saucers. Waiter here,
And waiter there, and waiter here and there,
At once is call'd—Joe—Joe—Joe—Joe—Joe—
Joe on the right—and Joe upon the left,
For ev'ry vocal pipe re-echoes Joe.
Alas, poor Joe! Like Francis in the play
He stands confounded, anxious how to please
The many-headed throng. But shou'd I paint
The language, humours, custom of the place,
Together with all curts'ys, lowly bows,
And compliments extern, 'twould swell my page
Beyond its limits due. Suffice it then
For my prophetic muse to say, "So long
As fashion rides upon the wing of time,
While tea and cream, and butter'd rolls can please,
While rival beaux and jealous belles exist,
So long, White Conduit House, shall be thy fame."—W. W.[1]

[1] William Woty, author of *The Shrubs of Parnassus.* 1760.

About this time the place and its customers were referred to by Oliver Goldsmith. He says, "After having surveyed the curiosities of this fair and beautiful town (Islington), I proceeded forward, leaving a fair stone building on my right; here the inhabitants of London often assemble to celebrate a feast of hot rolls and butter. Seeing such numbers, each with their little tables before them, employed on this occasion, must no doubt be a very amusing sight to the looker-on, but still more so to those who perform in the solemnity."[1] From this custom, the hot loaves grew so much in repute, as for "White Conduit loaves" to become one of the common London cries, prior to the rise in the price of bread occasioned by the French revolutionary war.

Goldsmith was himself an habitué of the White Conduit Tea Gardens. He sometimes would make up a party of four or five of his "jolly pigeon friends," as he styled them, to enjoy what he humorously called a shoemaker's holiday. Having invited them to his lodgings, after breakfast, they would set out on foot to Hampton Court, Highgate, or some other pleasant spot. At other times, the kind poet chose to dine his friends, and then they adjourned to drink tea at the White Conduit. Three



SOUTH VIEW OF WHITE CONDUIT HOUSE, 1731.

or four of Goldsmith's intimate friends used to rendezvous at his chambers to breakfast about ten o'clock in the morning; at eleven they proceeded by the City-road, and through the fields to Highbury Barn to dinner; about six o'clock in the evening they adjourned to White Conduit House to drink tea, and concluded the evening by supping at the Grecian or Temple Exchange coffee-houses, or at the Globe in Fleet-street.[2]

Washington Irving, in his "Life of Goldsmith," says:—"Oliver Goldsmith, towards the close of 1762, removed to 'merry Islington,' then a country village, though now swallowed up in omnivorous London. In this neighbourhood he used to take his solitary rambles, sometimes extending his walks to the gardens of the 'White Conduit House,' so famous among the essayists of the last century. While strolling one day in these gardens, he met three daughters of the family of a respectable tradesman, to whom he was under some obligation. With his prompt disposition to oblige, he conducted them about the garden, treated them to tea, and ran up a bill in the most open-handed manner imaginable: it was only when he came to pay that he found himself in one of his old

[1] *Citizen of the World.* Letter 122.

[2] *European Magazine,* vol. xxiv., p. 172.

dilemmas—he had not the wherewithal in his pocket. A scene of perplexity now took place between him and the waiter, in the midst of which came up some of his acquaintances, in whose eyes he wished to stand particularly well. When, however, they had enjoyed their banter, the waiter was paid, and poor Goldsmith enabled to convey off the ladies with flying colours." This amusing subject is mentioned in Forster's admirable life of the great novelist and poet. In the Royal Academy Exhibition for 1851 was a painting by A. Solomon, entitled "An Awkward Position," and representing Goldsmith at White Conduit House. This painting was engraved in the "Illustrated London News" for June 14th, 1851, p. 550. It shows the poet seated in a tree-shaded arbour with three young ladies; in the centre is a table, on which are spread a tea-service, wine, and fruit. Outside the arbour is a waiter in a wig, casting up the score on his fingers, while Goldsmith, with the bill in one hand, and the other deep in his breeches' pocket, wears a very stern, discomposed face. In front we see an ornamental pond of water, and beyond two swellish gentlemen advancing to the spot. The background of the picture is filled up with gallant company, trees, and an orchestra, in which are a band and a lady vocalist.

In the "Sunday Ramble," published anonymously in the year 1774, its unknown writer gives the following description of the arrangements of this place at that period :—"The garden is formed into several pleasing walks, prettily disposed. At the end of the principal one is a painting, which serves to render it much longer in appearance than it really is; and in the middle of the garden is a round fishpond, encompassed with a great number of very genteel boxes for company, curiously cut into the hedges, and adorned with a variety of Flemish and other paintings. There are, likewise, two handsome tea-rooms, one over the other, as well as several inferior ones in the dwelling-house." A plan of the gardens, corresponding exactly with this description, appears in Kitchin's Map of London, 1773. At a subsequent period the fishpond was filled up, and its site planted, the paintings defaced, the boxes for refreshment replaced by larger ones, and a new dancing and tea-room, called the Apollo Room, erected at the north-west angle of the grounds.

By this time, the pleasures of the White Conduit gardens were approved by an admiring and patronising public, and on fine Sunday evenings "the gardens and rooms were full to overflowing; the company overheated, impatient and noisy; the master hurrying; the waiters flying; and the admirer of rural beauty left wondering at the preference of heat to cooling airs, the clamour of tongues to the stillness of the fields, and the efforts of tea-room organs to the strains of birds." In the summer of 1826, a "Minor Vauxhall" was established here, and the speculation is supposed to have proved a lucrative one, but owing to the nightly disturbances and the encouragement to immorality thereby occasioned, it was suppressed by magisterial authority, on the proprietor's application for the renewal of his licence. One of the attractions of this season was the performances of Mons. Chabert, the fire-eater, who, after a luncheon of phosphorus, arsenic, oxalic acid, boiling oil, and molten lead, walked into a hot oven preceded by a leg of lamb and a rump steak; on the two last, when properly baked, the spectators dined with him.[1] The prices of admission to view the performances of this salamander were 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. From the gardens Graham several times ascended in his balloon; and on these and other special occasions the charge for admission averaged from 3s. to 3s. 6d.

Hone, in his "Every Day Book," 1826, vol. ii., p. 1204, in which is an engraving of the White Conduit, says :—"White Conduit House has ceased to be a recreation in the good sense of the word. Its present denomination is the 'Minor Vauxhall,' and its chief attraction has been Mrs. Bland. It is a ground for balloon flying and skittle playing, and just maintains itself above the very lowest, so as to be one of the most doubtful places of public resort. Recollections of it some years ago are more in its favour. Its tea-gardens then, in summer afternoons, were well accustomed by tradesmen and their families, and instead there is at night a starveling show of odd company and coloured lamps, a mock orchestra with mock singing, and dancing in a room which decent persons would prefer to

[1] Daniels's *Merrie England*, vol. ii., p. 19.

draw their young folks from if they entered, and fireworks as usual, which to say the truth are usually very good."

About the year 1827, archery was much practised at White Conduit House.

The year 1828 marked another phase in the existence of this once noted rendezvous for pleasure-seekers; during that year and the following, the house was rebuilding, and early in the summer of 1829, it was re-opened for public entertainment. Most persons will remember this latter edifice, the imposing altitude of its stuccoed front, embellished by the architectural additions of pilasters, cornices, &c. The suites of rooms for refreshment on the basement floor, and the long, lofty, and commodious room above, so much used for balls, concerts, public and trade dinners, and for the purposes of meetings in general, are still mentally before us.

We read in the "Mirror," 1833, vol. xxi., page 426:—"Never mind Pentonville, it is not now what it was—a place of some rural beauty; the fields behind it were, in my time, as wild and picturesque, with their deep green lanes, richly hedged and studded with flowers, which have taken fright, and moved off miles away—their stately 'elms and hillocks green,' as they are now melancholy and cut up with unfurnished and, of course, unoccupied rows of houses, run up during the paroxysm of the brick and mortar mania of times past, and now tumbling in ruins, with the foolish fortunes of the speculators. The march of town-innovation upon the suburbs has driven before it all that was green, silent, and fitted for meditation. Here, too, is that Paradiso of apprentice boys, White Cundick Couse, as it is cacophoniously pronounced by its visitors, which has done much to expel the decencies of the district. Thirty years ago this place was better frequented—that is, there was a larger number of respectable adults—fathers and mothers, with their children, and a smaller moiety of shop-lads, and such like Sunday bucks, who were awed into decency by their elders. The manners, perhaps, are much upon a par with what they were. The ball-room gentlemen then went through country dances with their hats on and their coats off; hats are now taken off, but coats are still unfashionable on these gala nights. The belles of that day wore long trains to their gowns. It was a favourite mode of introduction to a lady there to tread on it, and then apologizing handsomely, acquaintance was begun, and soon ripened into an invitation to tea and the hot loaves for which these gardens were once celebrated. Being now a popular haunt, those who hang on the rear of the march of human nature, the suttlers, camp followers, and plunderers, know that where large numbers of men or boys are in pursuit of pleasure, there is a sprinkling of the number to whom vice and debauchery are ever welcome; they have, therefore, supplied what these wanted, and Pentonville may now hold up its head, and boast of its depravities before any other part of London."

Public taste is capricious, and the "White Conduit" was doomed to comparative neglect, and after a few years of lingering existence, the house was pulled down in February, 1849, and streets planned and built upon its grounds, and the present White Conduit Tavern erected on a portion of the site. We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for March, 1849, as follows:—"That old and well known resort at Pentonville, White Conduit House, with its large room and pleasure grounds, is to be removed to make way for a new street. The work of demolition commenced on Thursday, Jan. 25." Timbs, in his "Curiosities of London," p. 15, says, "In 1832 (query 1829), the small house, the original tavern, was taken down, and rebuilt upon a much larger plan; but in 1849 these premises were also taken down, and re-erected on a smaller scale, and the garden ground let on building leases."

Britton, in reference to White Conduit House, says, in his "Autobiography," part I., p. 121, "Mr. Mendham, the wine merchant, in whose cellars I was immured for nearly six years, used to supply this house with port wines; fourteen of these were reckoned to the dozen, and were charged to the tavern at 1s. 9d. per bottle."[1]

There is a remarkable biography of a former proprietor of the White Conduit House, Mr. Christopher Bartholomew, a gentleman of private fortune, and naturally possessed of a good intellect. So successful did he cater for the amusement of the public that his profits became immense,

[1] *Vide* page 290.

and not only this house and tea-gardens, but the Angel Inn at one period were his freeholds. He rented lands in the neighbourhood to the amount of two thousand pounds per annum, was remarkable for having the largest quantity of haystacks of any grower in the neighbourhood of London, and was believed to have realised property to the amount of fifty thousand pounds. He kept his carriage, and servants in livery. On one occasion he gave a public breakfast to commemorate the smiles of fortune, as it was expressed on the tickets. In the midst of these successes he became the prey of a vicious habit, that of gambling in the lottery. In its indulgence, such was his excess, that he is said to have spent upwards of two thousand guineas in a single day in insuring numbers. This ultimately led to his ruin, and obliged him to dispose of these premises to relieve his pecuniary embarrassments, and the last thirteen years of his life were spent in ignoble poverty. But the mania for gambling in the lottery still possessed his mind, even in this humbled condition of life, and about two years before his



OLD WHITE CONDUIT HOUSE TEA GARDENS.

death he had a presentiment that if he could purchase a particular number, it would prove the restoration of his fortunes. A friend enabled him to buy half of a sixteenth of the favourite number, taking the other half himself, and, remarkable to state, it turned up a prize of twenty thousand pounds. With a part of this he made an effort to retrieve the past, for he was prudent enough to expend sufficient in the purchase of an annuity of sixty pounds per annum, but his demon vice still haunted him, and plunging into fresh excesses, he was forced to sell his annuity, and thus reduced to abject poverty, he spent the short remainder of his life in a mean lodging in Angel-court, Windmill-street, Haymarket, where, in March, 1809, he died, at the age of sixty-eight. In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1809, vol. lxxix., page 284, and same work, 1819, vol. lxxxix., part II., page 105, and in Hone's "Every Day Book," vol. ii., page 1527, will be found some particulars of Christopher Bartholomew.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1842, new series, vol. xviii., p. 68, is an engraving of the Old White Conduit House; and in the "Builder," July 4th, 1857, vol. xv., p. 370, is a small wood-cut representing the same. It is described as "a small unpicturesque-looking house, two storeys high, with four windows in front, near the ancient conduit."

The following sketch, extracted from an article on "Londoners and Country People," in the "New

Monthly," for 1823, shows the tea-garden tastes of the Cockneys at that time:—"A Cockney loves a tea-garden in summer as he loves the play or the Cider Cellar in winter—where he sweetens the air with the fumes of tobacco, and makes it echo to the sound of his own voice. This kind of suburban retreat is a most agreeable relief to the close and confined air of a city life. The imagination, long pent up behind a counter, or between brick walls, with noisome smells and dingy objects, cannot bear at once to launch into the boundless expanse of the country, but 'shorter excursions tries,' coveting something between the two, and finding it at White Conduit House, or the Rosemary Branch, or Bagnigge Wells. Tho landlady is seen at a bow window in near perspective, with punch-bowls and lemons disposed orderly around—the lime trees or poplars wave overhead to 'catch the breezy air,' through which, typical of the huge dense cloud that hangs over the metropolis, curls up the thin, blue, odoriferous vapour of Virginia or Orinoko—the benches are ranged in rows, the fields and hedge rows spread out in their verdure; Hampstead and Highgate are seen in the back-ground, and confine the imagination within gentle limits—here the holiday people are playing ball; here they are playing bowls; here they are quaffing ale, there sipping tea; here the loud wager is heard, there the political debate. In a sequestered nook a slender youth with purple face and drooping head, nodding over a glass of gin toddy, breathes in tender accents—'There's nought so sweet on earth as Love's young dream:' while 'Rosy Anne' takes its turn, and 'Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled' is thundered forth in accents that might wake the dead. In another part sit carpers and critics, who dispute the score of the reckoning or the game, or cavil at the taste and the execution of the would-be Brahams and Durusets."

In a "Picture of London," published in 1823, by Leigh, which treats on the amusements of the metropolis, we are told that those places of summer amusement, tea-gardens, were then much frequented by the middle classes of society, particularly on a Sunday. The charge for tea was generally 1s. 6d. or 2s. per head. The following were the principal tea-gardens at that time:—Bagnigge Wells; Spa Fields; New Bagnigge Wells; Bayswater; Camberwell Grove; Canonbury House; Chalk Farm; Copenhagen House; Cumberland Gardens; Eel-pie House; Hornsey Wood House; Jack Straw's Castle, Hampstead; St. Helena, Deptford; Highbury Barn; Hoxton Gardens; Shepherd and Shepherdess, City-road; Mermaid, Hackney; New Ranelagh, Millbank; White Conduit House; Union Gardens, Chelsea; Vauxhall; and Yorkshire Stingo.

In May, 1864, White Conduit House was offered for sale by public auction. The following was the advertisement announcing the same:—

"White Conduit House, Pentonville.—Messrs. Daniel Cronin and Sons respectfully announce that they are instructed by Mr. Loosemore to sell by auction, at Garraway's, Cornhill, on Tuesday, May 24, at twelve, in consequence of his extreme ill-health, the lease and goodwill, with immediate possession, of the first-class wine and spirit establishment, celebrated as the White Conduit House, Penton-street, Pentonville, presenting itself almost obtrusively upon public notice, and so placed as to command the vastly extended and improving trade of both front and back neighbourhoods. The returns are, as is well known, very large and very profitable, and the conduct of the trade of a highly respectable and independent character. The lease has a term unexpired of upwards of eighty years, at the rent of £100 per annum. The residence is all that can be reasonably desired for healthfulness, arrangement, and domestic convenience, and the business portion of the premises almost unrivalled. The building is of a most substantial character, and the condition comfortable and satisfactory, the present proprietor having expended many hundreds of pounds in elaborate decorations and substantial repairs. It may not be too much to affirm that a similar property, regarding its rank in houses of this description, is seldom offered for public competition. It may be viewed one week prior to the day of sale, when particulars may be obtained; also at Garraway's; and of the auctioneers, 1, Vernon-place, Bloomsbury-square, W.C."

The particulars of sale described the premises as "manifestly superior in every point of view, to almost any other house of similar business in the metropolis; the trade is of a first-class character, as to extent, profits, and the facility and independence by which it is sustained; and the situation is daily improving in consequence of the accession of population in the immediate neighbourhood, and the almost entire absence and improbability of effective competition. The premises comprise on the third floor, five good bed chambers; on the second floor, five ditto; on the mezzanino, large store room; on the first floor, capital lofty assembly room, two good bed chambers, and servants' room; on

the ground floor, a lofty, spacious public liquor bar, in splendid condition; bar parlour, public parlour, large pantry, &c.; and on the basement, kitchen, spacious bottling room, large yard, and extensive beer, ale, spirit, wine, and other cellars. Together with the ordinary conveniences of a house of good construction. All the rooms are lofty, light, and airy. Held by a lease for a term, whereof eighty-four years (less seven days) were unexpired at Christmas-day last, at the very low rent of one hundred pounds per annum." There was a rapid competition at the sale, at which the property was sold for £8,990.

We read in Hone's "Every Day Book," vol. ii., p. 1291, under date September 29th, 1826, as follows:—"A company of mountebanks, however, appeared on a green, north of White Conduit



THE WHITE CONDUIT, AT THE END OF THE LAST CENTURY.

House, several evenings last week. On Saturday the performance commenced at five o'clock in the afternoon. The performers consisted of the master, a short, middle-aged person, with a florid complexion, dressed in decent half-mourning. He possessed a sound pair of lungs, fair eloquence, and a good portion of colloquial ability. By the assistance of a little whip he kept in order a large ring, formed of boys, girls, and grown persons of both sexes. His eye, grey as a falcon's, watched the reception he received, and seemed to communicate with his mind's eye as to his subscribers. The rosy-faced maid servants, glad of the opportunity of gazing at the exhibitors, were rejoiced by the pretence of holding the 'nursery treasures' to see all that could be seen. Here the calculator looked for patronage and encouragement. 'Mr. Merriman,' a young man with his face and clothes duly coloured, *a la* Grimaldi, raised laughter by his quaint retorts, by attempts at tumbling to prove he could tumble well, and by drilling with a bugle horn a dozen volunteer boys in many whimsical exercises, truly marvellous to simpering misses and their companions. The next performer was a short

man with sharp features, sun-burnt face, and shrill, goat-like voice; he tumbled in a clever, but I think, dangerous manner. Then 'Mr. Merriman's' imitations followed; not to say anything of those inimitable imitators, Mathews, Reeves, and Yates, he suited his audience to the very echo of the surrounding skeletons in bricks and mortar. The tumbler then reposed by putting a loose coat over his parti-coloured habit, and playing a pandean pipe, while 'Mr. Merriman' sat on a piece of carpet spread on the ground, and tossed four gilt balls in the air at the same time, to the variations of the music. A drum was beat by a woman about forty, with a tiara on her head, who afterwards left the beating art and mounting the slack wire, which was supported by three sticks, coned at each end to a triangle, she danced and vaulted *a la* Gouffe. A table was put on the wire, which she balanced, and bore a glass full of liquor on the rim as she twirled it on her finger. This was the acme of the display. Tickets at one shilling each were now handed round with earnestness and much promise, for a lottery of prizes, consisting of teapots, waiters, printed calico, and two sovereigns thrown on the grass instead of a sheep. These temptations held out to many a Saturday night labourer the hope of increasing his week's wages. The 'conductor' of this company no doubt profited by the experience of which he was possessed. Many tickets were sold; expectation breathed, fancy pictured a teapot, or some token of fortune's performance. The decision made, the die cast, now the laughing winner walked hurriedly away hugging his prize, while the losers hid their chagrin, and were quietly dispersed by the 'blank' influence, with secret wishes that their money was in their pockets again."

White Conduit House received its name from an old stone conduit which formerly stood here, but which, falling into decay, was, by an act of vandalism on the part of the parish authorities of Clerkenwell, entirely removed in the year 1831, and the materials of it were employed in repairing part of the New-road. The external part or casing of this interesting structure was entirely of white stone, but the arch was turned with a mixture of brick and flints. A sculptured stone on the front (an engraving of which appears in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for October, 1801, p. 1161) bore date 1641, and beneath the arms of Sutton (or, on a chevron between three annulets, as many crescents of the field), the founder of the Charterhouse, were on the left, the initials T. S. and F. R.; and on the right G. C. interlaced and M. R. united as a monogram. The initials T. S. are those of Thomas Sutton; the others are probably those of eminent masters of the Charterhouse. Sutton was obviously only the restorer of this little edifice, for long antecedent to his time had the water flowed hence to supply the wants of the Carthusian friars, and on the north side of the square space, used by the boys of the Charterhouse as a playground, was formerly a receptacle of the water, one fourth as large as the area enclosed. The conduit was appurtenant to the monastery, and originated in royal license, dated December 2nd, 1431, 9th Henry VI.[1]

The Society of Antiquaries are possessed of a drawing by Vertue, taken from a parchment roll of the original survey of the pipes, &c., made in the year 1511, by Sydney Godolphin, at which time the pipes were all renewed by order of the Charterhouse. In 1624, Sir Robert Dallington had them cleansed. As early as the year 1637, the supply from the conduit must have been intermittent, and hardly more than sufficed for the wants of the Carthusians, for upon the application of the Earl of Exeter that water might be conveyed to his house at St. John's, for the use of himself and family only, it was refused him from the fountain-head, but they granted him during pleasure a pipe from the waterhouse of the hospital, carrying two gallons in an hour. The last general survey of the water-course was made by order of the governors of the Charterhouse, in 1654, when the supply of water was found to be so diminished, and the probable expense of restoring it so great, that the adoption of the New River supply was decided upon.

In Ellis's "History of Shoreditch," p. 364, is cited a report made upon a view of Dalston and Islington waters:—

"To the Honourable the Committee appointed by the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commoners, in Common Council assembled.

"In pursuance of an order of this Committee, dated the thirteenth day of this instant December, wee have,

[1] For an account of this conduit, *vide* Tomlins's *Yseldon*, pp. 160-165.

with the assistanee of William Cooper, one of the Citty labourers, viewed the springs and waters at Dalston. (The report then states the result of the view.) And we have also, in further pursuance of the said order, viewed the springs and waters belonging to the Citty neare Islington; and find the same in two heads, one eovered over with stone in a field neare Jaek Straw's Castle, whieh is fed by sundry springs in an adjaeent field, and is usually ealled the White Conduit, the water whereof is eonveyed from thenee in a pipe of lead through Chambery-park to the other conduit in Chambery-field; and from thenee the water of both the said heads so united is eonveyed in a pipe of lead eross the New River in a eant into the Green Man-fields, and, entering from thenee a garden heretofore belonging to one Porter, vintner, at about forty foet distanee from Frogg-lane, and, erossing the corner thereof, and also Frogg-lane, into a field on the east side thereof, and from thence eross the north-east eorner of a garden at the hither end of Frogg-lane into a field belonging to the Company of Clothworkers, and from thence through the field next to and west of the footway from Islington unto the stile by the pest house, where it crosseth the said way, and so along the east side thereof eross the road at Old-street, and under the bridge there into Bunhill-fields, and from thenee on the west side of the said field by the Artillery-garden erossing Chiswell-street into and down the middle of Grubb-street into Fore-street, and so on the south side thereof to the conduit at Cripplegate; and we eannot find that the said waters are employed to any other use than to the serviee of the said eonduit. (The report then eertifies on the eondition of the eonduit heads at Dalston.) And we eoneeive that the pipe from the furthest eonduit head to that in Chambery-field beyond Islington is stopped, for that the cistern in the first is full of water, and the water joining to the latter is not above a quarter pipe, whereas it hath used to come full pipe; also that the planks of one of the draines feeding the said furthest head is broke about six foot square, and two stones wanted in the covering; and also the like quantity of plank is broke over the cesspoole at the head in Chambery-field. All whieh we humbly eertify, this twentieth day of December, anno domini 1692.

"Thomas Glentworth.
"James Nalton.
"Ro. Tarlton."

The original spring issued from the earth forty-three perches north of the Conduit-house, and between it and the latter were six other wells; the water was conducted by a brick channel to the Conduit House, where it was received in a massy leaden cistern, having an aperture at the bottom for carrying off the waste through a pipe of the like metal. This cistern was stolen during the progress of buildings around, towards the close of the last century. Between the conduit and Penton-street three wells or receptacles have been broken into at different times. The place where the conduit stood was at the back of the house, No. 10, Penton-street, at the corner of Edward-street. "There was also a smaller conduit, connected, in all probability, with the larger, at the back of White Conduit-gardens, immediately contiguous to where now stands Warren-street." About the year 1810, the late W. Huntington, S.S., was at the expense of clearing the spring for the use of the inhabitants of the district, but his pulpit opinions had made him obnoxious to some persons, who gratified their petty feelings of revenge by throwing dirt and other filth into the channel, and so choking the passage and contaminating the water. The building was in a very perfect state at that time, but as the new buildings proceeded, it was much injured and defaced by idle labourers, and reduced to a mere ruin. There was a kind of upper floor to it, which was frequently a shelter to the houseless wanderer. Many years ago some poor creatures had made it a comfortable hostel for the night; a workman passing early the following morning, observed smoke issuing from the building. Attracted by so unusual a sight he proceeded towards it, and discovered that the straw upon which the poor inmates lay had been fired by some demon of mischief, and it was with difficulty that he rescued the wretched sufferers from the peril of their lives.

An adjacent field was once in repute for cricketing. On the 29th of May, 1784, we read that a grand cricket match was played in White Conduit-fields, and that among the players were the Duke of Dorset, Lord Winchelsea, Lord Talbot, Col. Tarleton, Mr. Howe, Mr. Damer, the Hon. Mr. Lennox, and the Rev. Mr. Williams. A pavilion was erected for refreshments, and a number of ladies attended. These matches led to the formation of the famous Marylebone Club. A view of the Cricket-ground, with a match playing, appears in Bowles's set of prints of "Manly Recreations," published in 1788. This print, which is very curious, is entitled a "Representation of the noble game of cricket, as played in the celebrated cricket-ground, near White Conduit House."

"On Tuesday, July 1st, 1760, a boxing match was fought in the White Conduit-fields, between

Fosset, the drover, and one Chetham, a noted bruiser, for fifty guineas. The battle lasted but three minutes, when Chetham was obliged to yield to the superior talents of the drover, tho' the odds were considerably against him at setting to. The Nailer and most of the noted bruisers were present." One day in July, 1779, Geo. III. met in these fields the Islington Volunteers, in number three hundred and ninety four, and then preceded them to Hyde-park, where he reviewed them.

In White Conduit Fields, about ninety years ago, that excellent but eccentric divine, the Rev. Rowland Hill, following the example of his great contemporary Whitfield, preached, under the canopy of heaven, the glad tidings of salvation to assembled thousands, with that pathos and zeal that distinguished him, and which Sheridan aptly expressed when he said, "I go to hear Rowland Hill because his ideas come red-hot from the heart."

In olden time crowds of persons gathered in these fields to witness and participate in the barbarous diversion of ducking or duck-hunting, then much in vogue. On the north side of White Conduit House, now Albert-street, and at the south end of Claremont-place, there existed a deep and dangerous pool called the Wheal Pond, which until a late period was famous for this inhuman sport.

Brayley says, in his "Londiniana" (in which work, vol. ii., pages 195-6-7, he gives a short history of White Conduit House and gardens):—"The famous ducking-pond, called the Basin, immediately without the garden to the north, has been filled up, and now a carriage road crosses its site."

This pond was fed by the land springs and the overflowings of the water received at the White Conduit, and many persons were drowned in it either by misadventure or suicide. In the parish registry of burials occur the following entries, viz.:—"Bunney, Isack, drowned in Wheal Pond, Decr. 31, 1677;" "Jacam, Edward, drowned in Wheal Pond, May 29, 1682;" "Robinson, John, drowned in the Wheal Pond, July 3rd, 1682." About the same period Evelyn notes in his "Memoirs," in allusion to a suicide—"It seems on Thursday last he went sober and quiet to Islington, and behind one of the inns (most probably the White Lyon) did fling himself into a pond;" and forty years afterwards the following incident is published in the "Chronological Diary to the Historical Register," 1720:—"Oct. 27, Mr. Downs, attorney-at-law, pursuivant at arms, and deputy chamberlain in the Tally Court at the Exchequer, drowned himself in a pond at Islington." During the last century similar notices frequently occur in the daily newspapers of persons drowned in the pond "near the White Conduit."[1]

The following, which is the title of a small pamphlet in black letter, has reference to this pond:—"The most sad and lamentable narration of the death of Michael Berkly, Esquire, lately of Gray's Inn, a most eminent scholar and master of a large estate, who, on Thursday, May 6th, in the sixty-third year of his age, was drowned in the ducking-pond, near Islington, about ten o'clock in the morning, &c. Printed for Thomas Vere and William Gilbert, and sold at their shops without Newgate and in Giltspur-street." 1658. 12mo.

Pepys in his "Diary," under date March 27th, 1664, says:—"Thence (from St. James's Church, Clerkenwell) walked through the Ducking-pond Fields; but they are so altered since my father used to carry us to Islington, to the old man's at the King's Head to eat cakes and ale (his name was Pitts), that I did not know which was the Ducking-pond, nor where I was."

Sir W. Davenant wrote in 1680:—

> Ho! ho! to Islington enough,
> Fetch Job my son, and our dog Ruffe;
> For there in pond, through mire and muck,
> We'll cry, hay, duck—there, Ruffe, hay, duck.

Sometimes, to vary the amusement, an owl was tied to the back of the duck, who diving to get rid of her burden, caused upon a return for air, the poor owl to shake himself, and, by hooting, to frighten the duck, so that when she dived again the owl was soon deprived of sensation, and the barbarous sport generally ended in the death of both. Islington and Clerkenwell were famous for

[1] Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p. 159.

their ducking-ponds. In a burlesque newsbook, "Mercurius Democritus," for the week ending February 15th, 1654, "Published for the right understanding of all the merry mad people of Great Bedlam," the following amusing bit of news is given, viz., that "a quire of mermaids were (the same day that three tides flowed in the New River together) heard by Jack Adams, of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, singing wonderfully sweet in the little ducking-pond."

These fields once produced abundant crops of hay, and their possessor, about half a century ago, was reputed to have the greatest quantity of haystacks of any grower in the neighbourhood of London. A contemporary writer, Malcolm, 1803, after pronouncing upon the beauty of the prospect from these fields, thinking no view from London equal to it, observes, that "On a fine Sunday evening, when a gentle mild and refreshing breeze brings the perfume of thousands of tons of new made hay upon us, then it is that a file of Londoners break from a week's restraint, and form a line from Coldbath-fields through Pentonville. The soft air exhilarates their spirits; they race, tumble in the hay, and sport with unfeigned pleasure." Nelson, writing about 1811, remarks, that "The ground adjoining White Conduct House, for a considerable extent, is appropriated to the laying of cattle on their way to Smithfield Market;" and then adds that the removal of the market to some spot in this neighbourhood had been a matter of late much agitated in the Court of Common Council, and two bills had been brought into Parliament for that purpose, and lost by very small majorities. A field adjoining to Sadler's Wells, belonging to the New River Company was offered to the City for the market at the sum of £25,000, as were also the Stone Fields belonging to this parish at £22,800.

In 1845 some labourers, while digging in White Conduit-fields, discovered thirty feet below the surface a massive stone, measuring in circumference about forty feet. Upon their displacing it they found a chamber, eight feet wide, ten feet long, and five feet deep. The sides of it were beautifully engraved with antique figures. The cavity contained a block of stone in the shape of a coffin, in which were some human bones. The chamber had within it also some coins bearing date 110, and some war instruments. It was conjectured that this was a Roman tomb.

Lands adjoining White Conduit Fields were formerly known as Stone Conduit Fields, and, by corruption, Sten Conduit Fields. They were estimated to contain about fourteen acres; and were devised by Richard Cloudesley in the year 1517, 9th Henry VIII., for an obit mass, and the like, and for the benefit of the poor people of Islington parish. The estate now yields upwards of £1,000 a year in ground rents, which have been applied towards the repairs of the church of Islington.[1]

REGENT'S CANAL TUNNEL.

About two hundred yards west of White Conduit House, is the mouth of the tunnel by which the Regent's Canal is carried under the district we have been describing. This useful work, projected by Nash, was commenced on the 14th of October, 1812, and was intended to unite the Grand Junction Canal, which it joins at a point near Maida-hill, with the Thames. We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxii., part II., page 388, under the last mentioned date:—"The ceremony of putting the first spade into the ground of the intended line of the Regent's Canal took place this day." It was not, however, completed till the year 1820, and on the 1st of August in that year was opened with an aquatic procession.[2] When the managing committee and the principal proprietors embarked near Maiden-lane on board one of the City barges, borrowed for the occasion, they were accompanied by several other barges, having on board bands of music, and decorated with flags and streamers in profusion. The procession went under the great tunnel through Islington, where the bands of music played several national airs, and the effect produced by the reverberation of the sound was grand beyond conception. Numerous barges, loaded with passengers, followed, accompanied by music. The

[1] *Vide* TOMLINS's *Yseldon*, pp. 86, 189, 190, 191. This charity was the subject of a pamphlet by William Hull (1851), who zealously contended that the profits of the estate were improperly applied, and that they should be given exclusively to the poor.

[2] *Morning Advertiser*, Aug. 2nd, 1820.

boatmen, in their Sunday clothes, were particularly numerous, and formed a most picturesque assembly, in their blue and white frocks, and hats decorated with ribbons. After the opening ceremonial, there was a struggle among the bargemen who should land the first produce on the wharf of the grand basin, and a cask of ale, the first thing landed from the barge "William," was drunk with loud huzzas by the assembled navigators to the prosperity of the undertaking.

The canal is eight miles and three-quarters in length, and by twelve locks has a fall of eighty-four feet to the Thames; the width upon the water-line is forty-eight feet, at the bottom thirty feet, with a mean depth of six feet. This undertaking originally consisted of twelve thousand two hundred and ninety-four shares, which now are divided among some six or seven hundred persons, and the management of affairs is vested in a committee of proprietors.

The tunnel, which it is our purpose more particularly to describe, is perfectly straight throughout its entire length, and commences, as we have already observed, near the White Conduit House, and terminates a few yards eastward of that part of the New River which flows between Colebrooke-row and the City-road. The entire length is two thousand nine hundred and ten feet, its height nineteen feet six inches, and width seventeen feet six inches. It passes under the bed of the New River, the stream of which was temporarily diverted while this great excavation was in progress. The stratum through which it is carried is the blue, or London clay, with occasional patches of sand, which overlays the district for a considerable extent, and at Highgate attains a maximum thickness of between six and seven hundred feet, and this abundance of material led to brick-making in the "fields near Islington" at a very early period.

The London clay is rich in fossil fruits, shells, and mammalian remains; and those globular masses of clayey limestone called *Septaria*, burnt for the manufacture of Roman cement, are found abundantly. The strata, says Lyell, called the London and plastic clay, has been studied for more than half a century, and about four hundred species of shells, fifty or more of fish, and several kinds of chelonians, came to light before a single mammifer was detected. This happened in 1839, when there were found the remains of a monkey, opossum, and bat. During the progress of the excavations for the tunnel, the vertebral remains of a crocodile were found, and they were afterwards deposited in the museum of the Geological Society at Somerset House.

This subterranean work was carried on to its completion with great success, and the houses on the land above, whose foundations were undermined by it, sustained no injury except in a few instances, in which, owing to a subsidence of the ground, a trifling damage was occasioned.

"The mode of passage at first was this:—As soon as the canal-boats approached the entrance, a plank was suspended over the water from the bow on each side, a navigator lay at his length along each plank, and by working his feet against the sides of the solid brick arch, impelled the vessel with considerable swiftness. In the case of barges whose width would not permit the use of planks, the only difference was that the navigator lay along the bow of the barge itself, and plied his feet in the same manner. In the spring of 1826, a steam-boat, constructed purposely for the service, was employed to tow a number of boats and barges at one time." "The passage by this mode," writes Cromwell, "has a truly *tartarean* aspect. The smoke, the fire, and the noise of the engine, uniting with the black gloom of the arch, the blackness of the water, the crashing of the vessels against the sides of the tunnel and each other, and the lurid light that glimmers beyond each distant extremity, form an aggregate of *infernalia* that must be witnessed to be adequately conceived. When a single canal-boat or barge arrives, and the navigators choose to proceed rather than wait the coming up of others, the original mode of passage is still resorted to."

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1819, vol. lxxxix., part II., page 105, is an engraving of the mouth of the Regent's Canal Tunnel, under the hill at Pentonville, with a view of White Conduit House and the shattered remains of the old conduit.

CHAPEL STREET.

At No. 45, Chapel-street, for a time resided Charles Lamb, the poet. He was born on the 18th of February, 1775, in Crown-row, Inner Temple, where his father was a clerk to Mr. Salt, one of the benchers. He was educated at Christ's Hospital. Whilst here he met with Coleridge, with whom he formed a friendship, which lasted to the end of his life. An impediment in his speech prevented his succeeding to an exhibition in one of our universities, and on leaving school he was in 1792 placed as a clerk in the accountant's office in the East India House; here, rising in position and salary, he continued until March, 1825, when he retired from his official life upon a pension of £450 a year. Alluding to his past life he once said that his printed works were but recreations, his real ones being contained in some hundreds of volumes on the shelves in Leadenhall-street. In a letter to Wordsworth he thus describes his release:—"The incomprehensibleness of my condition overwhelmed me. It was like passing from life into eternity. Every year to be as long as three, that is, to have three times as much real time—time that is my own in it." Like Johnson, Lamb loved town, and preferred it with all its excitement and gaiety to the country; with him there was an over-weening fondness for it. "I often shed tears," he says, "in the motley Strand for fulness of joy at so much life;" and again, after visiting the lake district, and clambering to the top of Skiddaw, though impressed with the grandeur and beauty of the scenery, he says, "Fleet-street and the Strand are better places to live in for good and all than amidst Skiddaw." Lamb was a bachelor to the end of his days, but he had a congenial companion in his sister. Circumstances of a painful nature caused him to have an anxious solicitude about her. In the year 1796 she had in a fit of insanity suddenly killed her mother, and she was by the jury's verdict delivered into the keeping of her brother. She became lucid, and only at intervals was it necessary to remove her to an asylum. With his beloved sister Lamb for a time resided at Colebrooke Cottage, Islington, on the banks of the New River, which he describes in a letter to Bernard Barton, dated September 2nd, 1823, as "a whitish house with six rooms in it, the New River (rather elderly by this time) runs (if a moderate walking pace can be so termed), close to the foot of the house, and behind is a spacious garden with vines (I assure you), pines, strawberries, parsnips, leeks, carrots, cabbages, to delight the heart of old Alcinous. I feel," says he, "like a great lord, never having had a house before." From here he removed to Enfield Chase, where he lived for about five years, and lastly to Edmonton. In September, 1834, whilst taking his accustomed daily walk on the London road, he stumbled against a stone, fell, and grazed his face. The accident appeared trifling, but erysipelas in the face supervened, and he died a short time after. He was buried in the churchyard at Edmonton. His sister survived him for some years, and then was laid in the same grave. His first appearance as an author was in a small volume of poems published in 1797, conjointly with Coleridge and Lloyd. His fame is, however, based upon his prose writings, and especially upon the "Essays of Elia," which were begun in the "London Magazine," and afterwards published in two small volumes. In conjunction with his sister he compiled three popular works for children, "Mrs. Leicester's School, or the History of several young ladies related by themselves;" "Tales from Shakspeare;" and the "Adventures of Ulysses."

In Chapel-street, at the early part of the present century, Messrs. J. and H. S. Storer carried on the business of publishers, and from their press issued numerous antiquarian and topographical works, amongst which was the first "History of Clerkenwell." This work appeared in 1828, and had the following title:—"History and Description of the Parish of Clerkenwell, embellished with numerous engravings, by J. and H. S. Storer. The historical department by T. Cromwell, author of 'Oliver Cromwell and his Times,' 'History of Colchester,' &c." The price of this work was, in boards, 12mo., 15s; in 8vo., with proofs of the plates on India paper, £1 10s., pages 448. Amongst other works which Messrs. Storer published were the following:—"The Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet; containing a series of 612 beautiful engravings of the most interesting objects of curiosity

in Great Britain;" "The Port Folio; a collection of engravings from antiquarian, architectural, and topographical subjects, curious works of art, &c., with descriptions;" "One hundred Views in Edinburgh and its Vicinity;" "Delineations of Gloucestershire;" "The Rural Walks of Cowper;" "History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Churches of Great Britain;" "An Elucidation of the Principles of English Architecture;" "Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton;" "A handsome Furniture Print of the newly erected College at Highbury;" "The University and City of Oxford;" "The Oxford Visitor;" "Walks in Oxford;" "Description of the Abbey at Fonthill;" and "Illustrations of the University of Cambridge."

WHITE LION STREET.[1]

At No. 57, in this street, is the Home for Penitent Females. By their connection with this excellent institution one thousand one hundred and thirty-two females have, during the last twenty-two years, been withdrawn from a life of vice and trained to habits of industry and Christian virtue. The number of females admitted free is limited to sixty. Should there be no vacancy on the free list an applicant may be admitted on the payment of 4s. 6d. a week until a vacancy occurs. A £10 payment annually will also obtain admission to this institution. A ladies' committee meets every Tuesday to receive applications.

WARREN STREET.

This street was erected about the year 1828, on some portion of the old White Conduit Tea Gardens, and was named after the proprietor, Mr. Stephen Warren, who died in 1827, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

CLAREMONT CHAPEL.

This commodious structure, which stands in the Pentonville-road, between Baron-street and the Angel Inn, was erected for the use of the Independent or Congregational Dissenters, by the late Thomas Wilson, Esq., of Highbury. The chapel cost upwards of £7,000 in building, and affords sitting accommodation for one thousand five hundred persons. It was opened on the 1st of October, 1819, when the Rev. Dr. T. Raffles, of Liverpool, and the Rev. J. Leifchild, of Bristol, preached to crowded assemblies. A congregation of independents was established here in March, 1820; and in June, 1822, they invited the Rev. John Blackburn, of Finchfield, in Essex, to become their stated minister. As such he continued up to the time of his decease in 1855. After many supplies the Rev. Anketill M. Henderson was invited to become the regular minister of this chapel, and on the 9th of November, 1856, he commenced his able ministry, which still continues.

The exterior of this chapel is pleasing; it has a handsome Ionic portico, and the entire façade is coated with Portland cement. The interior is well fitted up with pulpit and pews of oak. Until the year 1860 a spacious gallery extended entirely round the walls, forming an oval in the centre of the building; this arrangement was attended with many disadvantages, and so unpleasant was it found by experience to sit behind the preacher, that the pews both in the gallery and in the body of the chapel were almost entirely vacated by the members of the congregation. Alteration was determined upon; the cross gallery was removed, and the ends of the side galleries elongated to the wall; the back sittings were also removed from the body of the chapel, and the pulpit set back several feet. The galleries, as also the area of the building, are now lighted by a large gasher from the ceiling. The upper galleries are for the Sunday-school children, for whose instruction there are spacious rooms in the rear of the chapel. The entire cost of the repairs and improvements effected at this chapel in

[1] *Vide* page 552.

1860, was £400. The site of this chapel is freehold ground, purchased by T. Wilson, Esq., and by him vested in trustees for the use of Protestant Dissenters of the Independent denomination for ever.

THE ANGEL INN.

The Angel Inn, at the south-eastern extremity of Pentonville, or, as it is commonly but erroneously called, the "Angel at Islington," is situated in the parish of Clerkenwell, it being within the boundary line of the two parishes, which takes the centre of the roadway along High-street and the Liverpool-road, and terminates opposite the boundary-stone in the latter.

The seeming anomaly that one side of the High-street at this point should be in Clerkenwell parish, and the other in that of Islington, was explained from tradition by an aged contributor to the "Gentleman's Magazine" of October, 1823. The whole of this ground, says the writer, "from what is now the corner of the Back-road (the Liverpool-road) to the Angel Inn at the corner of the New-road, was forfeited by the parish of St. Mary, Islington, in consequence of the refusal of the Islingtonians to bury a pauper, found dead at the corner of the Back-road. The corpse being taken to Clerkenwell and buried there, the district was claimed and retained by that parish. This might probably have happened before a single house stood on the spot; certain it is that on the opposite side of the way the parish of Islington extends to the corner of the City-road, facing the Angel. I give you the tradition as I received it, at a distance of more than seventy years." In support of this tradition the writer adduces an instance of two good houses in Gough-square, Fleet-street, belonging to St. Dunstan's in the West, but surrounded by other houses pertaining to the parish of St. Bride's, which belong to the former parish, by reason of the latter refusing to bury a person found dead on the spot in front of the two houses.

The Back-road continued to be so called until the year 1826, when this appellation was exchanged for that by which it is at present denominated—the Liverpool-road.

The Angel Inn is said to have been established upwards of two hundred years. We read in "The City Remembrancer," 1665, vol. i., p. 339, that during the great plague of 1665, a citizen broke out of his house in Aldersgate-street, and attempted, but was refused, going into the Angel, or the White Horse, at Islington. At the Pyed House he pretended going into Lincolnshire, that he was entirely free from infection, and asked lodging for the night. The people of the inn had only a garret-bed empty, and that but for one night, expecting drovers with cattle next day. A servant showed him the room, which he gladly accepted. He was well dressed, and with a sigh said he had seldom lain in such a lodging, but would make a shift as it was but for one night, and in a dreadful time. He sat down on the bed, desiring a pint of warm ale, which was forgot. Next morning one asked what was become of the gentleman. The maid, starting, said she had never thought more of him. "He bespoke warm ale, but I forgot it." A person going up found him dead across the bed; his clothes were pulled off, his jaw fallen, his eyes open in a most frightful posture, the rug of the bed clasped hard in one hand. The alarm was great, having been free from distemper, which spread immediately to the houses round about. Fourteen died of the plague that week in Islington.

In the year 1699, one Bagnall owned the Angel Inn and lands thereabouts. Mr. Tomlins says:—"I consider that the Angel Inn stands in front of what was the field whereon the Sheepcote stood, and both which, in an indenture, dated 13 December, 1700,[1] were described as follows:—viz., 'All that the messuage, tenement, or Inn, commonly called or known by the sign of the Angel, sit., lying, and being in Iselden, *alias* Islington, in the county of Mdd'x.; and also all that close or parcel of land in Isledon, otherwise Islington aforesaid, lying between the said messuage, tenement, or Inn, containing 2a.; and also all that the House called, or known, by the name of the Sheep-house or Sheep-pens, standing and being in Islington upon the said close.'"[2]

[1] Claus' 12 Gul. and Mar., p. 4, n. 25

[2] Tomlins's *Yseldon*, p, 186.

The Angel Inn formerly was noted as being a halting-place for travellers approaching London from the north; who if they arrived after nightfall, generally waited here till the morrow for fear of the thieves who infested the road beyond leading to the metropolis, and who robbed with impunity and sometimes murdered those who had the temerity to proceed on their journey. Persons having to cross the fields to Clerkenwell usually went in a body for mutual protection; and it was customary at the Angel to ring a bell to summon the party together before starting. And further, "Persons walking from the City to Islington, in the evening, waited near the end of St. John-street, until a sufficient party had collected, who were then escorted by an armed patrol appointed for that purpose."

From the earliest times this appears to have been a notorious spot for robbers and bad characters. A fellow named James Dalton committed depredations near this place, notwithstanding the reward of £5 which was offered in 1721 for every highwayman taken and convicted of robberies within five miles of London.[1] The life of James Dalton presents a curious picture of the unsettled state of the metropolis one hundred and thirty years ago. Dalton's father was a Dublin tailor, who enlisted and went to Flanders, came home, turned card-sharper, and was hung. Dalton's mother was transported for thieving. The boy turned shoplifter at eleven years old, and (as soon as he grew stronger) became a footpad in St. Giles's. Transported for a robbery in the Islington-road, he joined a mutiny at sea, and escaped. Returning home, he was seized for a robbery at Bristol, and transported to Virginia; he escaped, and took to stealing slaves. On returning to London, this thief confessed that in three months he and another man had picked no less than five hundred pockets. He was the first robber who ventured on stopping coaches in London streets. His first crimes of this kind were in Castle-yard, Holborn, Hatton-garden, and St. Paul's Churchyard. On Monday night, December 1st, 1730, Dr. Mead,[2] the fashionable physician of Dr. Johnson's time, who married a blacksmith's daughter in Fetter-lane, and had been a friend of Pope, Newton, and Bentley, was stopped by Dalton, in Holborn, near Furnival's Inn. The man presented a pistol at the coachman, ordered him to stop, demanded the doctor's watch and money, and told the footman he was a dead man if he dared to jump down. The servant, however, did jump down, and cried "Stop thief!" A shopman pursuing the highwaymen, the latter flashed a pistol at him, but was eventually run down in Leather-lane, taken to the Black Bull Inn, in Holborn, and searched. Powder and shot were found in his pockets. He told the men searching him that they could not hang him for that, but that he wished he had done murder, for he had rather be hanged than not. He was tried at the Old Bailey, and fined forty marks. The April following, this same highwayman was indicted for robbing a linen pedlar in the fields between Tottenham-court and Bloomsbury. Dalton had been drinking with this man at the Adam and Eve public-house at Paneras, and, it being night and the way lonely, he bought a link to light himself and the pedlar home. At the end of the second field Dalton pulled out a pistol, swore at the pedlar, knocked him down, threatened to shoot him through the head, and robbed him. He was found guilty, and hung at Tyburn, May the 12th, 1731.



THE ANGEL INN.

[1] Applebee's *Journal*, September 30th, 1721.

[2] This gentleman must not be confounded with the Dr. Mead mentioned at page 101.

We read in a newspaper dated January 21st, 1756:—"On Wednesday night last, about six o'clock, Mary Prior, of Coldbath-fields, in her return home from Islington, where she had been to sell poultry, &c., was attacked near the New River Head by three men, who used her in a most vile manner, robbed her of 23s., and struck out her left eye with a butcher's cleaver."

Manorial Courts were formerly held at the Angel Inn, and were so from a very early period, as will appear from the copy of a legal instrument published in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for February, 1768, and discovered at Bradfield, in Yorkshire, in the town chest, with other archives. The process seems to have arisen from a dispute betwixt the parishioners of Islington and William Dickenson, bailiff to the then Earl of Shrewsbury, Gilbert Talbot, and though written in the hand of the time without date, the accompanying paper leads the copyist to think the date to be about the year 1615. As it is interesting from the certain knowledge it affords of the joviality that characterised the Holy Thursday meetings of the Court Baron and Court Leet in former days, we submit it *verbatim* for the delectation of our readers:—

"At a Court Leet holden before the Fidlers of Islington upon the feast of Jervas Somersall, gent., in the chamber of armes and scutcheons, couched under the sign of the Angel, there it was enacted as followeth, celebrated with dancing.

"That William Dickenson in consideration of 4d. paid to him by William Revell and of respiting his examination in the Chancerie this Trinitie tearme, did assume and promisse in ease all matters in question betwixt him and the parishioners of Bradfield were not ended, or accorded in the interim that he would appeare in Chancerie next Michelmas tearme within eight day of All Saints' to hear the judgment of the doctors of the Court and be examined accordingly, or in default thereof he would forfeit to the said William Revell for the use of the said parishioners the sum of XXX lb. (sic).

"Thomas Hanson.
"Jervas Hanson."

It seems probable that this instrument was intended as an undertaking, given in regard to some disputed property in the manor of St. John of Jerusalem, and the hilarity and good humour which usually prevailed at these manorial courts may account for the drollery introduced into the above document; the instrument was probably drawn up at the feast usually given on court days in the court-room, which apartment might have been hung round with arms and military equipments.

The ancient house presented the usual features of a large old country inn, having a long front with an overhanging tiled roof and two rows of windows, twelve in each row, independent of those on the basement story. The principal entrance was beneath a projection, which extended along a portion of the front, and had a wooden gallery at top. The inn-yard, approached by a gateway in the centre, was nearly a quadrangle, having double galleries supported by plain columns and carved pilasters, with caryatides and other figures. A coloured drawing of the old inn-yard hangs in the present coffee-room. The interior or court-yard, as it existed more than a century ago, has been preserved by Hogarth in his print of a "Stage Coach," 1747. This engraving represents an old-fashioned coach preparing to start; a portly dame has just been assisted to a place inside, to the evident alarm of those who are seated; on the top of the coach two male passengers are reclining, and in a large basket, which it was customary in former times to attach to stage coaches, is seated an old woman enjoying a pipe. An election procession appears to be occasioning some excitement in the yard. On the right-hand side of the gateway, affixed to the wall, is a large signboard, on which is painted an angel with expanding wings, and beneath is written "The Old Angel Inn. Thomas Bates, from London." Formerly several large elm trees stood opposite the Angel, giving it a rural aspect.

A lease of the entire premises, for seventy years, for rebuilding, was sold by auction, on the 26th January, 1819. For some time previous to this, the estate had been in Chancery; in the advertisement of sale, which appeared in the "Times" newspaper of the above date, the advantages of position, and the consequent value of the property, are graphically set forth. It is therein described as standing at the corner of the road to Paddington, on the Great North-road, at the junction of the City-road, Goswell-street, and St. John-street-road, forming a central post-house and focus for all the communications to and from the heart of London, the east and west ends of the

town. The booking-office and depôt for passengers travelling north, and long celebrated as the meeting-house of salesmen, farmers, and graziers, attending Smithfield; the assemblies of Islington and Pentonville, the public trusts, &c. We are farther told that "the site will provide ample accommodation for thirty-five beds, an assembly-room thirty-six feet by nineteen feet, dining rooms, coffee room thirty feet by nineteen feet, bar-tap, abundant culinary offices, ample cellarage, booking-office, a warehouse, and adjoining will be a covered ride, stabling for near forty horses, stable master's house, coach-houses, large yard." At the rebuilding of the Angel Inn, two large houses with shops were erected in High-street, on part of the ancient site. The present building stands ninety-nine feet above the Trinity high-water mark.

In 1767, a gentleman, named Davers, descended from Sir Robert Davers, of Rougham, in the county of Suffolk, died at the Angel Inn by poison. A card, which he was seen to have a few hours before his death, contained the following words:—"I have for fifteen years past suffered more indigence than ever gentleman before submitted to, I am neglected by my acquaintance, traduced by my enemies, and insulted by the vulgar." Beneath the above was written:—

> Of laudnum an ample dose
> Must all my present ills compose,
> But the best of laudnum, all
> I want, not resolution, but a ball.[1]



ANGEL INN YARD, FROM A DRAWING MADE IN 1819.

Rush, the murderer, wrote a letter from the Angel Inn to his son, on April 28th, 1848. He said therein, "I have at length got Jermy in a fix, and the old rogue and villain knows it well."

In former times the City huntsmen had a dwelling about the spot where the Angel now stands. We may add that the common hunt dates from a charter granted to the citizens to have "chase and hunt." Henry III. granted a privilege in 1225 to the citizens of London, to hunt once a year within a circuit of twenty miles of their own city. By the end of the sixteenth century they had neglected this sport, not for want of taste, says Stow, but the leisure to pursue it. Strype, however, as late as the reign of George I., reckons among the modern amusements of Londoners, "riding on horseback and hunting with my Lord Mayor's hounds when the common hunt goes out." The sport is admirably ridiculed in an old ballad called "London customs."

We find this neighbourhood referred to in "Boz's" "Oliver Twist," as follows:—"As John Dawkins objected to their entering London before nightfall, it was nearly eleven o'clock when they reached the turnpike at Islington. They crossed from the Angel into St. John's-road, struck down the small street which terminates at Sadler's Wells Theatre, through Exmouth-street and Coppice-row, down the little court by the side of the workhouse, across the classic ground which once bore the name of Hockley-in-the-hole, thence into Little Saffron-hill, and so into Saffron-hill-the-Great, along which the Dodger scudded at a rapid pace, directing Oliver to follow close at his heels."

[1] *Mirror*, vol. xiii., p. 256.

THE PEACOCK TAVERN.

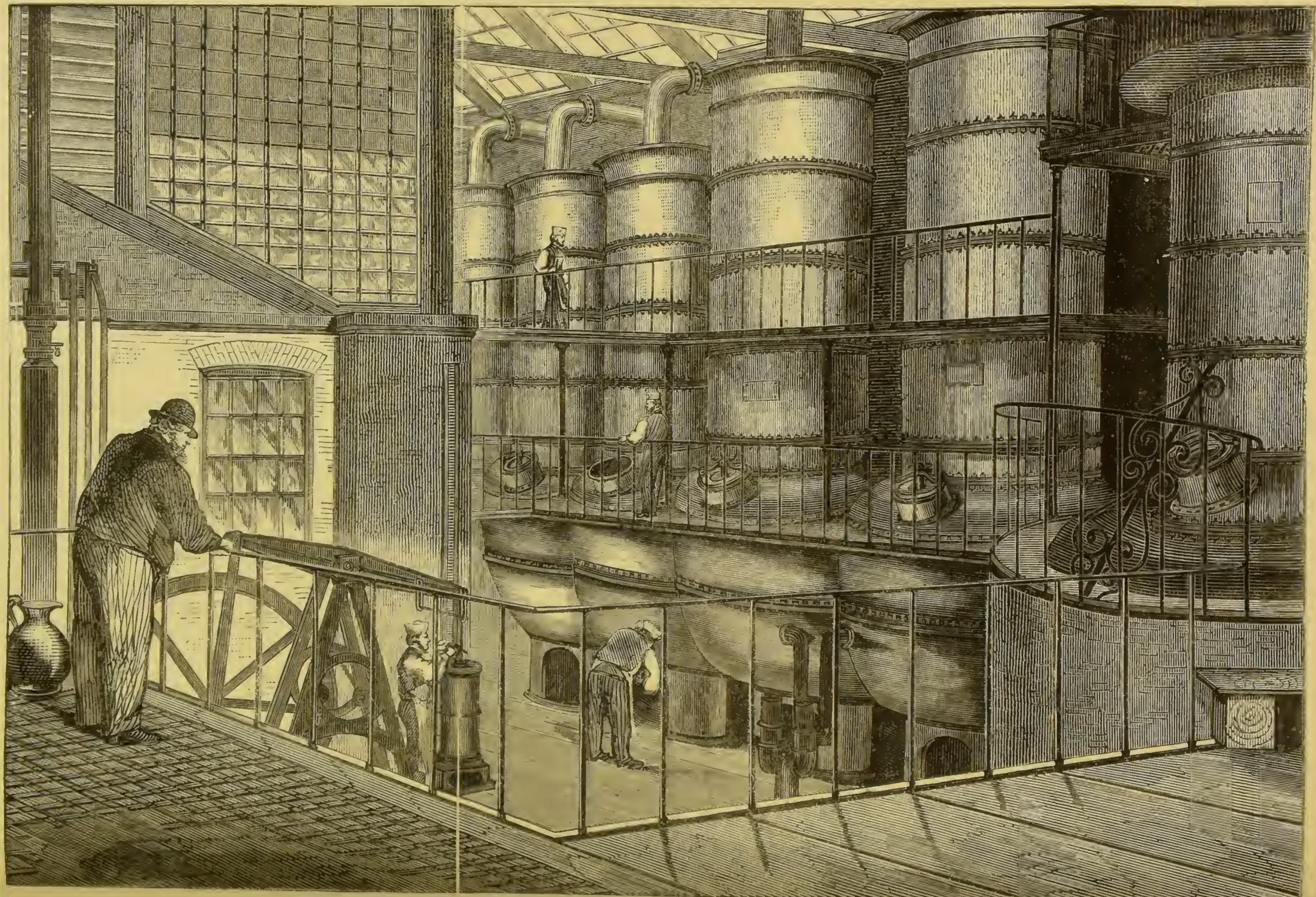
A few paces north of the Angel stands the Peacock, an inn no less celebrated in former days, when the mail and stage coach afforded the only legitimate mode of travelling to a long distance.

Well we remember, and most of our readers will recollect, too, the hurry and excitement that once prevailed about this spot on the arrival and departure of the mails and coaches proceeding to or returning from the North. But such things belong only to the past. The rail has superseded the road; the swift locomotive has rivalled the "four-in-hand;" and the commodious railway carriage has replaced the narrow coupé of the mail coach. But, worse than all, the merry twang of the guard's horn has been exchanged for the hideous screech of the steam whistle. And, as a consequence of these innovations, the house under notice has, like many others in its vicinity, lost its ancient importance. This inn, until very lately, retained its old appearance internally, though for many years a covering of stucco and paint had obscured its characteristic exterior, but during the year 1857, by the aid of large plate-glass windows and other arrangements of modern shop architecture, it has been so metamorphosed as to be no longer recognisable save by its old painted signboard, a peacock, with its feathers displayed, placed over the principal entrance.

THE WHITE LION TAVERN.[1]

Not far distant, at the corner of White Lion-street, stands a public-house and wine vaults, whose modern embellishments might deceive the passer-by as to its antiquity unless he happen to notice a white lion rampant sculptured in alto-relief on a stone slab let into the front wall of an adjacent dwelling, bearing date 1714, that of its erection, when it was a large inn, much resorted to by drovers of cattle and others. It then comprised three adjoining houses on the south, and a range of buildings on the north, which latter were pulled down to make an opening into the present White Lion-street, which was built between the years 1770 and 1780. The premises now called and used as the White Lion Tavern are evidently only part of much larger premises, which, early in the last century, bore the same name. This is apparent from the fact that the three houses which now immediately adjoin the White Lion on the south (towards the Angel Inn) are of the same elevation as that tavern; and in the centre of the whole, immediately above the shop of one of the houses, is the carved lion before mentioned, and the date 1714. This now forms no part of the White Lion Tavern; but no doubt, when the whole premises were built, it occupied the middle of the structure, of which it forms an actual part, for upon investigation it is found to be solidly built into the edifice. It is tolerably certain that a part of the premises now occupied by shops was originally a gateway through the front of the tavern into a yard similar to those attached to other ancient inns. There are now in the east front of the White Lion Tavern strong wooden brest summers, which no doubt supported the erection over the gateway; and that there was a yard surrounded by a gallery is proved by the remains of door openings in the upper part of the back walls of the premises, which are now bricked up. At one time a bowling-green was attached to the tavern, but that has long since been built upon. Some alterations have been made in the lower part of the east front of the tavern since Christmas, 1863, by the present proprietor, Mr. Charles J. Gapp, in whose family the house has been since the year 1809. This gentleman has had the date 1668 cut into the front, on the faith of a tradesman's token relating to the old White Lion, and which bears that date, and a specimen of which is now in Mr. Gapp's possession. The present building, though upwards of a century and a half old, was preceded by a

[1] *Vide* pages 11, 518, 531, and 543.



INTERIOR OF THE DISTILLERY OF MESSRS. NICHOLSON, ST. JOHN STREET.

more ancient structure, to which the following allusion occurs in "Barnabee's Journal," written about the middle of the seventeenth century :—

Thence to Islington at Lion,
Where a juggling I did spy one,
Nimble with his mates consorting,
Mixing cheating with his sporting.

About this period one Christopher Busbee kept the "Whit Lyon in Islington." We find in the Beaufoy Collection at Guildhall a token of "Christopher Bvsbee, at" (a lion passant regardant) ; and on the reverse, "Whit. Lyon. in. Islington. His halfpeny, 1668."[1] Previously to this the White Lion was in existence, for in the parish register of Islington are the following entries :—"Richard Wood, of the Wyte Lyon, of the parish of Clerkenwell, was buried the 16 of April, 1594 ;" and "Mris. Wood, of the Whyte Lyon in Islington, in the parish of Clerkenwell, was buried the 29 of Deer., 1596." In the "London Gazette" for July 26th, 1686, we read that there was "stolen or strayed out of the grounds of Mr. Kallow, at the White Lyon, at Islington, a dapple grey mare."

THE THREE HATS.

Still farther northward, in the High-street, No. 19, near the corner of the Liverpool-road, is a house which until very lately was a public-house, known as the Three Hats, but which is at present the Islington Branch Office of the London and County Bank. The now existing building is of recent date, having been erected in the year 1839, when its venerable predecessor was laid low, owing to the injury its roof sustained from a fire, which consumed two adjacent houses. The "Gentleman's Magazine," of October, 1823, vol. xciii., part II., page 113, has an engraving of the old house, representing also several ancient timber-framed dwellings adjoining it on either side, with their bay windows, overhanging storeys, and gable ends. It is very probable that the sign of the Three Hats was borrowed from the Northampton Arms, which has, as part of its charge, three esquires' helmets, which might be easily converted into three hats by a person careless about heraldry.

The old tavern had a widely extended reputation about a century ago for the then unique feats of horsemanship which were exhibited on the grounds in the rear of the house. Here one of the first equestrian performers in England, an Irishman, Thomas Johnson, made his *debut* in 1758, which led the better known Philip Astley, then a horse soldier, to practice similar feats for the amusement of his comrades, but ultimately with great profit to himself.

This novel exhibition excited the interest and obtained the patronage of the nobility and even of royalty, for on the 17th of July, 1766, his Royal Highness the Duke of York was at the Three Hats to see the extraordinary feats of horsemanship which were exhibited there, "when there were near five hundred spectators." In 1767 Johnson was succeeded by another equestrian, of the name of Sampson, whose appearance was announced in due form :—"Horsemanship, April 29, 1767.—Mr. Sampson will begin his famous feat of horsemanship next Monday, at a commodious place built for that purpose, in a field adjoining the Three Hats. The doors to be opened at four, and Mr. Sampson will mount at five. A proper band of music is engaged for the entertainment of those ladies and gentlemen who are pleased to honour him with their company."

From a reference to the Three Hats in Bickerstaffe's comedy of the "Hypocrite," published in 1768, it would seem to have been then a place of Sunday resort for the sons and daughters of pleasure. In this clever comedy, Mawworm says, "Till I went after him (Dr. Cantwell), I was little better than the devil. My conscience was tanned with sin like a piece of neat's leather, and had no more feeling than the sole of my shoe, always a roving after fantastical delights, I used to go every Sunday evening to the Three Hats, at Islington—mayhap your ladyship may know it. I was a great lover of skittles, but now I can't bear them."

[1] *Vide* pages 11, 531.

But to return to Sampson. Anxious to obtain favour with the public, he introduced his wife to notice, as the first female equestrian performer in England, in the summer of 1767, and offered his apology for so doing in an advertisement of her performances in the "Public Advertiser," of the 23rd of July, as follows :—

"Horsemanship at Dingley's, Three Hats, Islington.—Mr. Sampson begs to inform the public that besides the usual feats which he exhibits, Mrs. Sampson, to diversify the entertainment, and prove that the fair sex are by no means inferior to the male, either in courage or agility, will, this and every evening during the summer season, perform various exercises in the same art, in which she hopes to acquit herself to the universal approbation of those ladies and gentlemen whose curiosity may induce them to honour her attempt with their company."

In 1770, the following advertisement appeared :—

"At the Three Hats, Islington, this day, the 1st of May (1770), will be played a grand match at that ancient and much-renowned manly diversion, called Double Stick, by a sett of chosen Young Men at that exercise from different parts of the West Country, for two guineas, given free ; those who break the most heads to bear away the prize. Rules and forms as usual upon those occasions. The players to be at the place of performance at three o'clock, to settle among themselves, as they are to begin precisely at four.

"Before the above-mentioned diversion begins, Mr. Sampson and his young German will display alternately on one, two, and three horses, various surprising and curious Feats of famous Horsemanship in like manner as at the Grand Jubilee, at Stratford-upon-Avon. Admittance 1s. each person.

"N.B.—If the weather should prove bad, the public may depend on not being disappointed, as the whole diversions will be performed the next fair evening."

Sampson had a formidable rival in the immediate vicinity of the Three Hats, in the person of one Price, to whose success at Dobney's we have before adverted.[1] He proved, however, no open enemy, but an insidious friend, who contrived to render Sampson incapable of riding on horseback, by ensnaring him into gay company, and Sampson was accordingly placed under the necessity of disposing of his equestrian stud, which found a purchaser in one Coningham, who, in 1771, sought to revive the declining reputation of this amphitheatre by issuing the following attractive handbill of the performances :—

"Coningham's Horsemanship.—Mr. Coningham presents himself to the public, and as he has bought Mr. Sampson's horses, he will perform during this week every evening, at the Three Hatts, Islington. First—He rides on gallop, standing upright, on a single horse, three times round the room without holding. Second—He rides a single horse on full speed, dismounts, fires a pistol, and performs that boasted feat of Hughes', leaping over him backwards and forwards for forty times without ceasing. Also flies over three horses on full speed, leaps over one and two horses on full speed as they leap the bar, plays a march on the flute, without holding, upon two horses, standing upright. The public are desired to take notice, that I do not throw myself over the horses with my feet touching the horses' hind legs, but my feet over the saddles, and will perform every other feat that is performed by any horseman. Mr. and Mrs. Sampson, Mr. Brown, &c., will perform to make these nights the completest in this kingdom. The tailor and sailor upon the drollest horses in the kingdom. The doors to be opened exactly at five, and to mount at a quarter after five. Admittance in the front seats, two shillings ; and the back seats, one. Mr. Coningham will engage to fly through a hogshead of fire upon two horses' backs, without touching them, and, for a single person, will perform activity with any man in the world."

Sampson seems, however, to have sufficiently recovered in health as to have been enabled to resume his equestrian performances in 1772, as will appear from the following holiday programme of amusements at the Three Hats, in the "Gazetteer," of June 6th, in that year :—

"Horsemanship, by Mr. and Mrs. Sampson, at his original Riding School, the Three Hats, Islington.

"On Whitsun-Monday, a young gentleman will undertake to walk and pick up one hundred eggs (each egg to be the distance of one yard apart) and put them in a basket within an hour and fifteen minutes ; if any egg breaks he puts down one in its place, for a wager of ten guineas. And on Whitsun-Tuesday will be run for an holland shift by a number of smart girls, six times round the School.

"*** Mr. Sampson intends to learn ladies and gentlemen to ride in the completest manner. Horses stand at livery, broke in, or managed for the road or field."

[1] *Vide* page 517.

Bromley, in his "Catalogue of Engraved Portraits," mentions a folio engraving of Sampson, without date or engraver's name.

Public support soon failed, and the Three Hats fell into disuse for horse-riding in consequence of the superior performances of Hughes and Astley elsewhere. Astley had commenced his performances in a field near the Halfpenny Hatch, Lambeth, about 1765, receiving such gratuities as the spectators were pleased to bestow, and his "manly feats of horsemanship soon attracted the interest of his Majesty George III., before whom, by command, he afterwards exhibited."[1] Such exalted patronage as this soon determined the fate of less skilful equestrianism at the Three Hats, and we should not have known there had ever been such amusements in this locality were it not for the advertisements and occasional notices in the public journals of the time, now yellow and faded from age. After the Three Hats fell into disuse as a place for equestrian performances it remained as a favourite tea gardens for many years afterwards, until the ground at the back of the house was built over.

In the "Morning Chronicle," for July 21st, 1779, we read:—"Yesterday morning upwards of twenty fellows who were dancing with their ladies at the Three Hats, Islington, were taken by the constables as fit persons to serve his Majesty, and lodged in Clerkenwell Bridewell, in order to be carried before the commissioners."

After the ground at the back of the Three Hats had been built over, the house remained as a public-house until January 6th, 1839, when, in consequence of a fire which destroyed the two adjoining houses, the roof of the Three Hats was found to be so much damaged that the entire building was condemned, and accordingly in April, 1839, the whole was demolished.

[1] For an account of Astley and his numerous amphitheatres, *vide Mirror*, vol. xxxvii., p. 397.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DISTRICT OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PHILIP, CLERKENWELL.

The Formation and Boundaries of the District—The Ward of St. Philip. BAGNIGGE WELLS-ROAD:—The Ancient Condition of Bagnigge Wells—Nell Gwynn resided at Bagnigge House—Tablet relating to the House—The House and its Garden—The Pinder of Wakefield—Discovery of Mineral Springs—The description of Bagnigge Wells by Dr. Bevis—Black Mary's Hole—The Spring there—Spring-place—Elevation of the Ground—Overflow of the water—The Fox at Bay Public-house—Robbers frequent the spot—Bagnigge Purging Water described—Bagnigge Chalybeate Water described—The Wells Opened to the Public—Poems thereon—Description of the Gardens—Visitors thereto—Engravings of Bagnigge Wells—Griffith, the Organist—The Long Room—The Distorting Mirror—Amusements at the Gardens—Songs thereon—The Proprietors of Bagnigge Wells—Mr. Crosby's Drawings of, and Notes on the Gardens and Tavern—The Target Ground—Randell's Tile Kilns—Myddelton Gardens—Built upon—The Congregational Church—Vernon Chapel—Clerkenwell Police Court and Station—Proposed Change of Name of Bagnigge Wells-road—The Gymnasium—The London Gymnastic Society. GRANVILLE-SQUARE:—Formation of—Formerly called Sharp-square—St. Philip's Church—Building of—Description of—Ministers of. BAKER-STREET:—Building of—Union Public-house—The Bull in the Pound. LLOYD-SQUARE:—Erection of. AMWELL-STREET:—Building of—George Cruikshank—His Works—Rowland Nash—His Family—Clerkenwell Parochial Charity School—Honeycoat, the Master—Play Acted at the School—Progress of the School. UPPER ROSOMAN-STREET:—The Catholic Church—Early History of—The Vestry Hall—The Former State of the Parish Streets—The Commissioners for Paving, &c. WILMINGTON-SQUARE:—The Formation of—The Rev. W. J. Hall—Precious Metals Association. WILLIAM-STREET:—The Schools. MERLIN'S-PLACE:—Merlin's Cave Public-house—The Original Merlin's Cave at Richmond—The Fortifications—Political Meetings—Hunt, the Reformer. EXMOUTH-STREET:—Admiral Lord Exmouth—Braynes-row—Joe Grimaldi.

THIS district was formed by Order of her Majesty in Council, dated 29th January, 1840, and was assigned to the Church of St. Philip out of the district of St. Mark.

The boundary line of this district is thus defined in the "London Gazette:"—"Commencing at the north-east corner of Exmouth-street it proceeds northward up the middle of Upper Rosoman-street and Amwell-street to the south-east corner of Upper Baker-street; thence turning westward it goes down the middle of Upper Baker-street to the south-east corner of Lloyd-square; turning northward it goes along the eastern side of Lloyd-square down the centre of Lloyd-street, to the northwest corner of Lloyd-street, then turns down the middle of Soley-terrace westward, to the south-east corner of the first street, turning northward out of Soley-terrace, proposed to be called Sandford-street; then turns northward till it meets the boundary line of the district parish at the back of Queen's-row; it then turns westward and follows the line till it reaches the Bagnigge Wells-road at the bottom of Penton-place; thence it turns southward till it arrives at the north-west end of Exmouth-street; it then turns eastward till it reaches the north-east end of Exmouth-street, whence it originally set out."

The ward of St. Philip contains a larger area than the church or chapelry district. It includes the space enclosed by a line drawn from the parish boundary at Battle-bridge eastward down the centre of Pentonville-road to the end of Amwell-street; thence southward down the middle of that street and Upper Rosoman-street; thence westward down the centre of Exmouth-street and Cobham-row to the parish boundary in Dorrington-street; and thence along the western boundary of the parish past the House of Correction and along Bagnigge Wells-road to Battle-bridge.

About thirty years ago almost the whole of this district was pleasant fields and nursery gardens, which since then have rapidly disappeared, and the whole area is now entirely built upon. The inhabitants of the district are upwards of nine thousand in number.

BAGNIGGE WELLS ROAD.

There is a probability that this road, which leads from King's-cross to Coppice-row, formed part of "the old and auncient high waie to High Bernet from Porte Poole now Grayes Inne as also from Clerkenwell," which was described by Norden, in the time of Elizabeth, as passing east of St. Pancras Church, and leaving Highgate on the west through a lane called Longwich-lane, better known as Hagbush-lane, which appears to have been the most ancient road from London to the north. Mr. Tomlins says in his "Yseldon," p. 25, note, in reference to Bagnigge-road:—"This description must have existed from very early times, for I find in a charter of William de Ewell, prebendary of Vinesbury, otherwise Haliwell, without date, but made in the thirteenth century, Domino Thoma de Basnigge, one of the attesting witnesses. Lib. A sive Pilosus penes, Dec & cap. Sci Pauli, fol. 50, b."

Dr. Stukeley observes that the road from the City originally went alongside the brook by Bagnigge; the road which followed the course of the Fleet was so called, the river itself being named "Bagnigge Wash," and the wall of Bagnigge House, "Bagnigge Wall." In several old maps this road is distinguished as "the road to Hamsted," and "the road to Hockley-in-the-Hole."[1]

The great feature of Bagnigge Wells-road was the famed place,

BAGNIGGE WELLS.[2]

There is a tradition that Nell Gwynn, the famous mistress of Charles II., had a summer residence near Bagnigge Wells-road, pleasantly situated amid the fields, and on the banks of the Fleet. Bagnigge House, the one in which Miss Nelly lived, was frequently visited by her royal paramour, and his brother, the Duke of York; and on these occasions she entertained them to the best of her ability with concerts, breakfasts, &c.[3] In some ancient deeds the ground where this house stood is called Bagnigge-vale. Bagnigge House stood on the site of the present Phœnix Brewery. It is probable that at a very early period it was converted into a place of public entertainment. This seems to be apparent from a small, square, incised tablet, about which Dr. Bevis wrote in 1760, as follows:—"On a square stone, over an old gothic portal taken down about three years ago, and now replaced over the door from the high road to the house, is cut the following inscription":—

S T

THIS IS BAGNIGGE
HOUSE NEARE
THE PINDER A
WAKEFIELDE
1680.

"The door from the high road," before-mentioned, was a low doorway, leading to the brewery garden. This was situate in the Bagnigge Wells-road, a little to the south-west of the Clerkenwell Police-court and station. We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," June, 1847, that "The gate and inscription still remain, and will be found, where we saw them a few weeks since, in the road called Coppice-row, on the left going from Clerkenwell towards the New-road." A writer in the "Builder," January, 1863, says:—"Twenty years or so ago this was a green and pleasant scene. In

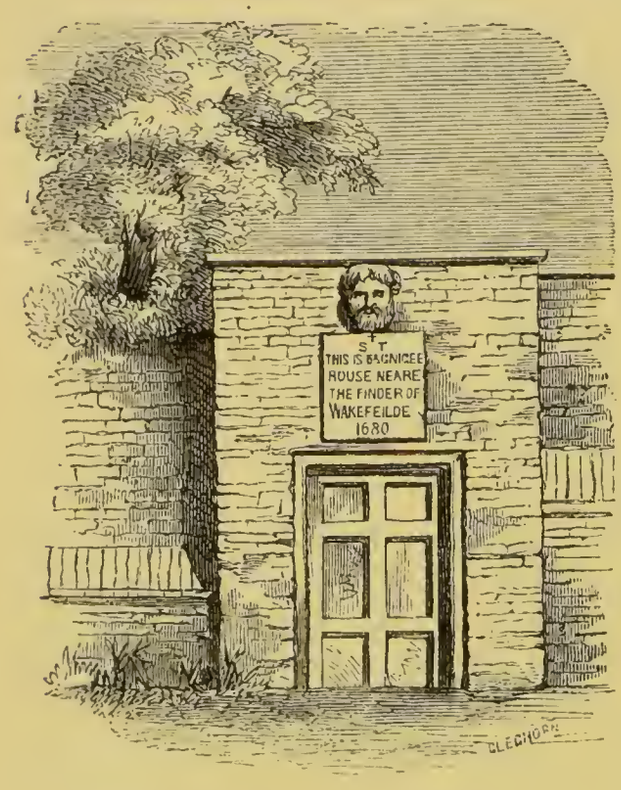
[1] *Itinerarum*, ed. 1776.

[2] This account of Bagnigge Wells has been added by the Editor.

[3] *Roscius Anglicus*, ed. 1789.

the garden there were several fruit trees, and on the north side stood a picturesque gabled house, which had the appearance of being as old as Queen Elizabeth's days; the date on the stone, however, does not agree with that. The front was covered with a luxuriant growth of vines. At the back of the house, but evidently of more recent date, stood one of the small old-fashioned breweries. Of late years, the house, garden, and gateway began to show evident signs of neglect; the trees faded, the house became ruinous, and the doorway and even the inscription were frequently plastered over by the bill-stickers. At length we missed the buildings, and noticed that the inscription was in a dangerous condition. On again passing this way, we found that new houses were in course of erection on this site and the ground adjoining, and were well pleased that, although it had been necessary to remove the doorway and the inscription, care had been taken to recut the lettering on the stone, and to fix it in a prominent part of the front of the new premises."

The tablet, when it was removed to the doorway, was placed under a grotesque head. For years the inscription was almost illegible in consequence of the decay of the stone.



ANCIENT STONE FROM BAGNIGGE HOUSE.

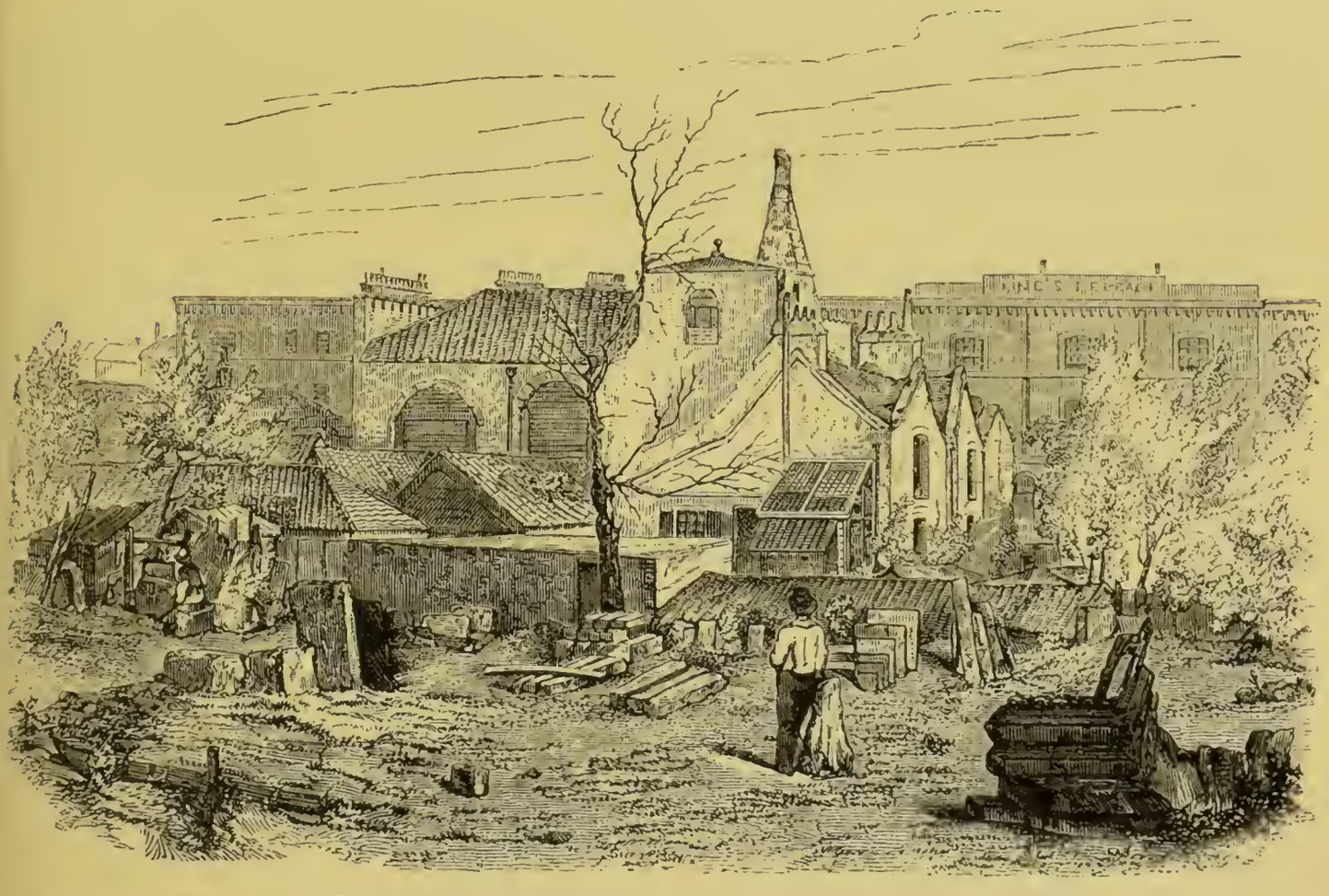
"The Pinder a Wakefeilde," referred to in the inscription, was the sign of an old public-house in the Gray's Inn-road, near Chad's Well, which sign is retained by a modernized building. It was formerly a large and ancient hostelry, situate in a country roadway, for the reception and entertainment of waggoners and other travellers on their way to London. Until recently, this place showed marks of antiquity, but these have been disguised by modern adornments. In former days the Pinder of Wakefield and Bagnigge House were probably next door neighbours, although now the respective sites are hidden from each other's view by many intervening streets of houses. Malcolm says that it would seem that "the proprietor of Bagniggo House was concerned with the Pinder, or he would hardly have pointed it out as a place well known."

George à Green, the Pinder of Wakefield, must have been a great man, as "with his back to a thorn, and his foot to a stone," he thrashed no less a man than Robin Hood himself. In an old play, "The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington," act. III., scene 2, that lawless hero, Scarlet, says:—"And wanton Wakefield's Pinner lov'd us well." We find in the Registers of the Stationers' Company the following entry:—"Primo die Aprilis (1595), Cuthbert Burbye Entred for his copie, &c., an Enterlude called the Pynder of Wakefield. vj*d.*" This was a play printed in 1599, "by Simon Stafford for Cuthbert Burby." It has been imputed, but on very slight grounds, to Robert Greene, who is said also to have acted the part of the Pinder in it. Some odd misprints have been preserved in the reprint in 1831: thus, on p. 200, "Here's a carouse to good King Edward's health," stand "Edward's self," &c.

Bagnigge House was chiefly brought into note by the discovery, rather more than a century ago, of the medicinal properties of two mineral springs which were in the garden belonging to it. We learn from a pamphlet entitled "An experimental enquiry concerning the contents, qualities, and medical virtues of the two mineral waters of Bagnigge Wells, near Pentonville, London; with directions for drinking them, and some account of their success in obstinate cases; by John Bevis, M.D.," 1760, 8vo.,[1] that "These wells are a little way out of London, in the high road from

[1] This pamphlet was re-printed in 1819 by William Mason, 21, Clerkenwell-green, pp. 72.

Coppice-row, near Spafields, which, about a quarter of a mile further, at Battle-bridge turnpike, comes into the great new road from Paddington to Islington, affording an easy access to the springs for coaches from all parts: and the footpath from Tottenham-court-road, by Southampton-row, Russell-square, and Guildford-street, to Pentonville, Islington, and Clerkenwell, running close by the Wells, is no less convenient for such as prefer walking exercise. The place where the waters issue is environed with hills and rising ground every way but to the south, and consequently screened from the inclemency of the more chilling winds. Primrose-hill rises westward; on the north-west are the more distant elevations of Hampstead and Highgate; on the north and north-east there is a pretty sudden ascent to Islington and the New River Head, and a near prospect of London makes up the rest of the circumference, with the magnificent structure of St. Paul's, full in front, and nearly upon a level with Bagnigge House. Over one of the chimney pieces is the garter of the order of



THE REMAINS OF THE RESIDENCE OF NELL GWYNN, BAGNIGGE WELLS, IN MARCH, 1844.

St. George in raised work, and over another the royal arms on one side, and on the other side the same arms joined with several more. Between them is the bust of a woman in a Roman dress, let deep into a circular cavity of the wall bordered with festoons of delf earth in the natural colours and glazed. It is said to represent Mrs. Eleanor Gwin, a favourite of Charles the Second, who sometimes made this place her summer residence. Such a situation, however agreeable in itself, and favourable to the production and maintenance of springs, should seem, nevertheless, to expect their waters to be frequently contaminated and spoiled by inundations from large and sudden rains; and yet that these springs ever suffer the least damage on that account does not appear, since they are found to retain their genuine clearness, mineral flavours, and virtues, through all seasons and vicissitudes of weather. The floods, which at times roll down toward this spot, are all received and carried off quick, without ponding, by a rivulet, anciently called the River Fleet, which, running near Pancras church, and the

Brill,[1] passes under Battle-bridge, and so on, close by the Wells, to London, discharges itself into Fleet-ditch, and at last into the Thames. Add to this, that although it be difficult to dig hereabouts two or three feet deep without encountering springs, yet do the sources of the wells lie so low as to be inaccessible to any percolations of rain or other waters from or near the surface. The neighbouring soil is various, as stiff blue clay, lime-stone, brickmakers' earth, and, on the north and north-east especially, plenty of red sand, gravel, and ochre earth, out of which rise many little ferruginous springs, of a weak impregnation, scarce to be distinguished as such, but by their variegated film, and the yellow sediment which they deposit in trenches and ditches. At what time these waters were first known to be possessed of salutary qualities cannot be made out with any degree of evidence. A tradition goes that the place of old was called Blessed Mary's Well; but that the name of the Holy Virgin having in some measure fallen into disrepute after the Reformation, the title was altered to Black Mary's Well, as it now stands upon Mr. Roeques' map, and then to Black Mary's Hole,[2] though there is a very different account of these latter appellations, for there are those who insist they were taken from one Mary Woolaston, whose occupation was attending at a well, now covered in, on an opposite eminence, by the footway from Bagnigge to Islington, to supply the soldiery encamped in the adjacent fields with water. But waving such uncertainties it may be relied on for truth that a late proprietor, upon taking possession of the estate, found two wells thereon both steaned in a workmanlike manner; but when or for what purpose they were sunk he is entirely ignorant. The water of these wells, one of which purges, the other is chalybeate, are the subjects of the present enquiry," &c.

Cromwell says, "In the single house eastward of the road (long removed, though the others remain), immediately contiguous to the fountain, lived a black woman, named Mary Woolaston, who rented this spring, or conduit, of Robert Harvey, Esq., and made a living by the sale of its water to the citizens; when from the lowness of the site, and the name of the vendor, the spot acquired the appellation of Black Mary's hole."

We read in Dodsley's "London and its Environs described," 1761, vol. i., p. 324, in reference to this spring:—"It took its name from a black moor woman, called Mary, who, thirty years ago, lived by the side of the road in a circular hut built with stones."

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1813, vol. lxxxiii., part II., p. 557, is an account of Bagnigge Wells. "Upon the eastern bank of a narrow stream heretofore called the River Bagnigge was an ancient building. The spring, or conduit, on the eastern side of the road leading from Clerkenwell by Bagnigge Wells, and which has given name to a few very small houses as Black Mary's hole. The land here was formerly called Bagnigge Marsh from the River Bagnigge (the Fleet), which passes through it. But in after times the citizens resorting to drink the waters of the conduit, which then was leased to one Mary, who kept a black cow, whose milk the gentlemen and ladies drank with the waters of the conduit, from whence the wits of that age used to say, 'Come, let us go to Black Mary's hole.' However, Mary dying, and the place degenerating into licentiousness, about 1687 Walter Baynes, Esq., of the Inner Temple, enclosed the conduit in the manner it is now, which looks like a great oven. He is supposed to have left a fund for keeping same in perpetual repair. The stone with the inscription was carried away during the night about ten years ago. The water (which formerly fed two ponds on the other side of the road) falls into the old Bagnigge River." The inscription on the stone recorded Mr. Baynes's generous labours for the public good. The conduit appears of circular shape, like an oven, in a large print of the north side of London in 1730.

The Brill at St. Pancras, as it appeared in 1758, is among Dr. Stukeley's unpublished plates of plans of Cæsar's camps. The doctor's account of this camp to the Society of Antiquaries is (1758) that it was forty paces from east to west, and sixty from north to south, lying in the footpath to the church just before the road and brook. Behind the church was another square camp (an orchard with a moat), the prætorium of Mandubratius, and close by were the forum, prætorium, and a square plot called the quæstorium. Stukeley's plans of Cæsar's camps are in the Itin. II. pl. 58, 59, 60, and 61. His account of the Brill makes the first seventeen pages of the second volume. *Vide* Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol. ii., pages, 1346, 1566, for some particulars of the Brill.

[2] *Vide* pages 293, 373, 387.

In a letter of an unknown writer, dated in November, 1813, we read, "A female inhabitant of thirty or forty years' constant residence never remembers the spring, an oven-like appearance, to have had any particular designation beyond the Spring. Ten or twelve years ago there was a stone (since stolen) over it, with an inscription much obliterated. St. Chad's Well, she describes, as being at a considerable distance more towards Battle-bridge. Black Mary's Hole was the name of her own and other cottages on the opposite side of the road to the spring, and which cottages occupy a declivity from the road to a run of water that comes through the Bagnigge Gardens, and then under arches forming the stream known by the name of Fleet Ditch."

From whatever source the name of Black Mary's Hole was derived, it is certain that it has been in existence for a very long period, inasmuch as we find in the Poor's-rate book for 1680, John Giles rated for "Black Maries."

This conduit was doubtless one of the many ancient springs noticed by Stow as having the fall of their overflowings into the river of Wells (the Fleet), and much increasing its stream.

About the year, 1818, when Spring-place was built, the builder removed the old conduit, and regardless of either its utility or antiquity, converted the receptacle beneath into a cesspool for the drainage of the houses.

The ancient spring, thus contaminated and concealed from view, was well nigh forgotten, when by accident it was again brought into notice in the year 1826, when its covering, which was only of board, having rotted, suddenly gave way, and left a large gap in the footpath. Attempts were made, not thoroughly successful, to divert the drainage. It was then arched with brickwork, and a leaden pump placed over it. This was stolen soon after; and subsequently, after a period of neglect, the opening to the reservoir into which the water of the spring issued was covered by a wooden trap. This well, and many others in the district, it has been averred, have lost their ancient purity. "The shallow well water," says Dr. Griffith, "receives the drainage water of Highgate Cemetery, of numerous burial grounds, and of innumerable cesspools in this district"—a statement which, if currently believed, would make most persons shudder at the thought of drinking any water obtained from such a source, however limpid or agreeable to the taste it might be.

The spring was situated in the front garden of the house No. 3, Spring-place, which took its name from these mineral waters.

The ground about this spot, which has been considerably raised of late years, formerly was a deep hollow. Previous to its course being altered, about the year 1825, the Fleet river ran nearly parallel with Bagnigge Wells-road; but, on the abandonment of the old channel, and the diversion of its polluted waters into the large barrel drain, built to receive them beyond the western boundary wall of the House of Correction, the former bed of the river was filled up, and the ground raised to nearly its present elevation. The original level may still, however, be ascertained by descending a sloping way, west of the road, opposite the end of Baker-street, to some small cottages, which we presume to have formerly stood on the margin of the Fleet.

Under date of December 19th, 1761, we read:—

"Saturday night the waters were so high at Black Mary Hole that the inhabitants of Bagnigge Wells and in the neighbourhood suffered greatly. About seven o'clock a coach with five gentlemen within and three on the outside, was overturned by the height of the waters in the road just by, and with great difficulty escaped being drowned. This is owing to the channel being choaked up between the Wells and Coldbath-fields from the rubbish hill."

On this spot, early in the last century, was a low public-house, known as the Fox at Bay. It was the rendezvous of thieves and highwaymen, who hereabouts, with daring and audacity, waylaid and mercilessly plundered passengers in the broad daylight. On January 10th, 1730, Mr. Reynolds died at the Fox, in Black Mary's Hole.

On Wednesday, September 29th, 1744, about five o'clock in the evening, as Mr. Davis, a carpenter, was returning from Islington, he was robbed near Black Mary's Hole of his watch and about 2s. in money, by a large gang of villains.

We read in the "London Penny Post," June 1st, 1747, that "Mr. Jackson, a gentleman, was

attacked, near Black Mary's Hole, by two footpads, who robbed him of his watch, hat, and money, and then made off."

"On Thursday morning, August 9th, 1753, about eleven o'clock, a young fellow was robbed between Black Mary's Hole and Islington of his watch and 4s. in money, by six fellows, two of them soldiers."

We now return to our description of Bagnigge Wells. These wells formerly belonged to the Nunnery of Clerkenwell. "I take it," says Mr. Tomlins, "Bagnigge Wells was the Rede Well, mentioned in the Register of Clerkenwell."

In reference to Bagnigge purging water, Dr. Bevis says:—"In the year 1757, upon boiling some of this water in a teakettle, it was observed to turn whitish and foul, which caused it to be rejected for culinary purposes. The same year a man, who attended the working of some snuff mills then erected close to the well, happening to be feverish and thirsty, drank plenty of the water, and found himself immediately purged by it, which gave the first intimation of its cathartic quality. The purging well is about two-and-twenty feet deep. There is not the least appearance of any water trickling in through the junctures of the steaning, but it all arises from the very bottom, and comes in but slowly through a blue clay. The water, fresh from the pump, is remarkably clear and limpid, and discharges more air bubbles at the surface than most waters do at the spring head, though far short of the Bagnigge chalybeate water in this respect. It never turns foul or deposits any sediment, or throws up any scum, if kept in clean vessels, unless heated to a degree much beyond that of the warmth of any known climate. It tastes not disagreeably in the mouth, but being swallowed, leaves a distinguishable brackish bitterness on the palate. There is nothing remarkable in it as to smell when cold. One cloudy day in August, 1759, when Fahrenheit's thermometer, hanging in the pump-room, stood at 70, I took it down and immerged it successively in the purging and chalybeate waters, both fresh pumped, as also in the running water of a neighbouring spring, till it became stationary in each. In the first it stood at 53, in the second at 63, and in the last at 58. Again in September, when the thermometer in the shade stood at 56, in the purging water it was at 50, and in the chalybeate at 59. Also, from many other trials I found the instrument always several degrees lower in the purging water." In December the thermometer in the air showed 23, in the purging water 41, and in the chalybeate 53. "By a very nice glass hydrometer, equal quantities of distilled water, and of the purging water under the same degree of heat, weighed respectively 2915 and 2924 grains; whence the specific gravity of distilled water to that of the purging water is as one to 1.0031; and very nearly the same proportion came out by the hydrostatical balance. A half-pint glass of the fresh pumped purging water was placed under the receiver of an air-pump, and remained there some minutes after the exhaustion of the air; then it was tasted with another fresh glass of the same, and found not to be near so palatable as before, the bitter now manifesting itself far more sensibly. A bottle of this water, which among several others corked and waxed the proprietor had shipped for Virginia in October, 1758, came back, and was brought to me in October, 1759. It was then quite limpid and without a particle of sediment, nor was the taste sensibly impaired. Three half-pints of it had much the same purgative effect as if fresh from the well." The writer then adds the details and results of forty-seven experiments on the water and its components, and says:—"The sum of our inferences resolves this water into—1, the pure aqueous element; 2, an elastic air; 3, a calcareous absorbent alkaline earth, somewhat of the nature of lime-stone; 4, a muriatic salt; and 5, another bitter and neutral salt of a distinct kind, in which the purgative quality of the water chiefly if not wholly" consisted. Dr. Bevis informs us that the water purged in less quantity than perhaps any other known in England or elsewhere, three half-pint glasses sufficing for a dose in most constitutions. We then read of its restorative properties in various cases, and that "previous to inoculation for the small-pox it has been found a very proper purge; and for discharging the relicks out of the blood, for which purpose" it was "used with great success at the Small Pox Hospital."

Dr. Bevis then describes the Bagnigge chalybeate water. "In the year 1757 the spot of ground in which this well is sunk was let out to a gentleman curious in gardening, who observed that the

oftener he watered his flowers from it the worse they throve. I happened toward the end of that summer to be in company with a friend who made a transient visit to Mr. Hughes, and was asked to taste the water; and being surprised to find its flavour so near that of the best chalybeates, did not hesitate to declare my opinion that it might be made of great benefit both to the public and himself. At my request he sent me some of the water in a large stone bottle, well corked, the next day, a gallon whereof I immediately set over a fire, and by a hasty evaporation found it very rich in mineral contents, though much less so than I afterward experienced it to be when more leisurely exhaled by a gentle heat. Whilst this operation was carrying on I made some experiments on the remainder of the water, particularly with powdered galls, which I found to give in less than a minute a very rich and deep purple tincture to it, that lasted many days without any great alteration. I reported these matters to Mr. Hughes, but soon after a very dangerous illness put a stop to my experiments, which I did not resume for a considerable time, when the proprietor called and told me his waters were in very great repute, and known by the name of Bagnigge Wells, which indeed I remembered to have seen in the newspapers without so much as guessing it had been given to these springs. Mr. Hughes took me to his wells, where I was not a little pleased with the elegant accommodations he had provided for the company in so short a time. The chalybeate well is just behind the pump-room, about forty yards south of the purging well, being almost twenty feet deep, and near two yards in diameter within the steaning. It is fed by no less than four springs drilling through the steaning, the strongest and purest of which is one that runs in plentifully from the north. It has been found, on exhausting this well, that it replenishes at the rate of three feet in an hour. The water fresh pumped up is exceeding clear, and much of the complexion of pure rain water, has something of a sulphury smell as it issues out, and discharges great quantities of air bubbles at the surface. Its taste is highly ferruginous, with an agreeable and sprightly subacid tartness. To those that have not been used to it it is apt to communicate a kind of giddiness, with an amazing flow of spirits, and afterward a propensity to sleep, if exercise be not interposed. Being left open to the air, it will in an hour or less turn a little wheyish, and abate of its clearness, especially in warm weather, and perhaps in a day or two begin to let fall an ochrey sediment: this is common to all chalybeate waters. If it stands quiet in an open vessel a shining scaly dust spontaneously emerges and covers the surface, but if disturbed it sinks to the bottom, and there lies undissolved with the ochrey sediment, and will rise no more. This substance upon examination proves to be selenite.



BAGNIGGE WELLS GARDENS (FROM AN OLD PRINT).

. By the hydrometer, the specific gravity of distilled water to that of this chalybeate under the same temperature comes out as 1 to 10042." The doctor then gives an account of thirty-three experiments which he made with the water, and which showed that its component parts were—1, a pure elemental water; 2, an elastic air; 3, a calcareous absorbent limestone earth; 4, a small portion of selenite; 5, an ocherous earth; 6, a highly attenuated iron; 7, a muriatic salt; 8, a little bitter neutral salt; and 9, probably an active sulphur. Dr. Bevis, in reference to the medicinal properties of the water, says:—"It dilutes and dissolves vicious humours, obtunds and corrects acrimonious and bilious ones, and temperates acidities and inordinate fermentations, restraines effervescences of the blood, and recreates the spirits beyond other medicines. In disorders of the breast, habitual coughs, and asthmas, it is of surprising efficacy. If the chalybeate sits ill on the stomach at first, swallowing carraway seeds or dropping a little tincture of cardamoms will reconcile it."

We see that Mr. Hughes acted upon the suggestion of Dr. Bevis, and opened a public spa by the name of Bagnigge Wells, which soon became much in fashion, and was resorted to by many persons in pursuit of health, the place having been elegantly fitted up for their reception.

We read in the "Public Advertiser," for April 14th, 1759:—"Bagnigge Wells are now open for the reception of company, both the chalybeate and purging waters being in the greatest perfection. Proper conveniency and attendance, breakfasting, etc.—N.B. Three half-pints of the purging waters is sufficient for most people.—*** No salts are required to quicken their virtue."

In the "Shrubs of Parnassus," poems on several occasions, by W. Woty, otherwise "John Copywell," published in 1760, there are some lines entitled "Bagnigge Wells," wherein the following allusion is made to these springs:—

. . . . Where each by turns
His venal doxy woo'd, and stil'd the place
Black Mary's Hole—there stands a Dome superb
Hight Bagnigge; where from our Forefathers hid,
Long have two springs in dull stagnation slept;
But taught at length by subtle art to flow,
They rise, forth from oblivion's bed they rise,
And manifest their virtues to mankind.

In the "Daily Advertisement," for July, 1775, we find the following:—

"The Royal Bagnigge Wells, between the Foundling Hospital and Islington. Mr. Davis, the proprietor, takes this method to inform the publick that both the chalybeate and purging waters are in the greatest perfection as ever known, and may be drank at 3d. each person, or delivered at the pump room at 8d. per gallon. They are recommended by the most eminent physicians for various disorders as specified in the handbills, Likewise in a treatise written on those waters by the late Dr. Bevis, dedicated to the Royal Society, and may be had at the bar, price 1s., where ladies and gentlemen may depend upon having the best tea, coffee, hot loaves, &c."

The prologue to Colman's "Bon Ton," published in 1775, notices Bagnigge Wells as a place of low fashion:—

Ah I loves life and all the joy it yields,
Says Madam Fupock, warm from Spittlefields.
Bon Ton 's the space 'twixt Saturday and Monday,
And riding in a one horse chair on Sunday,
'Tis drinking tea on summers' afternoons
At Bagnigge Wells, with china and gilt spoons!

About this time Bagnigge Wells were described in a contemporary publication, "The Sunday Ramble," as a place of general resort, "by no means barren of amusement, and visited of a morning by hundreds of persons to drink the waters, and on summers' afternoons by numerous tea drinking parties"—tea drinking in public being then very fashionable with the citizen class. The writer describes the place as consisting of several "beautiful walks ornamented with a great variety of curious shrubs and flowers, all in the utmost perfection. About the centre of the garden is a small round fish pond, in the midst of which is a curious fountain, representing Cupid bestriding a swan, which spouts the water through its beak to a great height. Round this place, and indeed almost over

the whole garden, are genteel seats for company. At a little distance from the pond is a neat cottage built in the rural style; and not far from that, over a bridge leading across a piece of water that passes through part of the garden, is a pretty piece of grotto work, large enough to contain near twenty people. Besides this there is a small house, and several seats by the water side for such of the company as chuse to smoke, or drink cyder, ale, etc., which are not permitted in other parts of the garden." The waterside adverted to in the foregoing description was that of the River Bagnigge, or Fleet, then but little contaminated with sewage at this spot.

In the "Shrubs of Parnassus," before quoted, we read:—

> Close by the garden wall meand'ring stream
> Its jetty wave devolves, degraded oft
> With term of Ditch. Insinuation vile!

The luxurious growth of elder bushes, willows, and other shrubs which fringed its banks, together with the abundance of huge docks, and a variety of coarse plants, gave it a picturesque character, and rendered it attractive to the pleasure seeker, and worthy the attention of an artist. One whose name is known to fame—Luke Clennel—frequently resorted to this spot for the purpose of making studies of foliage for his admirable designs.[1]

In the opening lines of a satirical poem, entitled, "Bagnigge Wells," published in 1779,[2] the kind of persons then resorting to the gardens are described:—

> Thy arbours, Bagnigge, and the gay alcove
> Where frail nymphs in amourous dallianee rove,
> Where 'prenticed youths enjoy the Sunday feast,
> And City matrons boast their Sabbath rest,
> Where unfledged Templars first as fops parade,
> And new made ensigns sport their first cockade.

In later days Miss Edgeworth, in one of her tales, alludes to this place as one of vulgar resort:—

> The cits to Bagnigge Wells repair,
> To swallow dust and call it air.[3]

We have seen an old engraving of Bagnigge Wells-gardens, bearing the following inscription:—"Frontispiece.—A view taken from the center bridge in the gardens of Bagnigge Wells. Published as the act directs." We do not know whether the engraving appeared in a magazine or in a book, giving an account of the gardens. The length of the leaf of the plate was seven inches five-eighths, and the breadth four inches seven-eighths. The "center bridge" was, we think, the one crossing the Fleet, referred to in the "Sunday Ramble," which we just now quoted. The engraving represents on the left a round, railed pond, in the midde of which is the figure of a boy clasping a swan, from the mouth of which issue six jets of water; round the gardens are plain looking wooden drinking bowers, or boxes; and on the right are trees with tall stems and closely cut formal foliage at the top; and also two large figures representing a pastoral-looking man with a scythe, and a pastoral-looking woman with a hay-rake in one hand and a bird's nest in the other. We are unable to fix a date to this picture, but it evidently represents the gardens in their early days.

Another engraving which we have seen shows "The original garden entrance to Bagnigge Wells, established in 1680." This cut, which is without date, represents the south side of the gardens, which are on that side enclosed by a wooden fence, in which is a gateway—the original one; further eastward is the bridge over the Fleet. This stream runs towards the bottom of the engraving, that is, in a south direction; it is bounded on the eastern side by a wall which belongs to various small houses, the backs of which are shown in the plate. The stream on the western side is open to a green which extends up to the fence of the gardens. The original gate before mentioned is of the same

[1] Archer's *Vestiges of Old London.*

[2] *Bagnigge Wells, a Poem, in which are pourtrayed the characters of the most eminent* filles de joye, *with Notes illustrative, critical, historical, and explanatory.* Hawkins, 1779. Mr. T. E. Tomlins considers this poem to have been written by Churchill.

[3] *Every Night Book,* 1827, p. 36.

height as the fence, but over it is a plain arch. It must be remembered that this gate was not the one which adjoined the house by the bridge. The gardens are shown in this plate to be well ornamented with trees.

Another engraving shows "Bagnigge Wells, near Battle-bridge, Islington," on the eastern, that is, on the Bagnigge Wells-road side, with the entrance to the gardens, next the tavern on the west side of the south front, and the eastern side of the long room, which is shown to have had seven windows. The pathway, running by the side of the premises, is divided from the roadway by ten short posts.

Another engraving, published by the famous printseller, Carrington Bowles, of St. Paul's churchyard,[1] represents "A Bagnigge Wells scene, or No Resisting Temptation." The scene is laid in the gardens, close by the Boy and Swan fountain; and a young lady, in an elaborate old-fashioned head-dress, and a gaily-trimmed petticoat and long skirt, is plucking a rose from one of the flower-beds, while another damsel of corresponding elegance looks on. A mezzotint, also published by Bowles, in 1772, shows "The Bread and Butter Manufactory, or the Humours of Bagnigge Wells." This plate, which is in size fourteen inches by ten, and represents several parties of anciently-dressed ladies and gentlemen, and a boy-waiter, with a tray of cups and saucers, was hung up, framed and glazed, in the bar of Old Bagnigge Wells House.

Another engraving, issued by the same publisher, shows "Mr. Deputy Dumpling and Family enjoying a summer afternoon." One of the lower projecting windows of Bagnigge Wells Tavern, with the western side entrance to the gardens, is represented. Over the gate, on a board, are the words, "Bagnigge Wells." Mr. Deputy Dumpling is a very short, fat man, wearing a wig, perspiring freely, and carrying a child. His wife, who is also short and fat, is walking behind him, with an open fan and his walking stick. Beside them is a boy, dragging a perambulator of the period, in which is a girl with a doll.

In 1772 a curious aquatinta print of Bagnigge Wells, from a painting by Saunders, was published by J. R. Smith. It represents the interior of the long room filled with a gay and numerous company attired in the fashion of the period. Some are promenading, others are seated at tables partaking of tea; the room is lighted by brazen sconces of wax lights, hanging from the ceiling, and the organ is visible at the distant end. The artist has, after the manner of Hogarth, well depicted the humours of the motley company, who are quizzing one another, and being ogled in turn; the prominent feature of the sketch is a richly bedizened madam on the arm of a gallant, who is receiving a polite salute from an officer, by whom she is recognized, at which her companion seems to be somewhat chagrined.

We have seen a lithographed print, entitled "The Life of a Working Man," and representing a mechanic in full dress, with a white favour in his button-hole, offering drink to his newly-made wife in these gardens.

In the "Weekly Times," of February 14th, 1841, is a rude wood cut, delineating "A scene in old Bagnigge Wells Tea Gardens," with a party of tea drinkers sitting in one of the boxes, and a waiter sprawling on the ground with his upset tray. This picture illustrates a story, one scene of which is laid here.

In "Punch," for September 7th, 1843, is a comic account of Bagnigge Wells, with small illustrative cuts.

In Bickham's curious work, "The Musical Entertainer" (1738), is an engraving of Tom Hippersley, mounted in the singing rostrum of Bagnigge Wells, regaling the company with a song. About half a century after, a regular orchestra was erected.

In the "Mirror," vol. xxiv., No. 686, will be found an account of Bagnigge Wells.

We have before us an engraving representing a man in a cocked hat, wig, frilled shirt, knee breeches, &c., sitting on a stool playing an organ—the one in the long room at Bagnigge Wells. This man was Charley Griffith. Beside him are several books, on one of which is the word "Davis."

[1] For an account of this gentleman and his establishment, *vide Notes and Queries*, 3rd S. II., p. 254.

This evidently refers to Davis, who was at one time proprietor of the establishment. Beneath the picture is the following :—" Engraving of the Bagnigge Organfist.

What passion eannot musie raise & quell !
When G struek his eorded shell,
The list'ning drunkards stood around,
And, wond'ring, on their faees fell.

Vide Dry^s. Ode to S. Cecillia's night. Published for the benefit of decayed musicians." This was a parody on a passage from Dryden's "Song for St. Cecillia's day, 1687":—

What passion eannot music raise and quell !
When Jubal struek the eorded shell,
His listening brethren stood around,
And, wondering, on their faees fell.

The long room above referred to was used as a promenade and also for assemblies and balls. It was on the east side of the gardens, and formed the boundary in that direction. At one end of this room



BAGNIGGE WELLS GARDENS, EARLY IN THE PRESENT CENTURY.

was a fine-toned organ, and at the other a large distorting mirror, as also a bust, in alto-relievo assumed to represent Nell Gwynn, and said to have been modelled by Sir Peter Lely. It was surrounded by a border composed of flowers and fruit. Both the bust and its circling were coloured after nature. Affixed to the wall on either side of the bust were shields of arms, one blazoning the royal arms of England, and the other the same coat impaled with arms which were imagined to have been those of Miss Nelly. These castings were removed from old Bagnigge House, and on being set up in the long room were repainted. On the walls of this room was inscribed the following motto :— "Hic Priapus regnat ! Cedant Mars, Jupiter, Phœbus." In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1813, in reference to Bagnigge Wells, we read :—"As a place of public resort upon a Sunday, the gardens are well known, and for the amusement of the visitors during the week there is an excellent organ in the long room."

In reference to the distorting mirror which was in the long room, we find the following note in the poem of "Bagnigge Wells," which we have before quoted :—

"Captain Tommy Slender, of the Middlesex Militia, frequently comes here in the morning, and was almost hyp'd to death on viewing himself in the middle panel of the large mirror facing the organ. He applied to a

physician, who, being acquainted with the convex and concave panels of that glass, and consequently their effects, after taking his fee, advised Tommy to drink the waters, and said he would accompany him the next morning, which he accordingly did, and after Tommy had drenched himself with about two quarts, took him into the long room, and having him by the arm, said, 'I will now convince you of the happy and speedy effects of this salutary water;' when, taking care to keep him in view of the right hand compartment, 'Look there,' he said, 'What do you think of yourself now?' 'Amazing!' replied Slender, 'It is scarce credible. Did I not see it with my own eyes I should not have believed it.' In effect he there appeared treble his usual size, returned home perfectly satisfied, and extols the water of Bagnigge Wells beyond the third heavens."

We have before us several long posting bills advertising the various amusements at Bagnigge Wells. One without date announced concerts every evening, under the direction of Mr. Anderson, the admission being threepence, and the price of tea and coffee one shilling. Another bill announced a concert, ball, balloon ascent, and "immense attraction for the benefit of Mr. and Miss Foster," on Tuesday, August 14th, 1838, when the admission would be sixpence. On the 21st of the same month were given "A grand Concert and Ball," tickets sixpence each. On Friday, March 26th, 1841, was held a concert for the benefit of Mr. T. Willy, admission sixpence, Mr. Hamilton then being the proprietor. Mr. Crosby, who was present, has left this note:—"1841, March 26th, Friday evening, the concert room opened for the season, Willey's benefit. Good glee singing by Messrs. Adams, Mathews, and Bailey. They sang 'Darby Ram,' 'Barley Bree,' &c., very well. The songs by the other persons indifferent. Only about 60 persons present." We see by this that Bagnigge Wells as a place of entertainment had much declined.

In the old song of "The 'Prentice to his Mistress," are the following lines:—

Come prithee make it up, Miss, and be as lovers be,
We'll go to Bagnigge Wells, Miss, and there we'll have some tea;
It's there you'll see the lady-birds perch'd on the stinging nettles,
The chrystal water fountain, and the copper shining kettles,
It's there you'll see the fishes, more curious they than whales,
And they're made of gold and silver, Miss, and wags their little tails,
O! they wags their little tails, they wags their little tails,
O! they're made of gold and silver, Miss, and they wags their little tails.
O dear! O la! O dear! O la! O dear! O la! how funny!

We extract the following song from "The Little Melodist," published in 1839, price sixpence:—

LET US GO AND TAKE A WALK. *Air.*—Let us haste to Kelvin grove.

Will you go to Bagnigge Wells,
Bonnet builder, O!
Where the Fleet-ditch fragrant smells,
Bonnet builder, O!
Where the fishes used to swim,
So nice and sleek and trim,
But the pond's now covered in,
Bonnet builder, O!
Will you toddle with your Bill,
Bonnet builder, O!
To the Crown at Pentonville,
Bonnet builder, O!
Where the cove sells Kennet ale,
Which, like you, looks very pale;
I like it best when stale,
Bonnet builder, O!
Then we'll to the Conduit go,
Bonnet builder, O!
You're fond of it, I know,
Bonnet builder, O!
Where the songsters sing so sweet,
And the garden looks so neat,
As the stockings on your feet,
Bonnet builder, O!

Oh! I must cut my stick,
Bonnet builder, O!
For *here* there's no *'pon tick*,
Bonnet builder, O!
Now sorely do I fear
We must pass the Belvidere,
Unless you can *stand a tear*,
Bonnet builder, O!
Poverty on me frowns,
Bonnet builder, O!
I've now left but three *browns*,
Bonnet builder, O!
Ere six o'clock to-morrow,
Five shillings I will borrow
Till when I leave in sorrow,
Bonnet builder, O!
And when I'm gone to bed,
Bonnet builder, O!
With my night-cap on my head,
Bonnet builder, O!
Will you, builder, if you hear.
The pot-boy crying "beer"
Take a pint for me, my dear,
Bonnet builder, O!

We have seen that Mr. Hughes was the proprietor of Bagnigge Wells in and after 1757. Subsequently, in 1792, the house and gardens were kept by Mr. John Davis, of whom was published an engraving by Scott, oval plate, half-length, from a painting by J. Scouler.

In 1813 Mr. Salter was the tenant. He became a bankrupt, and on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of December, in that year, the whole of the furniture, &c., here, was sold by auction by order of the assignees. The fixtures and fittings were described as comprising "The erections of a temple, a grotto, alcoves, arbours, boxes, greenhouse, paling-fences, large lead figures, pumps, cisterns, sinks, pipes, counters, beer machine, stoves, coppers, partitions, garden lights, shrubs, 200 drinking tables, 350 forms, 400 dozen bottled ale, &c."[1] An adventurous purchaser was found for the most useful fixtures, and subsequently, after being newly fitted up and beautified in a tasteful manner, the gardens were re-opened to the public. They were curtailed of all the ground westward of the Fleet in the year 1814. The temple was a neat dome-roofed building. The cupola was supported by a double row of Doric pilasters, and columns with an interior balustrade; in the centre was a double pump, one piston of which drew up chalybeate and the other purging water. The grotto was a small castellated building on the north-east side of the gardens. It consisted of two apartments, and was constructed of various kinds of sea-shells, fossils, &c., which, being intermixed with fragments of glass and broken mirrors, made the building very attractive. In 1818 Mr. Thorogood had Bagnigge Wells. He let it to Mr. Monkhouse, who became a bankrupt, and everything here was sold. Thorogood had it again; he died in 1836. He appears to have been succeeded as proprietor of Bagnigge Wells during his lifetime by Mr. Richard Chapman, for on July 11th, 1833, there was an audit of the accounts of Richard Chapman, of Bagnigge Wells, at the Court of Bankruptcy. In 1834 Mr. John Hamilton was the proprietor. In 1850 Mr. Negus was tenant of New Bagnigge Wells Tavern. He became bankrupt in December of that year.

In the City of London Library is a valuable collection of manuscript notes, sketches, and drawings having reference to Bagnigge Wells House and Gardens in their last days, and made by Mr. Anthony Crosby. The Editor believes them to be quite unique; he has carefully perused them, and from the irregular and incomplete mass has gathered some particulars which he considers to be worthy of preservation in these pages, seeing that the places to which they refer have entirely disappeared. Amongst the sketches are the following:—

The south front of Bagnigge Wells House, made June 18th, 1841; showing the width to be twenty-eight feet eight inches and three-quarters.

The east side of Bagnigge Wells, made same date; showing the long-room to be seventy-eight feet four inches in length outside.

The north end of Bagnigge Wells, made March 18th, 1841; showing the long-room to be twenty-one feet two inches wide outside.

A bird's-eye view of the garden with the south-western fence, old entrance, bridge, new entrance, and house; showing that the distance from the north corner of the long-room to the first garden door was thirty-eight feet.

The Tavern, Bagnigge Wells-road, the Fleet, the bridge, and the bun-house at the corner opposite to the Tavern; showing the space across the road between the two latter to be twenty-six feet.

Part of Bagnigge Wells garden, made March 24th, 1841; showing the distance from one side wall to the grass plot to be twenty-four feet, the width of the grass plot about forty feet, and the space from that to the other side of the gardens, twenty-seven feet six inches. The grass plot was situated towards the north end of the gardens and Chapman's Brewery.

A ground plan of part of the gardens; showing Chapman's Brewery at the north end, the grass plot being eighty-seven feet long from north to south, and forty-one feet two inches wide at the north end, and forty feet at the south end; the long room being twenty-one feet two inches and a half wide outside at the north end (another sketch shows the width to be twenty-one feet two inches), eighteen feet four inches wide inside, seventy-seven feet nine inches long inside, and the doorway thereof six

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxiii., p. 556.

feet nine inches wide; the distance from the north-west corner of the long-room to the north parlour window ninety-six feet; the distance from the house next to the long-room on the south to the ditch on the opposite side (the west) twenty feet; the house projected three feet beyond the long-room towards the west; and the distance from the house westward, past the north side of the parlour to the kitchen (which had formerly been an old doorway), seven feet four inches.

The back parlour and kitchen door (formerly the entrance), looking from the garden, taken June 9th, 1841.

The two doors on the west side of the long-room, taken March 23rd, 1841; showing the space between them to be at the top one foot six inches, and at the bottom one foot three inches and a half; a tree standing between the doors; each door seven feet one inch high, four feet and a half wide, and half-glazed, and a pillar standing on both sides of each door.

The arch of the false window at the north end of the long-room, taken March 26th, 1841; showing it to have been a semicircle of one foot ten inches and a half radius, but the radius of the cutting of the brickwork of the arch was more than double, the centre being two feet four inches from the sill.

The north end of the exterior of the long-room, taken same date; showing the distance from the ground to the brick fillet thirteen feet, the fillet eight inches and a half, from that to the top coping three feet three inches. There were three arched window openings, the one to the east being three feet ten inches and a half wide, the centre one six feet eleven inches, and the one to the west three feet eleven inches. The spaces between the windows were nineteen inches, and from the two outer side windows to the ends of the building respectively, twenty inches. By adding these measurements together we shall find the north end of the long-room outside to be twenty-one feet two inches and a half wide, as before stated.

The great eastern entrance to the garden and long-room from Bagnigge Wells-road, taken June 17th, 1841; showing it to have been eight feet wide and nine feet high; the distance from this entrance northward to the commencement of the exterior of the long-room was eleven feet.

The basement front of the grotto, taken March 18th, 1841.

The exterior of Bagnigge Wells while being pulled down, taken June 17th, 1841; showing the bun-house, the new house, the old house (which was thirty-five feet wide), the long-room, and the top of the grotto as seen from Bagnigge Wells-road. The name of Hamilton was over the door at this time.

Bagnigge Wells, taken May 12th, 1843; showing that all that was standing were the two windows, and the north end of the long-room; all the upper part of the wall was down. This sketch shows a part of a wall with a human head let in, beneath that an inscribed stone, and below that a doorway. The stone was the incised tablet, dated 1680, which we have before named.

The old grotto, which had all the windows out and was greatly dilapidated, and the upper part of the garden wall, were knocked down by some persons going along Bagnigge Wells-road early in the morning of Tuesday, April 6th, 1841.

Mr. Crosby says in his Notes, under date June 15th, 1841, "The demolition of the old house was going forward, the window frames above being out, and the whole except the long-room is to be cleared in a fortnight. Upon inspection it appeared that the present front is modern, for upon breaking off the paneling and paper the back part of the front room on the south instead of being a party wall only is a well faced and pointed front. This agrees with the old views. The old south front had three windows on a row and attics."

We now return to our description of Bagnigge Wells-road.

Opposite the present Bagnigge Wells Tavern, on the left of the avenue and steps leading to St. Philip's Church, there was in the year 1813 a target ground for the practice of archery. Nearly adjoining were Randell's Tile Kilns. A view near Bagnigge Wells in a drawing-book containing "Six well-known Views near London," and dated July, 1775, exhibits one of these kilns and a haystack in the fields near to it. There were afterwards in 1780 two kilns. The extensive excavations formerly carried on at this spot to obtain clay for tile manufacture have caused the remarkable difference in the levels of Granville-square and Bagnigge Wells-road. By one of the covenants of

Mr. Randell's lease, which expired in 1828, he was bound to restore the ground to such a level that "cattle can depasture thereon." On obtaining a renewal of the lease he commenced to build upon the ground, and ultimately removed his business to Maiden-lane, Islington. About thirty years ago the hill slope on the east side of the road, now entirely built upon, had a pleasant rural aspect from the number of gardens by which it was overspread. Myddelton Gardens, as they were called, were small enclosures, which belonged to private individuals, resident in Clerkenwell, who, with an innate love of nature, in their leisure hours cultivated a few flowers and vegetables for amusement. On these extensive garden grounds many streets and squares of respectable houses have been erected; of these we may mention Wharton-street, Lloyd-square, Great Percy-street, Percy-circus, Holford-street, Holford-square, Vernon-street, and Vernon-square.

At the angle formed by the junction of Bagnigge Wells-road and Pentonville-road stands the Congregational Church. This edifice was erected in the year 1854, through the persevering and self-denying efforts of the Rev. Thomas Seavill. In this noble undertaking he was pecuniarily and otherwise assisted by John Morley, John Finch, and Eusebius Smith, Esqrs., and other wealthy gentlemen. Mr. Thomas Spalding acted as treasurer. The sum of £2,050 was expended for the purchase of a freehold site for the intended chapel. The church, which is of neat Gothic design, and built of Kentish rag with freestone dressings, cost, with the spacious school-rooms on the basement floor, £5,000. As soon as the church was opened for divine worship it was found that through the non-erection of galleries its acoustic arrangements were altogether defective. Even when ministers accustomed to address large auditories spoke in it, the people could not hear half their sermons. The final result was, that towards the close of the year 1857 the Rev. T. Seavill resigned his ministry, and the church and the various organizations connected with it, excepting the day schools, were broken up, and the chapel passed into the possession of the London Congregational Chapel Building Society. For some months it remained closed. At length in June, 1858, the committee sought the services of the late excellent pastor, the Rev. H. B. Ingram. Increased accommodation was afforded by the erection of suitable galleries, and the acoustic defects were remedied, which, together with necessary repairs, cost upwards of £900. The building was re-opened for worship on Wednesday evening, the 22nd of September, 1858, when the Rev. J. Graham, of Craven Chapel, preached. At the end of the year 1863, the Rev. Aaron Buzacott, of Romford, accepted the pastorate here, which office he now fills. The interior of this chapel is neat; it has a high-pitched, open timber-work roof; the area is seated with open benches of varnished pine, as are also the galleries. The pulpit stands at the east-end, and behind it is a small organ. The chapel is mainly illuminated by a corona of gas lights suspended from the ceiling. The interior measures seventy feet in length and forty-four feet in breadth.[1]

In Vernon-square, Bagnigge Wells-road, is situated Vernon Chapel, which was erected in the year 1846, at the cost of £3,400, for a congregation of Baptists, worshipping in Fetter-lane, Holborn, who on the completion of the present building, removed from thence, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Owen Clarke, who, after ministering in this place for about thirteen years, at length resigned, owing to the infirmities of declining years. He was succeeded in the pastorate by the Rev. Dr. Wills, who had been his co-pastor for some years. In 1859 the congregation, with Dr. Wills, left Vernon Chapel, and built Arthur-street Chapel, where they now worship. In 1860, the Rev. S. Pearce, of Spencer-place, was invited by a few friends to re-open Vernon Chapel. He did so, and laboured there for three years; but, not succeeding in raising a flourishing congregation, he resigned his pastorate. The Rev. A. Searl, of Shaftesbury Hall, was then invited to occupy his place; but he died just as he was about to enter upon his labours. In October, 1863, the present pastor, the Rev. C. B. Sawday, who received his pastoral education at the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon's Training College, was elected to minister at Vernon Chapel. Early in 1845 commodious galleries were erected in the building. It will seat about eight hundred and twenty persons, and there is standing room for about one hundred

[1] *The Congregational Church Manual*, 1860; and a Communication from the Rev. H. B. Ingram.

and eighty more. In 1864 the chapel was purchased for the Baptist denomination, and for the purposes of the transfer it was mortgaged for £1,250.

In Bagnigge Wells-road are situated the Clerkenwell Police-court and Station, which were established here after the discontinuance of Hatton-garden Police-court. We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1842, p. 87, under date December 15th, as follows:—"Pursuant to an Order in Council, the Police-court in Hatton-garden was removed to a building lately erected in Bagnigge Wells-road, and is in future to be called Clerkenwell Police-court."

Towards the end of the year 1862, the Clerkenwell Vestry proposed to re-name Bagnigge Wells-road and Coppice-row, and call the whole of the road from King's-cross to Victoria-street, Farringdon-road; alleging, as a reason for discarding the old name, the numerous mistakes that were made in writing it, as well as its length. But the motion fell to the ground. There was really no reason for the change of name, nor any connection between Nicolas de Farndone, who gave his name to the Ward of Farringdon, of which he was the first alderman, and Bagnigge Wells-road. However the name of the road was changed to that of King's-cross-road; and at a meeting of the Metropolitan Board of Works, held in November, 1863, the committee recommended "That the several houses and premises in the line of thoroughfare known by the name of King's-cross-road be re-numbered, the odd numbers, commencing with 1 and ending with 215, being assigned to the houses on the southern side, and the even numbers, commencing with 2 and ending with 176, to those on the northern side; that such numbers do commence at the end next Farringdon-road; that the names Union-terrace, King's-terrace, Vernon-place, Hamilton-row, Brook's-row, Clarke's-place, Queen's-terrace, Pearl-crescent, Acton-place, Northumberland-terrace, Lion-terrace, Field-place, Field-terrace, and any other name or names now in use in King's-cross-road, and the existing numbers be abolished; that the whole line of thoroughfare be called King's-cross-road; and that notice be given to the Vestries of Clerkenwell and St. Pancras." This recommendation was accordingly carried out.

On an elevated spot of ground near the reservoir, at the top of Wharton-street, was established, in 1826, by the London Gymnastic Society, a Gymnasium, under the superintendence of Professor Voelker, a German, and a private teacher of gymnastics. Early in the spring of that year a meeting was held at the Mechanics' Institution, Dr. Gilchrist being in the chair, to consider the practicability of establishing a London Gymnastic Society. Professor Voelker offered to give his instruction gratuitously, and another gentleman agreed to advance the money for the purchase of the necessary apparatus. The society was formed, and they purchased the piece of ground at Pentonville above mentioned. It was elevated and dry, had the advantage of the purest air about London, and was spacious enough to accommodate three hundred gymnasts at one time. Within four months after the opening of the institution nearly nine hundred pupils were admitted. They were arranged in classes according to their respective sizes and capacities; and the poles, &c., were constructed of different altitudes to suit all. At the ringing of a bell each class changed the exercise in which it had been previously engaged, and began a new one. The terms of subscription were £1 1s. for a year, 12s. for six months, and 2s. 6d. for one month. The success of this scheme led to the formation of branch gymnasiums in other parts of London.

GRANVILLE SQUARE.

This square was erected in 1841. For many years the ground upon which it was built was a waste, upon which rubbish might be shot. The square was planned as early as the year 1826, if not earlier, and named Sharp-square, we believe in compliment to the wife of Mr. Baker, the landowner, who was the daughter of William Sharp, Esq., of Fulham.

Mr. Pinks, the author of this History, died at Mr. Green's, No. 30, Granville-square.[1]

[1] *Vide* Introduction.

In the centre of Granville-square is

ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH.

This church, or chapel, was erected at the expense of Government, out of a grant for the purpose, which was placed at the disposal of the commissioners appointed under the act passed in the reign of George III., for building and promoting additional churches in populous parishes. The first stone was laid on the 15th of June, 1831, and the building was finished on the 30th of June, 1832, at a cost of £4,418, being £123 1s. 11d. below the estimated expense, which Mr. Armitage, the architect, had calculated would be £4,541 1s. 11d. The cost of the necessary furnishing for the interior was defrayed by subscription among the inhabitants of the district. There was sitting accommodation for eleven hundred and six persons—six hundred and eighty in pews, and four hundred and twenty-six in the free seats—when the church was consecrated on the 1st of January, 1834. The style adopted in this structure is a mixed Gothic of pleasing character. The fabric is built chiefly of the best yellow bricks, with freestone dressings at the angles. It is lighted by five perpendicular arched windows on either side, the casings, mullions, and quatre foil tracery being of stone. The west front, which is slightly advanced, presents a gable end, flanked by two storied buttresses, with finials. On the apex of the gable is a cross flory. Over the west window, consisting of four lights separated by mullions, is sculptured, in high relief, a crown surmounting a blank shield. The longitudinal slits in the brickwork on either side are for the emission of sound from the belfry, which contains a single bell. The west door within the porch has been bricked up, and there is ingress to the interior of the church only by the north and south side doors.

The interior was formerly of a suitably plain character, harmonizing well with the simplicity of the exterior. But near the close of the year 1859 a faculty was obtained from the Bishop of London to make certain repairs and alterations, which were carried out forthwith, under the direction of Mr. Charles Butterfield, architect, in conformity with the views of the so-called church reformers, who would bring us back to mediæval times, and impose upon us the customs and usages of that formalistic period. The pews from the area of the church were entirely removed, and open benches of varnished pitch pinewood placed in lieu thereof. The aisles, chancel, and western end of the church were paved with square tiles, red and black placed alternately. To enlarge the chancel one-fifth of the galleries at that end were cut down, and in the space thus obtained choir stalls of carved oak have been placed; and the organ, which originally stood before the west window, has, in compliance with the mediæval usage, been placed on the north side of the choir. The chancel arch, of noble dimensions and finely moulded, is sustained by two thin shafted columns with foliated capitals, which were originally plain, but are now coloured and gilt. Within the chancel arch is the east window, which is filled with painted glass and is of neat design. The reredos, consisting of three pointed arches, formerly plain, are now parti-coloured. The mouldings are coloured red, blue, and yellow; and the soffits diapered. In the centre recess over the communion table are boldly painted in old church text, the sacred initials "I. H. S." We cannot commend this polychromatic style of decoration in our churches, though the usage of antiquity be the plea for its revival. The royal arms, carved, painted, and gilt, originally placed over the altar, have been taken down. The old pulpit has been displaced by one of elegant Gothic design, which stands on the north side of the choir. The lectern or reading desk, placed on the south side, is simply a sloping desk of oak, supported by a pedestal. In lieu of the old font is, at the west end of the church, another of bizarre design. It is octangular in shape, of large size, and very massive, the basin being supported externally by short, slender columns of different coloured marbles. The cover to the font is the model of an octagon Gothic church, the roof of which rises to a point, and is surmounted by a floriated cross of inordinate size. This cover, which is at least two feet in height, is gaudily coloured and gilt. The seats are all free and unappropriated, the incidental expenses of divine worship being defrayed out of the offertory money.

The living is a perpetual curacy, in the patronage of the incumbent of St. Mark's. The gross income is at the present time about £250 per annum. The first minister presented to this living was the Rev. Thomas Watson, M.A., of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, a man who, by his eminent Christian virtues and faithful preaching, won the lasting esteem of a very numerous congregation, many of whom still deeply regret his removal from the church of St. Philip, which took place in the year 1850, when he was unexpectedly presented by the Lord Chancellor to the valuable living of East Farleigh, in Kent, where he still ministers. He was succeeded by the Rev. George Ainslie, M.A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who relinquished this incumbency in 1854, when the Rev. Warwick Reed Wroth, B.A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, his curate, was presented to the living. This gentleman took the degree of B.A. in 1848, and was ordained a deacon in 1849, and priest in 1850, both by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. He is the author of a volume of sermons, published by Parker, 1858

BAKER STREET.

This street was erected in 1823 and subsequent years. It is built on a steep declivity, the higher portion being distinguished as Upper Baker-street. It takes its name from the owner of the estate upon which it is built—Thomas John Lloyd Baker, Esq., of Hardwicke Court, Gloucestershire. At the north-west corner is a respectable tavern known as the Union, which, a few years ago, had pleasant tea-gardens in the rear of it. Formerly on this site was a public-house of low repute, distinguished as the Bull in the Pound, a resort of thieves and other vicious characters.

LLOYD SQUARE.

This square, which is situated between Baker-street and Wharton-street, and has a well-kept enclosure in the centre, was erected about 1828. It is named from one of the Christian names of the owner of the estate upon which it is built, Mr. Baker above-mentioned, whose father married a daughter of the Rev. John Lloyd, a descendant of the celebrated Dr. William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Lichfield, Coventry, and Worcester.

AMWELL STREET.

This street, which runs from Pentonville-road to Upper Rosoman-street, was erected about thirty-five years ago. Previous to its building there had been a road across the fields in this direction with hedges on either side. The ground upon which the houses are built is the leasehold property of the New River Company.

At No. 23 in this street resided some years the eminent caricaturist, George Cruikshank, the modern Hogarth. He was born in London about the year 1795, and was the son of an artist of some standing. George was not brought up to his father's profession, and it was some time before he hit upon his right vocation ; he is even said to have thought seriously of adopting the theatrical calling, and for a while to have trod the stage. His earliest designs were made for publishers of cheap songs and children's books, but his satirical vein soon came to the surface, and in the "Scourge," and one or two other periodicals, he early showed a proficiency that way. He became acquainted with the celebrated William Hone, who found him considerable employment in making designs for his various publications. The trial of Queen Caroline was a fertile subject for his pencil. One work, the "Queen's Matrimonial Ladder," for which he designed the cuts, so pleased the public that it sold through fifty editions. "Non mi Ricordo," "The Political House that Jack Built," the "Political Showman," and "A Slap at Slop, or the Bridge-street Gang," met with the like success. When

Hone ceased to publish his political satires, Mr. Cruikshank undertook the illustration of humorous tales; and in this field of labour he excelled anything which he had achieved before. "Grimm's German Tales," "Hone's Every Day Book," the "Comic Almanac," which he illustrated for a dozen years, and several other works, display the fertility of his genius and the greatness of his ability. Many of the illustrations to "Boz" were etched by Mr. Cruikshank himself with a great mastery over the needle, and those engraved on wood are among the best examples in their way of the engraver's art. At a later period he employed his pencil in delineating the evils of intemperance, in a series of eight plates, entitled the "Bottle." These plates, which for him are of an unusually large size, being published at a low price, had an extensive circulation. Their sale was zealously promoted by the temperance societies, and made the subject of popular addresses and lectures. Mr. Cruikshank himself joined the teetotalers, and for some years past he has given up a large portion of his time and energy in the advocacy of the principle of total abstinence from all intoxicating beverages. The interior of Sadler's Wells Theatre,[1] with a "Total Abstainers'" meeting therein, is the subject of an interesting and lively engraving by Mr. Cruikshank. This woodcut appears in the "Illustrated London News," and represents a well filled house, with a platform leading from the pit to the stage, upon which is grouped an eager mob, the persons composing which are signing the pledge with all the enthusiasm of persons affected by a new idea. During the last five years Mr. Cruikshank has chiefly occupied himself professionally with painting in oil. Among the pictures which he has exhibited may be mentioned his "Tam O'Shanter," "Dressing for the Day," "Titiania and Bottom the Weaver," "Cinderella," "Disturbing the Congregation" (which was purchased by Prince Albert, and has been since engraved), and the "Worship of Bacchus." All these paintings evince considerable humour and artistic skill, but they will never obtain for him so many and warm admirers as his little etchings and woodcuts.

On the 10th of October, 1859, Rowland Nash, formerly assistant registrar and solicitor at the Bishop's Registry, diocese of Lincoln, died at his residence, No. 45, Amwell-street, aged seventy-five. He was a descendant of Thomas Nashe, who married Shakspeare's grand-daughter, and was the son of James Nash, a celebrated architect, who died in 1842, aged ninety-five. Rowland Nash was a devoted follower of the Rev. Rowland Hill, and one of the coadjutors in his Sunday-school. Bred to the law in London, he served in the Volunteers of 1799, and soon after obtained the appointment in the registrar's office, Lincoln, where he married, in 1812, Miss Mary Barnes, by whom he left three children. He was a warm supporter and friend for many years of the Sibthorp family at the Lincoln elections, celebrated in "the good old times" for always returning the "third man" as second member for Lincoln; and his personal friends, Ralph Bernal and John Fardell, were returned M.P.'s on that principle. The failure of some of Mr. Nash's lottery speculations occasioned him ruinous losses. Subsequently, in London, he edited the old "Star" newspaper; and, in conjunction with his son, was a colonial and parliamentary agent, contributor to the press for years, and compiler of various useful works on public companies, statistics and historical genealogies. A genealogy left by the deceased shows the family of Nash to be of remarkable antiquity. Of this branch of the family was Richard Nash, who married the daughter of Sir Richard Bulkeley, who had married a daughter of Sir Thomas Carr, and was buried in 1613 in the family vault of Sir Peter Droitwich. Also Thomas Nashe, who married the daughter and heiress of John Hall (1647), Shakspeare's grand-daughter, who afterwards married Sir John Barnard.[2] The daughter and heiress of Edward Nash, a cousin german of the Thomas Nash, buried at Stratford, was married to Sir Reginald Forster, Bart., in 1685, who made great sacrifices for the royal cause. Thomas's tomb, in the church, Stratford-on-Avon, shows his arms, "first and fourth chevron between three greyhounds' heads, erased." Another member of this family was the celebrated Tom Nash, author of "Pierce Penniless," printed in 1592, who died in 1601, and was buried at Shrewsbury, where our subject, Rowland Nash, passed his school time under two clergymen, and one of whose sons married in 1836 a Miss Pierce, niece of the famous General De Lacy. Among other celebrities of this family may be noticed Dr. Richard Nash, Chancellor of Norwich,

[1] *Vide* page 436.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxvii.

1752; Dr. Nash, prebend of Worcester in 1757; Colonel R. Nash, of Second Dragoon Guards, whose daughter married, in 1782, Sir W. Arnott; also Nash, of Brinney, Cork, whose daughter in 1769 married Lord Massey; and another Nash, who was "the founder of Calvert's brewery;" Sir William Nash, of Bristol, whose sister in 1804 married Mr. Buckland, M.P. for Dorset; Ensign J. Nash, honourably mentioned in Wellington's despatches, 1811, and wounded at Waterloo; also Sir Nash Grove, Judge of the King's Bench in 1816, and Colonel Nash, who died at Bath 1814. John Nash, the favoured architect of George III. and George IV.; and Charles Nash, who inherited the family energy and talent, in prosecuting the railway depredators of 1845, was son of the deceased. Thus the family has been celebrated for presenting a long line of authors and lawyers to an extent remarkable, if not without a parallel.

In Amwell-street are situated

CLERKENWELL PAROCHIAL CHARITY SCHOOLS.

This noble institution for the education of the children of the poor of the parish of Clerkenwell was founded in the year 1700. The first school-room was in School-house-yard, on the north side of Aylesbury-street.[1]

The following well-meaning letter was sent to Dr. Henry Savage, Treasurer of the school, on 20th July, 1710, with the sum of £20:—

"To the Trustees of the Charity School belonging to the Parish Church of St. James, Clerkenwell.

"Gentlemen,—Almighty God has enabled me to bestow this sum of twenty pounds towards your pious undertaking, which, with five pounds sent the 8th of July, 1705, and five pounds three shillings the 13th of March, 1708, make the sum of thirty pounds three shillings. The reasons that induce me to this work are first, God's blessing on my honest endeavours far beyond my expectation, whereby I think myself bound in duty to God to make this return of charity, firmly believing that God, who sees in secret, will reward me openly. The second reason is my own want of learning, for I can neither read nor write, which makes me know the want of it now, and observing the order and decorum of the children under your care, not only at church but at public examinations, and the care you take to instruct them in reading, writing, and accompts; these two reasons, I say, have made me very desirous to encourage this your generous undertaking.—I. P."

In the year 1711 the master of the school got himself into disgrace by having introduced play-acting among the boys in the school-room, and issuing tickets of admission thereto, as we learn from the subjoined extracts from the minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge:—

"Feb, 7, 1711.—Mr. Skeete reported that John Honeycott, the master of the Charity School at Clerkenwell, had yesterday, with the children of the above school, publicly acted the play called 'Timon of Athens,' and by tickets signed by himself had invited several people to it. And Mr. Skeete, laying before the society an original ticket, together with an account of several observations made by a friend of his, who was present at the said entertainment, both which being read, it was agreed that the acting of the said play by the master and children of the Charity School at Clerkenwell is a great reproach to the design of charity schools, and that it is highly worthy the design of the society to bear testimony against it as scandalous, and of pernicious consequence to the charity schools in general.

"Agreed, that Dr. Gastrell and Mr. Nelson be desired to give the thanks of the society to Sir Richard Hoare, for interposing their good offices to prevent the act of the Charity School at Clerkenwell.

"Feb. 14.—Mr. Jennings and Mr. Nelson are desired to wait on the Bishop of London, to request him to withdraw Honeycott's license.

"Mr. Nelson reported that, being informed the Bishop of Chester (Dr. William Dawes) was to preach last Lord's-day at St. Magnus, for a collection in favour of the Charity School at Clerkenwell, and having waited on his lordship last Friday, he acquainted him with the late behaviour of the master and scholars of the said Charity School, and that his lordship thereupon resolved not to preach for the said school."

Twenty-five boys were at first admitted, clothed, and gratuitously instructed in this school. In the following year the number of scholars was augmented by the admission of twenty girls. This

[1] *Vide* page 187.



number of children continued for twenty years. The trustees during that period accumulated a fund, by means of which, in 1720, they were enabled to increase the benefits of the charity to the extent of educating and clothing sixty boys and forty girls. For nearly a century after this no augmentation of the number of children appears to have taken place. In 1816, when the national system of education was introduced, the number of children was increased to two hundred and eighty, of whom one hundred and sixty-five were annually clothed. Since the year 1830 the number of children under tuition has increased to three hundred and thirty-eight boys and two hundred and ten girls; and the number clothed by the charity, at a cost of nearly £300 per annum, to one hundred and ten boys and ninety girls. The instruction in these schools comprises reading, writing, and arithmetic, in addition



CLERKENWELL PAROCHIAL CHARITY SCHOOLS, AMWELL STREET.

to which the upper classes of the boys are taught grammar, geography, and English history; and the girls needle and domestic work.

A premium of £2 is allowed towards apprenticing the boys, and a gratuity of 20s. to each girl who remains as a domestic servant for twelvemonths in the same situation; and a second gratuity of the like sum is bestowed if she continue a second year in the same household.

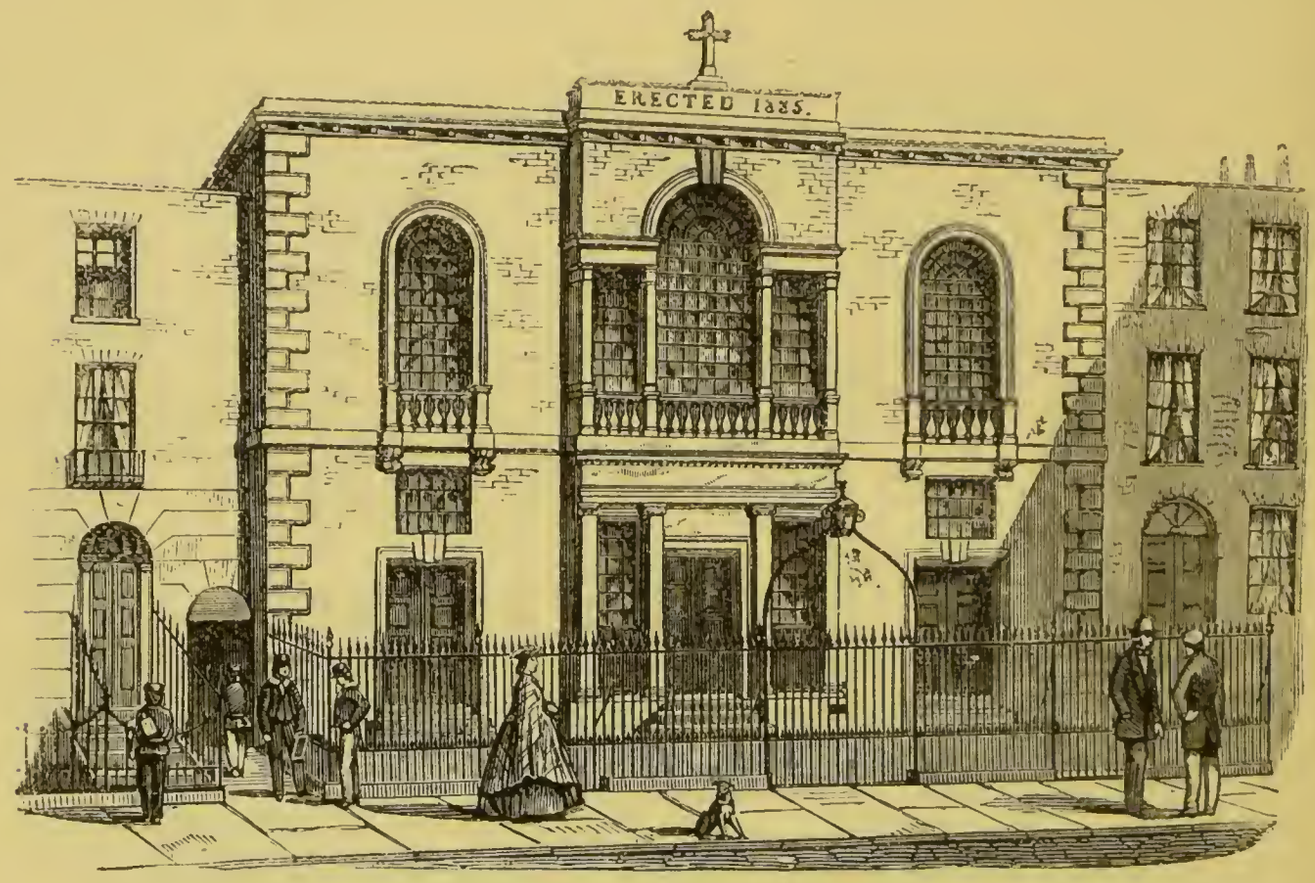
In the year 1760, the children were removed from Schoolhouse-yard to a new school-house at the north-west corner of Jerusalem-passage, in Aylesbury-street, the lease of which expired in 1830.

The present handsome school-house was erected, chiefly by subscription, on a plot of ground which was leased to the trustees of the school by the New River Company, for the term of ninety-nine years, subject to an annual rental of one shilling. The foundation stone was laid by the late George Byng, Esq., M.P., on the 25th July, 1828; and the building, designed by W. C. Mylne, Esq., architect and surveyor to the New River Company,[1] was erected under the supervision of Mr. John Blyth. The entire cost of the building, including fittings, was about £3,500, of which sum about one-half was defrayed by individual subscriptions, and the remainder by a grant of £500 from the National School

[1] *Vide* page 438.

Society, of £500 from the vestry of the parish, and by £754 realised by the sale of funded property belonging to the charity. The schools were opened in 1830. The rooms are light, airy, and commodious. The lower room, used for the boys' school, is of large dimensions; it measures ninety feet by forty feet, being well lighted with gas, as are both rooms. It is in frequent use for public meetings, lectures, &c. The upper, or girls' school-room, is of less dimensions, being thirty feet shorter than the lower room, though the same in breadth. In the year 1858, in accordance with the terms of the lease, nearly £200 was expended upon the building in necessary repairs.

In the "Illustrated London News," No. 434, vol. xvii., July 6th, 1850, is an engraving of the



THE CHURCH OF SS. PETER AND PAUL, UPPER ROSOMAN STREET.

jubilee dinner of the Clerkenwell Parochial Charity Schools. This third jubilee was held on Wednesday, 26th June, in that year, in the upper school-room, in Amwell-street, which room was decorated for the festival in a gay and picturesque manner, by the aid of armour, banners, and flags, from Sadler's Wells Theatre, very tastefully disposed, with evergreens and flowers. The Marquis of Salisbury was announced to take the chair; but, in consequence of the sudden death of his brother, the noble marquis was compelled to send an apology for his absence, and the chair was filled by W. Nicholson, Esq., the eminent distiller.

UPPER ROSOMAN STREET

Is a continuation of Amwell-street. On the western side of this acclivity is the Roman Catholic Church of SS. Peter and Paul,[1] which was erected in the year 1835 for a congregation of the Countess of Huntingdon's connection, who had left Spafields Chapel in consequence of their adhesion to the cause of the Rev. Mr. Parry, for whom they subscribed to erect this building (Northampton

[1] This church is referred to at page 171.

Tabernacle, as it was first called) for him to preach in. The congregation eventually became so diminished, in consequence of certain inconsistencies in the conduct of the minister, that the chapel was closed; and in the year 1847 it was leased to the Roman Catholic body, and converted to their worship. At the west end is a fine painted glass window, representing Saints Peter and Paul.

On the east side and at the south end of Upper Rosoman-street is the Vestry Hall of Clerkenwell, which we have before described.[1] In this building, until the passing of the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855, were the offices of the commissioners of St. James's, for paving, watching, lighting, &c., appointed pursuant to an act of Parliament of the 14th George III., cap. 24 (1774). That there was need of such a commission at that time is apparent from the preamble of the act, which sets forth concerning Clerkenwell that "the several streets, squares, lanes, alleys, courts, yards, and other passages and places are extremely ill paved, and the passages through the same greatly obstructed by posts and projections, and annoyed by spouts and gutters projecting in and over the same, and are in general not duly lighted, and the present modes prescribed by law are ineffectual for paving, lighting, and cleansing the same." By this act the commissioners were empowered to remove "all trees, signs, and posts, sign-irons, dyers', scourers', or barbers' poles, porches, penthouses, boards, and spouts projecting in and over the highways." They were also to name and number the streets.

The commissioners, fifty-four in number, held their first meeting in the vestry of the old church of St. James, on the 11th of April, 1774. Subsequent meetings were held at the New Jerusalem Tavern, in what was then called Rosoman-row, where they continued to meet until the 1st of March, 1792. After which their meetings took place in the board-room of the workhouse until 1814, when on the 4th of August, they assembled for the first time in the premises now occupied as the Vestry Hall, then commonly known as the Spafields Watchhouse, which was erected in 1813-14, on a plot of ground leased of the New River Company for ninety years, commencing Michaelmas, 1813, at a peppercorn rent for the first two years, and £10 per annum for the remainder of the term. A large and lofty room on the ground-floor, with two strong cells, one for male and the other for female prisoners, served for the Watch. When the metropolitan police force was established that portion of the premises which had served as a watchhouse was converted into a district police station, and so continued until 1841 or 1842, when the police station was removed to the Bagnigge Wells-road. In the board-room above the commissioners held their meetings. An office adjoining was erected in 1825-6.

WILMINGTON SQUARE.

This square, which is situated between Upper Rosoman-street and Bagnigge Wells-road, was built between 1821 and 1831.[2] It takes its name from one of the titles of the Marquis of Northampton, who is Baron Wilmington. This square was commenced when the Spafields in general began to be covered with erections. It was completed in a form more circumscribed than was at first determined on, and with houses of a less lofty character.[3] At No. 10, in the year 1835, resided the Rev. William John Hall, M.A. He was the compiler of a collection of psalms and hymns, which is much used in the Church of England. He was one of the minor canons of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Priest in Ordinary to Her Majesty, and subsequently vicar of Tottenham, where he died on the 16th of December, 1861. He wrote a small work entitled "Notes upon Tottenham Church." At No. 7, in this square, is the office of the Association for the Protection of Workers and Dealers in Precious Metals; which association was founded June 9th, 1859. It was established for the purpose of protecting the property of such of its members—being manufacturers or dealers in articles composed or partly composed of the precious metals, so far as such property may belong to their respective

[1] *Vide* page 175. [2] *Vide* page 13. [3] Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 316.

business or manufacturing occupation—from theft, misappropriation, or breach of trust; by the prosecution of all persons detected or discovered to have been concerned in stealing or misappropriating the property of any member, so far as the same may be within the objects of the association; and also all persons who may have received or purchased the produce of any theft, misappropriation, or breach of trust. In William-street, Wilmington-square, are St. Philip's Day and Sunday Schools.

MERLIN'S PLACE.

This avenue leads from Wilmington-square to Amwell-street. It unquestionably received its name from an adjacent tavern, known as the New Merlin's Cave, standing a little north of the site of a place of public entertainment at least a century older. The origin of this remarkable sign may be traced as follows:—In the year 1735, the consort of George II. ordered the construction of a subterraneous dwelling, or Merlin's Cave, in the royal gardens at Richmond, the interior of which cave was afterwards adorned with astronomical characters and astrological symbols, and contained six wax-work figures, of which that of Merlin was the principal; whilst for the delectation of the cave-keeper, his deputy, and others, a library of English books was added. Merlin was described to be "the son of a man, the daughter of a king of England, and begot by a sylph who brought him up, and made him thorough master of all arts and sciences." This exhibition appears to have been very popular, and was the subject of many communications to the "Gentleman's Magazine" of the year 1735, the frontispiece to which is an engraving of Merlin's Cave.[1] In one of these communications, published in the December of that year, we are told of the great concourse of people which had then lately flocked to view that celebrated edifice, Merlin's Cave, of the universal applause it had met with, and the several humble imitations of it in different parts of the kingdom. Possibly the extensive gardens once attached to the house under notice, and on which the dwellings in Merlin's-place are built, boasted one of these humble imitations to increase their attractiveness for pleasure seekers; certainly the conformation of the ground was favourable to such a construction, it then being, as it still is, an acclivity. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that the proprietor of the "New Wells," in Lower Rosoman-street, announced in the season of 1740, "an addition of the Merlin's Cave as in the royal gardens, Richmond."[2]

Maitland, in 1739, speaking of the fortifications thrown up around London during the civil wars of 1642-3, for the defence of the City against a threatened attack of the Royalists, remarks that "the vestiges whereof, which are still to be seen, run with a north-west course, from the garden belonging to Merlin's Cave, near the New River Head, to the uppermost stile in the field wherein the said house and garden are situated; and from the part of the said line of communication whereon the said garden is situated, a covered way, the course of which is still to be seen, ran to a large bulwark at the upper pond (the Claremont-square Reservoir), the greater part of which is still remaining." The vestiges referred to by Maitland as being then to be seen in the garden of the Merlin's Cave, were those of "a battery and breastwork" referred to by him as being "on ye hill east of Black Mary's Hole." But in the year 1746 the site had been converted into a public laystall.[3] In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1749, vol. xix., p. 251, is "A Plan of London and Wesminster, showing the Forts erected by order of the Parliament in 1643, and the desolation by the Fire in 1666." This plan gives the sites of a battery and breastwork at Mountmill; a battery and breastwork at St. John-street end; a small redoubt at Islington pound; a large fort with four half bulwarks at the New River Upper Pond; and a battery and breastwork on the hill, east of Black Mary's Hole.[4] We have before referred to these fortifications, *vide* pages 283, 295, and 296. The genuineness of the drawings of them, stated at page 296 to have been made by Captain Eyre, is

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1735, pp. 313, 331, 498, 533, and 661.
[2] *Vide* page 169.
[3] MS. additions to a map of the fortifications, in the Royal Library, British Museum.
[4] *Vide* page 560.

doubted by the Editor of "Notes and Queries," 1st Series, vol. ix., page 207. A plan of the City and suburbs, as fortified by order of Parliament in 1642-3, was engraved by George Vertue in 1738; and a small plan of the same works afterwards appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine" as above stated.

At the close of the year 1816, the neighbourhood of the Merlin's Cave became the scene of a great political excitement, occasioned by the intemperate speeches of the celebrated Henry Hunt, M.P., and other members of a party known as the Radical Reformers, of which he was the principal leader. In the "Morning Chronicle," of November 15th, 1816, we read that about twenty thousand persons assembled in Spafields, in consequence of a requisition from a committee in Shoreditch (which had been placarded for some days), addressed to distressed tradesmen, manufacturers, and mariners, calling upon them to meet for the purpose of adopting some measures with a view to their relief. The people began to collect as early as ten o'clock. The journalist proceeds to tell us that at one o'clock Mr. Hunt (the well-known orator) appeared, and, after taking his situation on the top of a coach, from which he spoke a minute or two, adjourned to the Merlin's Cave, where, from a window, he harangued the multitude. At about half-past four the meeting broke up, a petition to Parliament having been adopted, to be presented by Mr. Hunt and Sir Francis Burdett, which the latter afterwards declined to present. On the 23rd of December a second meeting was convened, to receive an answer to the petition, when a violent outrage took place, attended by the most unhappy consequences. Early in the morning of the day appointed for the meeting, a young man, of the name of Watson, appeared in a waggon at the lower end of the field, bearing a tricoloured banner, on which was inscribed the following mottoes:—"Nature—To feed the hungry;" "Truth—To protect the oppressed;" "Justice—To punish crimes;" and on its reverse side, "The brave soldiers are our brothers; treat them kindly." This young enthusiast, by a violent harangue, excited the *furore* of the multitude; and afterwards heading a party of the bystanders, he led them into those excesses for participating in which a poor sailor, named Cashman, was executed, and Watson, with the notorious Arthur Thistlewood and others, were arraigned for high treason. Owing to the disreputable character of the principal witness they were acquitted, but Thistlewood was afterwards executed for his complicity in the Cato-street conspiracy. Cashman, who persisted in his innocence to the last, after his conviction, stated that on the day of the riots he had been to the Admiralty to endeavour to procure the payment of £200 which he was entitled to for prize money, and that on his way home he was persuaded by a brother sailor to go to Spafields. On their way they had been drinking together.

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxviii., part I, page 462, under date Monday, May 4th, 1818, as follows:—

"A small meeting of the populace took place near Spafields, pursuant to notice. Our readers will thank us for not filling our columns with a long speech by Watson about the patriotism and absence of Henry Hunt, Esq. (who had sent a letter from Ireland to say that he feared he could not arrive in town in time to attend the meeting), and about annual parliaments to be elected by universal suffrage. The populace did not, at any moment, exceed two thousand in number, and at first they were much fewer. They listened for a considerable time to an harangue from Watson, who, of course, desired them to conduct themselves peaceably, and they did so. The second orator was Preston, who spoke not only of the abuses of Government, but of some which must come nearer to his own bosom, the ill distribution of the subscriptions raised for those who had been imprisoned under the Suspension Act! Thistlewood, without whom, he said, there never would have been a meeting in Spafields, was now rejected in his misfortunes. The joke of the thing is, that Sir Francis Burdett is at last suspected of aristocracy, and therefore he is not to carry the petition of the meeting to the Prince. The members of the deputation are Watson, Cartwright, and Hunt."

EXMOUTH STREET.[1]

This street was so named in honour of Admiral Lord Exmouth, of whom the following is a short biography. Edward Pellew was born April 19th, 1757, at Dover, where his father was captain of a Government packet. He entered the navy in 1770, and in that year sailed with Captain Stott, when he was sent out to retake possession of Port Egmont, on the Island of West Falkland, which had been captured and restored by the Spaniards. He was afterwards in the Mediterranean, and was in the Blonde, frigate, employed in the relief of Quebec. He first distinguished himself in the battle on Lake Champlain, October 11th, 1776. After his return to England, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in 1779, and in 1782 obtained his commission as post-captain. From 1786 to 1789 he was stationed off the coast of Newfoundland. In 1793, having been appointed to the command of the Nymphe, frigate, thirty-six guns, he fell in with La Cleopatra, French frigate, thirty-six guns. The French ship was fought with skill and bravery, but after a desperate battle struck her colours. His gallantry on this occasion was rewarded with the honour of knighthood. Sir Edward Pellew was soon afterwards appointed to the command of the Arethusa, frigate, forty-four guns, which was engaged in several actions off Jersey, and other parts of the French coast, in which some frigates and numerous smaller vessels were captured or destroyed. He was afterwards transferred to the Indefatigable, forty-nine guns. In 1796, after a chase of fifteen hours, he came up with La Virginie, French frigate, and captured her. On the 13th of January, 1797, the Indefatigable and Amazon having engaged a large French ship in foggy weather, after an action of five hours the Indefatigable was obliged to sheer off to secure her masts. Early in the morning breakers were seen, and the skill and energy of Sir Edward Pellew saved the Indefatigable, but the Amazon and French ship were wrecked together. The French ship proved to be a two-decker of eighty guns, and had on board, including soldiers, one thousand seven hundred persons, of whom one thousand three hundred and fifty perished.

In the early part of 1799 Sir Edward Pellew was appointed to the command of the Impétueux, seventy-eight guns, and was actively employed in various services on the French coast. In 1802 he was nominated Colonel of Marines, and in the same year was elected M.P. for the borough of Barnstaple, in Devonshire. On the renewal of the war after the peace of Amiens Sir Edward was appointed to the Tonnant, eighty-four guns, and on April 23rd, 1804, was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Red, and made commander in the East Indies; in consequence of which he resigned his seat in the House of Commons, July 26th, 1804. On April 28th, 1808, he was advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and returned home at the commencement of the following year. In 1810 he was employed in blockading Flushing, and soon afterwards was sent to the Mediterranean as commander-in-chief there. On May 14th, 1814, Sir Edward Pellew was elevated to the peerage, with the title of Baron Exmouth of Canonteign in Devonshire, with a pension of £2000 a year for his long and eminent services. On June 4th, 1814, Lord Exmouth was promoted to the rank of full Admiral; on the 2nd of January, 1815, he was created a K.C.B., and on the 16th of March, 1816, a G.C.B.

During his command in the Mediterranean Lord Exmouth had concluded treaties with the rulers of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, for the abolition of Christian slavery in those states; but after his return to England it became known that the Dey of Algiers had violated his treaty in the most flagrant manner. The British Government, in conjunction with that of Holland, having resolved to chastise the Algerines, Lord Exmouth set sail on board the Queen Charlotte, with eighteen other vessels of war, and having been joined by the Dutch admiral with six frigates, they appeared before

[1] *Vide* page 111.

the city of Algiers on August 26th, 1816. The plan of attack was one of the most daring on record. The Queen Charlotte sailed into the harbour, and took her station within the mole at eighty yards from the principal batteries, and with her bowsprit almost touching the houses. The other ships were placed in admirable order to support each other and act with most effect against the enemy. A tremendous fire was commenced on both sides at a quarter to three in the afternoon. The Algerine fleet, consisting of four large frigates, five large corvettes, and a large number of smaller vessels, were all on fire at once, and the flames had extended to the arsenal and other public and private buildings. At ten o'clock p.m. the firing ceased, the Dey of Algiers having consented to every demand. On the 30th of August a treaty was concluded on the terms dictated by the conquerors. Lord Exmouth was slightly wounded in the leg and also in the cheek, and his coat is described as having been almost torn into strips by grape and musket shot. On his return to England he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and on December 10th, 1816, was raised to the rank of Viscount. He was also, together with his most distinguished officers, presented with the freedom of the City of London in the Ironmongers' Company. About twelve hundred Christian slaves were set at liberty, and insignia of knighthood were sent to Lord Exmouth from several states to which they belonged. On the death of Sir Thomas Duckworth he was appointed to the chief command at Plymouth, but after 1821 he retired from public service. He died January 23rd, 1833.[1]

At No. 8, Exmouth-street, resided the renowned Joe Grimaldi, when manager of Sadler's Wells Theatre, in 1829. In a letter, dated April 23rd, Joe writes, "I have moved to 23, Garnault-place, about two hundred yards from where I did live."[2]

There are three Exmouth streets in the metropolis. The one in Clerkenwell was not so called until the year 1818, about which time the houses on the north side were completed. The opposite side retained the name of Braynes-row, from Mr. Thomas Braynes, the lessee of the ground, who died in 1759, and was buried in the old church of St. James. The row of houses named after him was not built until some years after, as appears from a stone tablet in the front wall of one of the houses, inscribed "Braynes-row, 1765." Some houses westward of Braynes-row were distinguished as Spa-place, in 1808. The quiet road before Braynes-row used to be separated from the fields only by an open fence, and the houses commanded a prospect of the hills of Highgate and Hampstead. Cromwell, writing of this street, in 1828, says:—"Now, the same road is a constant thoroughfare for vehicles of all descriptions; and as streets occupy nearly the whole space between it and Pentonville, Spa Fields exist only in name." In 1803, Malcolm thus wrote of the same spot, but his description would have been equally applicable ten or twelve years afterwards:—"The Spa Fields, so called from the neighbouring mineral waters, have long been a place of resort to those who prefer the air of the fields to longer walks in the country: consequently, on Sundays and holidays, they are almost literally covered with loungers; and, indeed, fine summer evenings produce an equal number on week days."

The rapid increase of buildings in these fields, and in the neighbourhoods beyond them, has entirely shut out all views of the distant hills of Highgate and Hampstead, and all rural and pastoral scenery. Numerous streets of houses spread on every side, and only a few semi-green trees and enclosures remain to remind us of the country aspect which this locality once had. The busy trade and noisy traffic which now usurp Spa Fields are enough to bewilder the brain of any exploring topographer who may go there to look for memorials of the past. And not alone to Spa Fields do these changes belong; everywhere about Clerkenwell we find evidences of alterations. Its Green exists only in name; its many health-restoring wells are gone, leaving only nomenclature to bricks and mortar; the "prospects" which once gave a pleasant reputation to certain residences in it are now dreary enough. In truth, the parish has seen many mutations since the time when the old pile of St. John's Gate was first reared. Centuries ago that building stood almost alone; but during the stealthy passage of many years it has served as a nucleus, around which on every side has gathered a widely circulating fringe of houses, which now merge into the great City itself in one direction, and

[1] *English Cyclopædia*, Biography.

[2] *Vide* page 397.

which on the other sides push themselves into the sites of places which were once country villages. But still the old gate stands, substantial and grand in its venerable antiquity. There, at least, the archæologist may find something really belonging to the past, and true to itself and its name and reputation. Time's vandal hand has only lightly touched this remnant of early Clerkenwell; and we hope that for many years to come the historical *prestige* which attaches to this structure may render it sacred to the ruthless hands of innovators. Already steam-engines rattle through the valley of the Fleet River, where verdant slopes and water-mills once were to be found. It may be that railway or other speculators will at some time hereafter project designs against St. John's Gate, with arguments based upon public utility. We leave on record a protest against such schemes, and, as chroniclers of a strangely chequered history, we beg the people of Clerkenwell to struggle to save that one solitary fragment from the old time. Good substitutes for the Spa Fields, the Green, the pleasure gardens which were attached to the wells, and the open hills of Clerkenwell, may be readily found by the residents in the parish; but never will they be able to behold so choice a relic of their forefathers as the Gate House, which, although it be grim and rude, has a very halo of chivalry, nobility, and learning round about it.



THE GRAVE OF WILLIAM J. PINKS, AT HIGHGATE CEMETERY.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

The Clerks' Well—Well Worship—The Parish Clerks—Skinners' Well—Royal Festival at—The Wrestling Place—Public Execution at—Lord Mayor's Visit to—Early Progress of Buildings in London—Distinguished Residents in Clerkenwell in 1666—The Division of the Parish—Extracts from the Census of 1861 relative to Clerkenwell—Value and Assessments of Property in Clerkenwell—Clerkenwell Manor—Muswell-hill portion of Clerkenwell—Alexandra Park—Rowe Family—Sir Julius Cæsar—Ward of St. James—St. Mary's Nunnery—Gifts to—Lord de Camoys Buried in Clerkenwell—His Family—Clerkenwell Parish called St. Mary—Isabella Sackville—Sir Thomas Pope Buried in Clerkenwell—Thomas Beddingfield's Gift to Clerkenwell—The Vicarage House and Garden—Samuel Pepys Visits Clerkenwell Church—Curiosities found at the Old Church—Francis Loveday's Gift to Clerkenwell—Picture Altar Piece—Curious Seat in the Church—Engraving of the Old Church—Prior Weston's Skeleton—Sir George Booth, Lord Delamere—Lord Lisle's Son Baptised in Clerkenwell—Sir Richard Fanshawe—New Painted Window in St. James's Church—Thomas Crosse's Gifts to Clerkenwell—Sir William Wood, the Archer—Archery in Finsbury or Clerkenwell-fields—The History of—The Marquis of Clerkenwell—The Lords Appellant and Thomas, Earl of Gloucester, meet in Clerkenwell-fields—The Earl of March and his Army Encamp in St. John's or Clerkenwell-fields—Tradesmen's Tokens of Clerkenwell-fields—The History of Moorfields—Vaults of St. James's Church—Recommendation to Clerkenwell Benefice—Doctor Sibbald—Rev. Richard Kingston—His Character—Rev. Mr. Bourghope—Rev. William Hendley—Rev. G. Burnet—Rev. J. Doughty—Rev. W. Sellon—Rev. R. C. Dillon—Clerkenwell Ladies' Benevolent Society—Rev. R. Maguire—Contested Elections of the Incumbents of Clerkenwell—Coldbath-fields Prison—Treadmill first introduced there—Enlargement of the Prison—Cherry Tree Tavern—Old Cheshire Cheese Tavern. Clerkenwell Close:—Tradesmen's Tokens—Extract from the State Papers—Crown Tavern—Sir Edward Smith's Gift to Clerkenwell—Sir Robert Wood's Gift to Clerkenwell—Justice Blackborough—Justice Girdler—John Brown—Oliver Cromwell's House in the Close—Sir Thomas Chaloner—Everard Maynwaring—Cloister of the Nunnery of Clerkenwell—Duke and Duchess of Newcastle—Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford—Newcastle or Albemarle House—Duke and Duchess of Albemarle. Clerkenwell Green:—Extract from the State Papers—Tradesmen's Tokens—Coins found on Clerkenwell-green—Robbery on—Fires on—Satirical Poem relating to the Green—The Sessions House—Jack Adams—Ground Purchased of the Marquis of Northampton—Andrews, the Almanack Maker—Mutton-lane.

PAGE 2.

The words of Fitz-Stephen relative to the clerks' well, which words we have quoted and translated at page 2, in the original Latin run as follows:—"Sunt etiam circa Londoniam a Aquilone suburbani fontes præcipui, aqua dulci, salubri, perspicua, et 'per claros rivo trepidante lapillos.' Inter quos Fons Sacer, Fons clericorum, Fons sancti Clementis, nominatio res habentur; et adeuntur celebriore accessu et majore frequentia scholarium, et urbanæ juventutis in serotinis æstivis ad auram exeuntis; Urbs sane bona, cum bonum habeat dominum."

The words "per claros rivo trepidante lapillos" are borrowed by Fitz-Stephen from an early and unknown author.

In reference to the clerks' well, or *fons clericorum*, from which Clerkenwell parish took its name, we may mention that in early days the superstitious practice of well-worship prevailed. Part of the

religion of the Druids consisted of the worship of brooks and particular wells or springs, to which there was a resort of people at certain seasons. Whether this custom was common to the German nations or not, it is certain that it was adopted by their emigrants, the Saxons. The Diracula Ennis de Montfort, published by the Camden Society, supplies an instance of well-worship. The well-worship, of which the fathers of the church complained in 1102 and 1240, was encouraged by the priests near these places, per sacerdotis vicaris, pointing to a class of priests, ministers, and deacons, who with subdeacons, readers, acolytes, choristers, parish clerks, and even menial assistants at divine service, were comprehended in early times under the general style or description of clerks. These *secular* priests (for those who professed under the habit of any order in a monastery or other house of religion were termed regular) in cathedral cities were not unfrequently associated as a fraternity, which by its members was placed under the protection of a particular saint. In the Doomsday Book such an association of local clerks is mentioned as follows:—Incivitate Cantuaria habet archiepiscopus xii. burgesses and xxxii. mansurars, which the clerks of the town, clerici de villa, hold within their guild and do yield xxxv. shillings. Such was doubtless the origin of the parish clerks of London, who as the most ancient of the City companies, assembled under a religious style, and were incorporated by licence under the name of a guild or fraternity, being clothed with one livery. These clerks of London availed themselves of the popular superstition which made the wells in the place which is now Clerkenwell parish, spots for meeting, and either by themselves, or with the assistance of some other fraternity, performed mysteries or sacred plays. When the Comic Muse took refuge in theatrical buildings, the ancient Society of Parish Clerks became divided—some turned their genius to wrestling and mimicry at Bartholomew Fair, whilst others, for their better administration, formed themselves into the Society of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of Stroud Green, assembling at the Old Crown in Merry Islington; but still saving their right to exhibit at the Old London Spaw, formerly Clerks' Well, when they might happen to have learned sheriffs and other officers to get up their sacred pieces as usual. Even so late as the year 1774 (according to Lewis's "Islington," p. 281), the members of this ancient society were accustomed to meet annually in the summer time at Stroud Green, near Hornsey Wood House, and to regale themselves in the open air; the number of persons drawn to the spot on these occasions produced a scene similar to that of a country wake or fair.[1]

The reader will see by reference to page 4 that in the year 1390 the Parish Clerks of London played at Skinners' Well in the presence of King Richard II. and his queen, and many of the nobles. This year was one of great festivity in London. The king, says Froissart, "ordayned a great fest to be holden in the cyte of London, where ther shulde be justs and lx. knyghtes to abyde all comers, and with them lx. ladyes, fresshly appareled, to kepe them compane. To begin the next Sonday after ye feest of Saint Michael in the yeere of our Lorde God mccc. four score and ten." On the day appointed, Sunday, "about thre of the clock at afternoone there issued out of the Towre of London first, three score coursers appareled for the justs, and on every one a squire of honour riding a soft pace, then issued out three score ladys of honour mounted on fair palfreys riding on one side, richly appareled, and every lady led a knight by a chain of silver, which knights were appareled to just;" thus they came riding along the streets of London with a great number of trumpets and other minstrels, and so came to Smithfield, where the Queen of England and other ladies and damosells were ready in chambers richly adorned to see the jousts; and the King was with the Queen; and when the ladies that led the knights were come to the place they were taken down from their palfreys and mounted up into the chambers ready apparelled for them; then the squires of honour alighted from their coursers, and the knights in good order mounted on them; then their helmets were set on and made ready at all points; then thither came the Earl of St. Paul, nobly accompanied with knights and squires all armed with harness (armour) for the jousts to begin the feast, which "incontinent began." The tournament continued for four days.[2]

After the performance of the play in the year 1409, as mentioned at page 4, the nobility who

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., iv., p. 211.

[2] Froissart's *Chronicle*, by Lord Berners, vol. ii., p. 513.

were present went into Smithfield to see the grand jousting there; the Marshal of Hainault and several of his countrymen having challenged the Earl of Somerset and a like number of English gentlemen to a trial of their prowess in a passage of arms. In this engagement the English gained "abundance of honour," and were knighted for the bravery which they displayed.

PAGE 8.

In 1538 Jack Ketch himself was hanged in Clerkenwell. "The Sonday after Bartlemew-day," says Hall, "was one Cratwell, hangman of London, and two persons more hanged at the wrestyling place at the backsyde of Clerkenwelle beside London, for robbyng of a bouthe in Bartholomew Fayre; at which execution was about twentie thousand persons, as I myselfe judged."[1]

On St. Bartholomew's-day, August 24th, 1548, on the return of the Lord Mayor from the accustomed sports and wrestlings at Clerkenwell, two great fires were made in Cheapside, of the rood and the images of the Virgin Mary, John, and other saints. "They were burned with great wonder of the people."

PAGE 10.

Macaulay, in his "History of England," vol. i., pp. 349-50, says:—

"Whoever examines maps of London which were published towards the close of the reign of Charles the Second, will see that only the nucleus of the present capital then existed. The town did not as now fade by imperceptible degrees into the country. No long avenues of villas embowered in lilacs and laburnums extended from the great centre of wealth and civilization almost to the boundaries of Middlesex, and far into the heart of Kent and Surrey. In the east no part of the immense line of warehouses and artificial lakes which now spread from the Tower to Blackwall had even been projected. On the west scarcely one of those stately piles of building which are inhabited by the noble and wealthy was in existence, and Chelsea, which is now peopled by more than forty thousand human beings, was a quiet country village, with about one thousand inhabitants. On the north cattle fed, and sportsmen wandered with dogs and guns over the site of the borough of Marylebone, and over the far greater part of the space now covered by Finsbury and the Tower Hamlets. Islington was almost a solitude, and poets loved to contrast its silence and repose with the din and turmoil of the monster London."

PAGE 11.

From a MS. in the late Mr. Upcott's collection, we learn that the following eminent persons were residing in Clerkenwell in 1666:—Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Essex, Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Barkely, Lord Townsend, Lord Dellawar, Lady Crofts, Lady Wordham, Sir John Keeling, Sir John Cropley, Sir Edward Bannister, Dr. Nicholas Stroude, Sir Gower Barrington, Dr. King, and Dr. Sloane. In 1667-8, Duke of Newcastle, Lord Baltimore, Lady Wright, Lady Mary Dormer, Lady Wyndham, Sir Erasmus Smith, Sir Richard Chiverton,[2] Sir John Burdish, Sir Goddard Nelthorpe, Sir John King, Sir William Bowles, and Sir William Boulton.

PAGE 13.

In the British Museum (press mark 357, b. 7—100) are, in small folio, 2 pp., "Reasons humbly offer'd to the Honourable House of Commons against dividing the ancient parish of St. James, Clerkenwell;" and also (press mark 357, b. 7—41), in one page 4to., "A State of the parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell, as it stood at and before the time of dividing it, and erecting part thereof into the new parish of St. John's, Clerkenwell;" and also (press mark 357, b. 7—42), in small folio 2½ pp., "The Proceedings before the Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches, &c., relating to

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 233.

[2] *Cheverton*, page 11, note 2.

a new church in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, extracted from their books, and papers, and copies of their minutes, relating to a division of the said parish."

PAGE 14.

Since that portion of this history which contains page 14 was published, the returns of the census taken on the 8th of April, 1861, have been issued. The following extracts relating to Clerkenwell will be interesting to our readers:—

AGES OF MALES AND FEMALES ENUMERATED APRIL 8TH, 1861, IN SUPERINTENDENT REGISTRAR'S DISTRICT.

All Ages.		Under 5 Years.	5-	10-	15-	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	70-	75-	80-	85-	90-	95-	100 and upwards.
Both Sexes.	Males and Females.																					
65681	M.... 31960	4195	3392	3177	3365	3313	2831	2548	2109	1887	1436	1312	883	675	380	259	149	29	15	3	2	...
	F. ... 33721	4352	3484	2992	3221	3314	3074	2635	2205	2022	1614	1411	1051	904	565	470	254	109	35	7	2	...

AGES OF MALES AND FEMALES IN SUB-DISTRICTS.

Sub-districts.	All Ages.		Under 5 Years.	5-	10-	15-	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	70-	75-	80-	85-	90-	95-	100 and upwards.
	Both Sexes.	Males and Females.																					
St. James.	19152	M.... 9334	1261	1033	1030	976	825	735	684	599	541	448	405	299	216	128	84	51	13	6	...	...	...
		F. ... 9818	1280	1069	950	847	885	827	707	634	658	493	418	277	270	170	156	114	47	11	4	1	...
Amwell.	17250	M.... 8960	1072	879	718	1100	1159	884	792	583	518	348	347	213	164	77	62	34	6	1	3	...	...
		F. ... 8290	1122	820	719	818	858	785	704	532	439	383	342	256	218	139	91	43	15	5	1	...	...
Pentonville	13079	M.... 6132	849	720	678	572	528	531	482	396	383	296	249	157	120	81	51	28	6	4	...	1	...
		F. ... 6947	897	748	584	681	677	628	543	468	432	333	276	238	165	121	79	43	23	9	2	...	...
Goswell Street	16200	M.... 7534	1013	760	751	717	801	681	590	531	445	344	311	214	175	94	62	36	4	4	...	1	...
		F. ... 8666	1053	847	739	875	894	834	681	571	493	405	375	280	251	135	144	54	24	10	...	1	...

NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT EACH YEAR OF AGE UNDER FIVE IN SUPERINTENDENT REGISTRAR'S DISTRICT,

Included in the Foregoing Tables in the column headed "Under Five Years."

Sex.	Under 1 Year.	1-	2-	3-	4-
M. ..	1010	828	818	782	757
F. ..	1060	856	854	813	769

CIVIL CONDITION OF PERSONS AGED FIFTEEN YEARS AND UPWARDS.

		Total.	15-	20-	25-	35-	45-	55-	65-	75 and upwards.
Unmarried	M. ..	8352	3346	2518	1562	488	210	128	64	6
	F.....	8185	3111	2070	1560	641	390	208	166	39
Married	H. ..	11847	19	786	3760	3356	2274	1185	388	79
	W. ..	11632	108	1225	3973	3099	1998	921	275	33
Widowed	Wr ..	997	..	9	57	152	234	245	187	113
	Wid.	3076	2	19	176	487	637	826	594	335

Occupations of Males Aged Twenty Years and Upwards.

Total of Males, 17,831.

Civil service not in rev. dep.	32
Post office	121
Inland revenue	13
Customs	12
Government messengers, workmen	4
Magistrate	1
Police	116
Prison officer	96
Union and parish officer	18
Officer of local board	2
Other local officers	10
East India and Colonial Service	2
Army officer	2
Army half-pay officer	6
Soldier	40
Chelsea pensioner	16
Others	1
Seaman, R.N.	1
Greenwich pensioner	9
Clergyman	22
Protestant minister	15
Roman Catholic priest	1
Other religious teachers	10
Parish clerk	4
Other church officers	9
Barrister	10
Solicitor	57
Law student	5
Officer of law court	16
Law clerk	213
Law stationer	38
Physician	15
Surgeon, apothecary	52
Medical student, assistant	27
Dentist	12
Druggist	76
Others	2
Author, editor, and writer	25
Others engaged in literature	9
Artist, painter	42
Sculptor	4
Engraver	164
Photographic artist	9
Musician	64
Music master	14
Actor	9
In theatres and exhibitions	12
Schoolmaster	42
Teacher of languages	10
Teacher (General)	8
Teacher of dancing	5
Other teachers	3
Civil engineer	12
Other scientific persons	5
Son, grandson, brother, nephew	42
Scholar (so described)	9
Innkeeper and hotelkeeper	5
Publican	115
Beerseller	31
Lodging and boarding-house keeper	7
Coffee-house keeper	38
Cook (not domestic servant)	11
Others, boarding, &c.	15
Domestic servant:—	
General	58
Coachman	3
Groom	3
Gardener	1
Inn servant	167
Hospital attendant, nurse, &c.	2
Merchant	57
Insurance benefit society officer	17
Stock broker, &c.	8
Ship broker, agent	10
Broker	13
Agent, factor	48
Coal, colliery, agent	4
Iron merchant, agent	1
Salesman	11
Auctioneer, appraiser, and valuer	14
Accountant	31
Commercial clerk	369
Commercial traveller	123
Other mercantile men	7
Pawnbroker	32
Marine store dealer	13
General dealer, costermonger	111
Shopkeeper	17
Hawker, pedlar	70
Other general dealers	5
Railway engine driver, &c.	2
Railway official	55
Railway servant	14
Railway police	4
Others engaged in railways	1
Toll collector	4
Coach, omnibus, cab owner	35
Livery stable keeper	2
Coachman (not domestic)	72
Cabman, flyman	239
Carman, carrier, carter, dray-man	238
Others	8
Bargeman, waterman	9
Seaman (merchant service)	67
Pilot	1
Dock servant and labourer	65
Wharfinger	5
Others	15
Warehouseman (not Manchester)	174
Others in storage	27
Messenger, porter, errand boy	352
Telegraph service	11
Land propretor	11
Farmer, grazier	16
Farmer's son, brother, grandson	1
Agricultural labourer	18
Land surveyor, estate agent	10
Gardener	27
Nurseryman	4
Horse dealer	8
Horsekeeper, groom, jockey	118
Farrier, veterinary surgeon	36
Cattle, Sheep, dealer	9
Drover	46
Vermin destroyer	1
Fisherman	2
Others about animals	5
Bookseller, Publisher	105
Bookbinder	314
Printer	720
Newspaper agent	21
Others in publications	3
Musical instrument maker and dealer	97
Others	12
Lithographer and lithographic printer	82
Others	132
Wood carver	14
Others	89
Toy maker and dealer	31
Bow, bat, and tackle maker	28
Pattern designer	4
Others	24
Watchmaker, clockmaker	877
Optician	77
Weight or measure maker	18
Others	86
Surgical instrument maker	20
Gunsmith and gun manufacturer	15
Others	4
Engine and machine maker	211
Needle manufacturer	2
Scissors maker	1
Tool maker, dealer	15
File maker	17
Saw smith, maker	5
Cutler	36
Blade maker, forger	1
Knife maker	5
Others in tools and machines	55
Coach maker	122
Others	1
Saddler and harness maker	41
Whip maker	18
Shipbuilder and shipwright	6
Block, oar, and mast maker	1
Boat, barge builder	2
Sail maker	4
House proprietor	45
House agent	8
Architect	25
Surveyor	11
Builder	69
Carpenter and joiner	535
Bricklayer	330
Marble mason	16
Mason and pavior	80
Slater and tiler	5
Plasterer	84
Paperhanger	30
Plumber, painter, and glazier	418
Others	22
Cabinet maker and upholsterer	375
Undertaker	28
Chair maker	19
Picture-frame maker	50
Carver and gilder	80
Bedstead and mattress maker	14
Furniture broker	35
Others	96
Wheelwright	48
Millwright	22
Other implement maker	1
Manufacturing chemist, labourer	21

Occupation of Males aged Twenty Years and Upwards—*Continued.*

Dye and colour manufacture	8
Dyer and calenderer	25
Others	24
Woolstapler	1
Woollen cloth manufacturer	13
Clothier	3
Worsted manufacture	3
Carpet and rug manufacture	17
Others	11
Silk manufacture	12
Silk dyer and printer	3
Silk mercer	5
Others	3
Lace manufacture	3
Cotton manufacture	3
Muslin manufacture	3
Calico and cotton printer	3
Calico and cotton dyer	2
Others	8
Weaver (undefined)	2
Manchester warehouseman	11
Draper and mercer	156
Others	19
Hairdresser and wig maker	49
Hatter and hat manufacturer	41
Straw plait manufacturer	2
Straw hat and bonnet maker	23
Furrier	55
Tailor	433
Clothes dealer and outfitter	7
Button maker	5
Hosier and haberdasher	27
Glover, leather, &c.	9
Shoe maker and boot maker	578
Patten, clog maker	3
Umbrella and stick maker	14
Others providing dress	66
Mat maker, seller	5
Rope, cord maker	4
Sailcloth manufacturer	1
Others	11
Cowkeeper, milk seller	113
Cheesemonger	63
Butcher, meat salesman	270
Provision curer and dealer	24
Poulterer and game dealer	5
Fishmonger	45
Others	5
Corn merchant and dealer	27
Miller	6
Flour dealer, agent	1
Baker	236
Confectioner and pastry cook	77
Greengrocer and fruiterer	94
Fruit, flower, vendor	4
Potato merchant	7
Seed merchant and seedsman	7
Others	6
Maltster	1
Brewer, &c	55
Wine and spirit merchant	28
Distiller, rectifier	24
Cellarman	9
Ginger beer, soda water manufacturer	8
Sugar refiner	4
Grocer, tea dealer	156
Tobacco, cigar, snuff manufacturer	67
Tobacconist	43
Others	36
Soap boiler	10
Tallow chandler	8
Comb maker	2
Others	78
Skinner	24
Tanner	1
Currier	47
Others	127
Hair and bristle manufacturer	21
Brush, broom, maker	124
Others	1
Oil miller, refiner	1
Oil and colourman	50
French polisher	87
Japanner	32
Others	17
Timber merchant, dealer	26
Wood dealer	15
Sawyer	53
Lath maker	7
Turner	71
Box maker	23
Cooper	38
Others	30
Cork cutter, manufacturer	23
Basket maker	5
Hay and straw dealer	5
Others	6
Rag gatherer, dealer	9
Paper manufacturer	12
Stationer (not law)	75
Paper stainer	25
Other workers in paper	15
Miners	11
Coal merchant, dealer	19
Coalheaver, labourer	16
Coke burner, dealer	1
Chimney sweeper	21
Gas works service	55
Other workers in coal	2
Stone cutter, polisher	8
Brick maker, dealer	6
Railway labourer	5
Platelayer	1
Excavator, navvy	10
Road labourer	2
Scavenger	4
Dust collector	1
Others	7
Earthenware manufacture	2
Tobacco pipe maker	15
Earthenware glass dealer	15
Others	2
Glass manufacture	79
Other workers in Glass	1
Dealers in salt	1
Water works service	18
Others	3
Goldsmith, jeweller	725
Plater, plated warehouseman	31
Others	183
Copper manufacture	5
Coppersmith	28
Tinman, tinker	23
Tinplate worker	87
Others	13
Zinc manufacture	22
Lead manufacture	1
Typefounder	56
Others	28
Brass founder, manufacturer	241
Brazier	20
Locksmith, bellhanger	25
Gasfitter	74
Wire maker, drawer	13
Wire worker, weaver	23
Others	72
Iron manufacture	95
Whitesmith	40
Blacksmith	155
Nail manufacture	1
Anchor, chain, smith	1
Boiler maker	47
Ironmonger	3
Hardwareman, dealer	1
Steel manufacturer	3
Grinder, branch undefined	20
Others	453
Labourer	25
Mechanic	12
Shopman	3
Apprentice	25
Others of indefinite occupation	30
Gentleman	38
Annuitant	5
Almsperson, no stated occupation	9
Lunatic, no stated occupation	6
Others	22
Prisoner, no stated occupation	1
Gipsy	5
Others of no stated occupation	115

Occupations of Females Aged Twenty Years and Upwards.

Total of Females, 19,672.

Bookseller, publisher	15
Bookbinder	267
Printer	3
Others in publications	9
In musical instruments	2
In maps, pictures	18
Artificial flower maker	275
Others	4
Toy maker, dealer	9
Bow, bat, tackle maker	5
Engraver about medals, &c.	1
Watch maker, clockmaker	13
Others	3
Surgical instrument maker	2
In manufacture of arms	6
File maker	1
Cutler	1
Others	5
Saddler, harness maker	1
Whip maker	2
House proprietor	92
Others	1

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES AGED TWENTY YEARS AND UPWARDS—*Continued.*

Cabinet maker, upholsterer	36
Chairmaker	4
Furniture broker	5
Others	9
Dyer, calenderer	8
Others	8
Knitter	2
Woollen cloth manufacture	1
Clothier	1
Worsted manufacture	1
Berlin wool dealer, worker	2
Carpet rug manufacture	5
Others	4
Silk manufacture	8
Fancy Goods (Silk)	13
Flax, linen manufacture	6
Lace manufacture	41
Cotton manufacture	5
Calico, cotton, dyer	1
Others	5
Weaver (undefined)	1
Draper, mercer	19
Trimming maker	16
Embroiderer	33
Others	47
Hatter, hat manufacture	11
Straw plait manufacture	2
Straw hat, bonnet maker	82
Bonnet maker	85
Cap maker	32
Shawl manufacture	1
Furrier	72
Clothes dealer, outfitter	15
Tailor	114
Milliner, dressmaker	1233
Shirt maker, seamstress	545
Stay maker	38
Fancy worker	26
Hosier, haberdasher	18
Glover, leather, &c.	8
Shoemaker, bootmaker	140
Shoemaker's "Wife"	224
Umbrella, stick maker	25
Laundress	754
Others	64
Mat maker, seller	1
Hemp manufacture	5
Rope, cord maker	3
Net maker	6
Workers in hemp	5
Cowkeeper, milkseller	25
Cheesemonger	4
Butcher	11
Butcher's "Wife"	122
Provision curer, dealer	1
Fishmonger	1
Others	2
Baker	11
Confectioner	22
Greengrocer, fruiterer	14
Fruit, flower vendor	16
Others	4
Wine merchant	2
Grocer, tea dealer	20
Tobacco, cigar, snuff manufacture	1
Tobacconist	20
Others	9
Tallow chandler	1
Others	16
Currier	4
Others	32
Hair, bristle manufacture	15
Brush, broom maker	80
Others	2
French polisher	22
Japanner	13
In gums and resins	4
Wood dealer	1
Box maker	34
Others	2
Workers, dealers in bark	1
Basket maker	3
Others	2
Rag gatherer, dealer	3
Paper manufacture	3
Stationer (not law)	20
Envelope maker	25
Paper box maker	5
Paper stainer	2
Other workers in paper	14
Coal merchant and dealer	3
Others	2
Tobacco-pipe maker	7
Earthenware, glass, dealer	3
Glass manufacture	4
Others	5
Goldsmith, jeweller	39
Others	18
Workers, dealers, in copper	1
Tin manufacture	1
Others	2
In lead	1
Pin manufacture	1
Lacquerer	2
In Brass, &c	22
Iron manufacture	1
Ironmonger	2
Screw cutter, maker	1
In iron and steel	2
Labourer	1
Shopwoman and assistant	10
Others of indefinite occupation	3
Gentlewoman	98
Annuitant	200
Dependent on relatives	17
Almsperson and no stated occupation	5
Pauper, no stated occupation	1
Others	6
Criminal class	30
Vagrant and beggar	1
Visitor, no stated occupation	103
Others of no stated occupation or condition	239
Post-office	1
Prison Officer	4
Religious teacher	7
Pew opener	7
Other church officers	2
Druggist	1
Midwife	8
In literature	3
Artist, painter	5
Others	3
Musician	15
Music mistress	32
Actress	4
Schoolmistress	92
Teacher of languages	1
General teacher	15
Governess	98
Other teachers	2
Scientific person	1
Wives (not otherwise described)	9139
Widows (not otherwise described)	907
Children and relatives	916
Scholars (so described)	1
Innkeeper, Hotelkeeper	1
Publican	22
Beerseller	5
Publican's "Wife"	99
Lodging-house-keeper	50
Lodging-house-keeper's "Wife"	3
Coffee-house keeper	14
Officer of institution	15
Others	1
Domestic Servant:	
(General)	1195
Housekeeper	118
Cook	91
Housemaid	60
Nurse	92
Inn Servant	43
Nurse (not Domestic Servant)	176
Charwoman	268
Others	3
In mercantile pursuits	13
Pawnbroker	1
General dealer, costermonger	94
Shopkeeper	31
Shopkeeper's "Wife"	3
Hawker and pedlar	15
Other general dealers	14
Toll collector	1
Coach, omnibus, cab, owner	4
Others	1
Warehouse woman	8
Others in storage	2
Messenger, porter, errand girl	1
Others	4
Land proprietor	8
Farmer's "Wife"	4
Farmer's daughter, granddaughter, sister, niece	1
Engaged about animals	2

BIRTH PLACES OF INHABITANTS.—IN SUPERINTENDENT REGISTRAR'S DISTRICT.

	Males.		Females.	
	Under 20 years.	20 years & upwards.	Under 20 years.	20 years & upwards.
Born in—				
London (Mid. Part)	11954	9010	11835	10267
,, (Surrey Part)	524	755	501	917
,, (Kent Part)	62	102	36	125
Surrey (Extra-metropolitan)	65	215	62	307
Kent (Extra-metropolitan)	66	376	111	530
Sussex	44	187	34	231
Hampshire	66	264	60	328
Berkshire	32	179	42	236
Middlesex (Extra-metropolitan)	99	233	84	244
Hertfordshire	68	276	76	377
Buckinghamshire	23	166	26	182
Oxfordshire	29	164	36	174
Northamptonshire	13	121	26	120
Huntingdonshire	15	53	17	63
Bedfordshire	27	128	33	129
Cambridgeshire	37	122	46	168
Essex	85	391	112	593
Suffolk	54	313	68	396
Norfolk	49	310	44	344
Wiltshire	16	159	30	249
Dorsetshire	12	117	17	103
Devonshire	69	372	57	364
Cornwall	3	78	8	81
Somersetshire	53	304	54	363
Gloucestershire	54	231	44	255
Herefordshire	8	52	7	65
Shropshire	8	61	7	65
Staffordshire	24	110	27	85
Worcestershire	17	78	9	72
Warwickshire	65	261	82	267
Leicestershire	11	66	12	52
Rutlandshire	1	7	..	10
Lincolnshire	30	136	25	129
Nottinghamshire	15	73	18	60
Derbyshire	7	51	8	38
Cheshire	3	32	7	23
Lancashire	55	199	55	107
Yorkshire	52	237	45	202
Durham	12	39	11	31
Northumberland	6	53	8	36
Cumberland	4	38	4	20
Westmoreland	2	28	1	13
Monmouthshire	5	9	6	17
Glamorganshire	9	18	4	16
Carmarthenshire	..	11	1	18
Pembrokeshire	1	7	2	9
Cardiganshire	1	23	4	16
Brecknockshire	..	7	..	9
Radnorshire	..	5	1	4
Montgomeryshire	..	13	3	23
Flintshire	..	4	1	8
Denbighshire	..	8	..	7
Merionethshire	1	6	1	4
Carnarvonshire	..	5	..	6
Anglesey	..	3	1	2
Wales (County not stated)	3	22	17	49
Scotland	83	373	63	238
Islands in the British Seas	7	29	15	24
Ireland	74	506	69	586
British Colonies and East Indies	27	53	18	50
Foreign Parts :—				
British Subjects	4	58	16	24
Foreign Subjects	69	513	40	132
Born at Sea	6	11	2	9

	Males under 20 years.	Males 20 years and upwards.	Females under 20 years.	Females 20 years and upwards.
Total of Inhabitants	14129	17831	14049	19672

NUMBER OF FOREIGNERS, DISTINGUISHING MALES AND FEMALES, BORN IN THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE, IN ASIA, IN AFRICA, AND IN AMERICA, &c.

Born in Europe.	Males.	Females.
France	106	55
Switzerland	45	11
Spain	—	2
Portugal	1	1
Italy	121	7
Greece	1	—
Turkey	1	—
Germany	164	39
Austria	9	1
Hungary	4	—
Prussia	41	17
Belgium	11	7
Holland	4	2
Denmark	6	2
Norway	3	3
Sweden	3	—
Russia	7	—
Poland	14	5
Born in Asia.		
Arabia	1	—
Other Countries	1	—
Born in Africa.		
Egypt	—	1
Other Parts	1	—
Born in America.		
United States	37	17
Other States	1	2
Total	582	172

Number of the blind, of the deaf and dumb, and of the inmates of workhouses and prisons:—Population, 65,681. Blind from birth, 6; others, 59; total, 65. Deaf and dumb, 42. Inmates of workhouses, 547; prisons, 1,688.

The following is a table of the value and assessments of property in Clerkenwell:—

Year.	Estimated Annual Rental.	Nett Rateable Value of Property Assessed to the Poor Rate.	Annual Value of Property Assessed to the Income Tax under Schedule A.	Total Amount expended from Poor Rates.	Amount expended in Relief of the Poor	Rate in the Pound of total expenditure from Poor Rates on Gross Estimated Rental.	Rate in the Pound of total expenditure from Poor Rates on Nett Rateable Value.	Rate in the Pound of Amount expended in Relief of the Poor on Gross Estimated Rental.	Rate in the Pound of Amount expended in Relief of the Poor on Nett Rateable Value.
	£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1830	206,437	154,828			16,315			1 7	2 1¼
1835	201,378	151,034		21,908	13,245	2 2	2 10¾	1 3¾	1 9
1840	230,254	172,691		19,157	10,901	1 8	2 2½	0 11¼	1 3¼
1845	246,851	183,529		22,046	13,281	1 9½	2 4¾	1 1	1 5¼
1850	251,162	188,372		23,545	14,269	1 10½	2 6	1 1¾	1 6¼
1851	243,038	189,779		20,597	12,764	1 8¼	2 2	1 0½	1 4¼
1852	253,826	190,370		22,960	11,368	1 9¾	2 5	0 10¾	1 2¼
1853	236,338	191,818		17,821	9,713	1 6	1 10¼	0 9¾	1 0¼
1854	257,012	192,767		22,241	11,972	1 8¾	2 3	0 11¼	1 3
1855	257,702	193,277		23,660	13,434	1 10	2 5½	1 0½	1 4¾
1856	244,528	196,481	246,383	25,333	17,802	2 0¾	2 7	1 5½	1 9¾
1857	258,426	196,503		25,682	14,877	1 11¾	2 7¼	1 1¾	1 6¼

PAGE 16.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547—1580, *temp.* Elizabeth, mention is made of an extract of an Exchequer record, dated October 14th, 1573, relating to the manors of Clerkenwell, Newington Barrowe, Friern Barnet, and Hackney, formerly belonging to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

PAGE 18.

Alexandra-park, or Tottenham Wood Estate, occupies a part of the detached portion of Clerkenwell parish situated at Muswell-hill. The park company have not yet built upon that portion, but it is probable that they may eventually do so. On the top of the hill, commanding most charming views, Messrs. Kelk and Lucas have been using up some of the materials of the International Exhibition building, 1862, in carrying out a design made by Mr. Johnson, architect.

The estate consists of four hundred and eighty acres of well timbered and beautifully undulating land, adjoining the Wood Green Station on the Great Northern Railway. The park proper will consist of about two hundred acres, and the remainder of the estate will be laid out for building purposes.

The gardens around the old residence, which forms part of the estate, are in admirable condition. The red chestnuts, and the Oak Avenue, with peeps of Hornsey and adjacent villages, are some of the features. Near this end of the estate is the well which gave the place its name—Mus-well-hill. There was a "cell" here that belonged to Clerkenwell Priory.

PAGE 19.

At this page mention is made of the Rowe family. Some further information respecting them will be found in "Notes and Queries," 1st S., vol. ix., p. 449.

PAGE 20.

At this page, and also at page 224, note, mention is made of Sir Julius Cæsar, Under-Chancellor of the Exchequer in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, Admiralty Judge, Master of the Rolls, and Privy Councillor to James and Charles. In the chancel of Great St. Helen's, in Bishopsgate-street, London, is the tomb of this worthy, five feet and a half long, and about three feet and a half wide, and surrounded by iron railings. On October 11th, 1810, Robert Wilkinson, of No. 58, Cornhill, London, published two engravings:—"View of the tomb of Sir Julius Cæsar, Knt., Master of the Rolls, &c., in the chancel of Great St. Helen's, in Bishopsgate-street, London. Engraved from a drawing taken before the general repair, in 1809." "The inscription, &c., on the tomb of Sir Julius Cæsar, in the chancel of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street." The first-mentioned engraving has a fac-simile of three of the knight's plainly-written autographs, as follows:—"Jul. Cæsar Dalmare," "Jul. Cæsar," and "Julius Cæsar Adelmare." He died on April 18th, 1636, aged seventy-nine. The autograph of Sir Julius Cæsar is given in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxii., part I., p. 529; and a biographical account of him is given in part II. of the same volume, p. 103.

PAGE 25.

The ward of St. James is as follows:—Commencing at the north-west corner of the district, the boundary line runs in an easterly direction along the middle of Dorrington-street, Baynes-row, Cobham-row, Myddelton-street, and Spencer-street; at the end of which it turns southward along the middle of Goswell-road to Perceval-street, and then proceeds in a westerly direction to the opposite end of Perceval-street; again turning southward it proceeds along the middle of St. John-street to the east corner of Aylesbury-street, along the middle of which it proceeds westerly across the centre of Clerkenwell-green, across Victoria-street; and then proceeds in a north-westerly direction at the backs of the houses in Ray-street and Warner-street, until it reaches Dorrington-street, from the end of which it set out.

PAGE 26.

William de St. George, who is mentioned at this page, by deed gave to the prioress and nuns of St. Mary, with his daughter Mabilia, upon her admittance into their nunnery, half a verge of land in Kingstone, Cambridgeshire.[1] By another deed he gave "to the said priorie of Clerkenwell for the soules health of himselfe, his father, his mother, and his wife, and with Albreda, his sister, who was to be a nunne of the said house, his land in Hasselingfeld, within the foresaid countie of Cambridge. They were wondourously enriched by the burials of great personages, for, in regard of burial, abbeyes were most commonly preferred before other churches whatsoever; and he that was buried therein in a friar's habit, if you will beleeve it, never came into hell."

PAGE 27.

At this page mention is made of certain gifts to the nunnery of St. Mary by Henry Foliot (or Foliet) and Lecia (or Letia), his wife. At a meeting of the London and Middlesex and Surrey Archæological Societies, held on February 19th, 1861, W. H. Hart, Esq., F.S.A., read a brief abstract of an interesting document, of an early date, relating to the possessions in London of the nunnery at Clerkenwell, and in which the boundaries of the estates were set forth with great precision. It was a fine levied at Westminster, in the eighth year of Richard I., whereby Letia, formerly the wife of Henry Foliet, released to the Prioress Ermeniard, and to the convent of the nuns of Clerkenwell, two

[1] Cole MS., vol. iii., p. 96. Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 158.

virgates of land in Clerkenwell; which were described thus:—"Fourteen acres of land, in which the priory was situated; and which extend to the common of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem: the land lying between the court of the nunnery and the valley, which was a great fishpond, in which valley is Skinneres well: three perches of land to the north of that valley, but extending in length to Holeburne, and the valley and fishpond if there be a fishpond there; and the land lying between that valley and Godewell under the road to Holeburne and above the road towards the east to the ditch, and three perches of land beyond Godewell: and the land and meadow between Holeburne and the ditch which runs from Holeburne to the mill belonging to the nunnery: and the land, meadow, and garden between the mill and the garden of the Hospitallers which lies upon Holeburn: and the land and messuages between the said garden and the bar of Smethefeld upon the stream of Fackeswell towards the north, and the land and messuages which the nuns have of the fee of the aforesaid Letia, between the said stream and Chikennelane: and one messuage in front of the house of Robert de Foleham; and two acres of land by the street which runs from the bar without Aldredes gate to Iseldone, by the garden belonging to the hospitallers at Smethefeld." The original of this fine is much damaged and obliterated, which makes the sense somewhat obscure in many places.[1]

In 1425, 4th Henry VI., Hugh, Lord de Camoys, was buried at Clerkenwell Church,[2] the expenses of his funeral being defrayed out of the Exchequer, he having been a minor in the king's custody, of which the following entry is made in the Pell Records, 4th Henry VI., 26th July:—"To Wm. Estfield, citizen and mercer of London, in money paid to his own hands for divers costs by him incurred, by command of the Treasurer of England, as well for the exequies as for other expenses about the burial and funeral of Hugh, late Lord de Camoys, late a minor in the king's custody at Clerkenwell, deceased, and lately buried in the church of Clerkenwell aforesaid, as appears, &c., £7 10s."

Ralph de Camois was one of the rebellious barons against King John. Thomas de Camois, in the 47th Edward III., obtained the king's charter for a weekly market on Saturday, at his manor of Broadwater, Sussex; which market he got changed to Monday by another charter, 7th Richard II. The barony of Camoys was created by writ, 7th Richard II., 1382. Thomas de Camoys was found heir to his uncle in 46th Edward III., summoned to Parliament, Knight of the Garter, 20th August, 1383, 7th Richard II., to February 26th, 1421, 8th Henry V., and died on March 28th, 1421; leaving his grandson, Hugh, son and heir of Richard, his eldest son, who died vita patris, his heir, then aged seven years. The said Hugh died, sine prole, in 1426, leaving his sisters, Margaret, aged twenty-four, and Eleanor, aged eighteen, his heirs, from whose time the barony remained in abeyance. It was claimed in 1838 by Thomas Stonor, of Stonor Park, Oxfordshire, Esquire. The House of Lords having resolved that the petitioner was as alleged eldest co-heir of the said barony, the Queen was pleased to determine the abeyance in favour of Thomas Stonor, who was accordingly summoned to Parliament by writ, September 14th, 1839, as Baron Camoys.[3]

Amongst the "Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou," published by the Camden Society, 1863, vol. lxxxvi., page 109, is a letter from the Queen to the Earl of Northumberland, relative to a Lord Camoys. The editor of the letters appends as a note to this one the following:—"Thomas Lord Camoys of Broadwater (Sussex), K.G., died 28th March, 1421 (9 Hen. V.) His eldest son, Richard, had died before him, leaving an infant son, Hugh, and two daughters. The infant son died early in the reign of Henry VI., and the barony of Camoys remained in abeyance between the two daughters, and was not revived until 1839, in the present Lord Camoys. But Thomas, Lord Camoys, left also a second son, Sir Roger Camoys, who, in the 22 Henry VI. (1443-4), was taken prisoner in France, and, it is said, was there detained in great misery.[4] It appears that Sir Matthew Gough,[5] a brave

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lv., N.S., p. 428.

[2] Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*.

[3] Courthope's *Historic Peerage*, p. 91.

[4] Dugd. *Bar.* vol. i., p. 768 b, and Segar's *Baronage*, MS. (at the College of Arms), fo. 208. The name of Sir Roger Camoys does not occur in the Camoys Peerage claim. The Editor of the Letters conceives that Sir Roger Camoys, who would have been the next male heir, had the peerage not been in abeyance, was called Lord Camoys, by courtesy.

[5] This valiant leader, who was, at one time, Governor of Lisieux, in Normandy, figures in the French

Welsh knight, who was 'a man of great wit, and much experience in feats of chivalry, the which, in continual wars, had valiantly served Kings Henry the Fifth and Sixth, in the parts beyond the sea,'[1] negotiated Lord Camoys's ransom, and to that end pledged himself that a large sum of money[2] should be paid on a certain day. As a further and, as it probably was deemed, a better security, the Earl of Northumberland gave his 'obligation' or bond for the same purpose. The earl failing to pay at the day, Sir Matthew Gough, and perhaps Lord Camoys also, were in peril; hence the Queen's letter. After giving so many proofs of valour abroad, Sir Matthew Gough perished ignobly in 1450 in what is called the Battle of London-bridge, against Jack Cade. This letter was written between 1445 and 1450."

The following is a copy of the letter referred to :—

"By the Quene. Right trusty and right wel beloved Cousyn,—We grete you well, lattyng you witte that, upon truste and seurte of yor obligacion, wherinne ye were bounden, as we be enformed, unto our wel-beloved squier Mathew Gogh, in two thousand saluts, for the finance of the lord Camoys, we were the rather inclined and benevolent to desyre or said squyer, by or lettres, to do all his peyne and diligence for delyverance of the said lord. At whos instance and request or said squier toke upon hym to ley his selee (sele?) in this mater. And it is now soo, that he hath aecerteened us that the day prefixte of yor payment is past and ronne; so that the charge lyth now upon hym, and must neds be droven by justice t'answear that to hymself, and likly, in yor defaulte, to be dishonourred and rebuked for ever; the which we suppose ye will take right nigh to hert, in especiall sith he was brought in thereto by yor mene. Wherfore we desire and exhorte you, upon yor worship, that, in all goodly haste, ye do content yor said summe, in savyng or said squier harmeles, so that we be no more called upon, in lake of yor devoir, and trew aequitall, in this partie. Yeven, etc. at Windsor, the viii. day of March. To th'er of North."

Isabel, the wife of Sir Roger Camoys, during her husband's imprisonment in France, had a grant of £40 from the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London.

At Trotton, Sussex, is the ancient manor of the Camois family. The church, dedicated to St. George of England, was rebuilt about 1400, by Thomas Lord Camois, as was the bridge over the Rother, close adjoining. In the chancel are two very fine brasses; the first is of Margaret de Camoys, who died in 1310. She was of the Gatesden family; her first husband was Camoys, and her second, Paynel. This brass is probably the earliest one of a lady that exists in England. At a meeting of the British Archæological Association, held on February 12th, 1846, mention was made of damage which had been done to it.[3] The second brass in Trotton Church is on the altar tomb of the founder and his wife, which stands in the centre of the chancel. The Elizabeth Lady Camoys who is represented here by the side of her lord is no other than the widow of Hotspur, the "gentle Kate" of Shakespear, who has erred in her name. No doubt Petworth brought her into the neighbourhood of Lord Camoys, whom she married after the death of Percy. The monuments of Margaret and Thomas Camoys are described in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxv., part II., page 1,071; and in the same Magazine, vol. lxvi., part II., page 722, is an account of the latter.

PAGE 28.

We find the following abstract of return, 26th Henry VIII., in the First Fruits Office :—

Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Hen. VII.

Prioratus Beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Clerkenwell.

Com' Midd'.

Valet infirm' seit' priorat' prædict eum le court yerde et divis domibus ac ortulag' et gardin' scituat' infra

chronicles, sometimes as "Mathago" (*Hist. de France, par* Henri Martin, vol. vii., p. 331); and sometimes simply as "Go" (*Basin*, vol. i., p. 227). He was an ancestor of Richard Gough, the antiquary.

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 222.

[2] Two thousand saluts. The salut was a gold coin of the value of twenty-five shillings. (*Paston Letters*, vol. iii,, p. 261). See also Leblanc, *Traite Historique des Monnoyes de France*, pp. 288, 291, and 298.

[3] *Vide Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxii., N.S., p. 185, for an account of a rubbing of this brass.

preeinet præfat' priorat' n' quia resvatur in man' dietæ d'næ prioresse et eonvent' ejusdm et null' profie inde proven'

Valet in reddit' assis' eum al' reddit' et firm' tenene' in divs vill'hamlettis et peroehiis, vidett

Tam in eivitate London quam in suburb' ejusdem	£172	19	4
Islyngton	15	5	0
Holway	1	14	2
Muswel	5	8	2
Et Edelmeton	3	14	8
Langforth	1	10	0

Valet in boseo ibm infra diet dnia vill' hamelett' estimat fore in valore eoibus annis ut sequitur vidett

In Muswell 10 aer' preeii aer' 12d.	0	10	0
Edm'ton 8 aer' preeii	0	8	0
	0	18	0

That the parish of Clerkenwell was anciently designated by the name of St. Mary, *vide* Faustina 936, 103 a. The parish of Clerkenwell is named in Claud E. vi., 234. The name of St. James was applied to that which had been St. Mary, Clerkenwell, as appears by Egeaet. Rici Browne 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. No. 43.

Hollingshed, vol. ii., p. 947, says:—"1539. The ninth of September the nunnerie of Clerkenwell and diverse others were suppressed."

PAGE 30.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," December, 1785, p. 985, is an engraving of a fragment of the brass plate on the tombstone of Isabella Sackville, on the floor of the north side of the communion table of the old church of St. James. The coat of arms, head, hands, and part of the drapery were all that remained.

PAGE 32.

At this page mention is made of Sir Thomas Pope. Machyn records in his diary as follows:—

"The vj. day of Feybruary (1559) went to the ehyrehe to be bered at Clarkenwell ser Thomas Pope, knyght, with a standard and eott, pennon of armes, a targett, elmett, and sword, and a ij. dosen of armes, and xij. for the branehys and ij. haroldes of armes, master Clarenshus, and master Yorke, master Clarenshus bare the eott, and master Yorke bare the helmett and erest. And he gayff xl. mantyll, frys gownes, xx. men and xx. women, and xx. men bare torehys; and ij. grett whyt branehys and iiij. branehys tapurs of wax, garnysshed with armes, and with iiij. dosen pensels. And ser Reeherd Sowthwell, knyght, and ser Thomas Stradlyng, and dyver odur morners in blaeke to the nomber of xl. and mo in blake, and all the howsse and the ehyrehe with blake and armes; and after to the plasse to drynke, with spyssebred and wyne; and the morow masse, iij. songe with two pryke songe, and the iij. of requiem, with the elarkes of London; and after he was bered and that done, to the plasse to dener, for ther was a grett dener and plente of all thynges, and a grett dolle of money."

Sir Thomas Pope[1] founded Trinity College, Oxford, in 1554. The original place of his interment is a matter of question.[2] In his will he directed his executors to bury him in the church of that parish in which he should chance to die. This would be Clerkenwell. Sir Thomas Pope in the constitution of his college principally inculeates the use and necessity of classical literature; and recommends it as the most important and leading object in his system of academical study. "He establishes in this seminary a teacher of humanity, whose business is described with a particularity

[1] Alme Parens salveto! tuum est vestigia vulgi
Quod fugiam: tu das inopis erudelia vitæ
Tæ dia solari, afflictis spes uniea rebus!
Et finis Aonidum viridantes ire per hortos.
T. Warton in Saeellum Coll. Trin. Oxon.

[2] *Biog. Brit.* 1760, p. 3104.

not usual in the constitutions given to collegiate bodies of this kind ; and he is directed to exert his utmost diligence in tincturing his auditors with a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin language, and to explain critically the Offices, de Oratore, and Rhetorical Treatises of Cicero, the Institutes of Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Livy, &c. In his prefatory statute, where he describes the nature and design of this foundation, he declares that he destines the younger part of his establishment not only to dialectics and philosophy, but to the more polite literature. The statutes of this college were submitted to the inspection of Cardinal Pole, one of the chief promoters of the revival of polite letters in England, as appears from a curious passage in a letter written by the founder now remaining, which not only displays the Cardinal's ideas of the new erudition, but shews the state of the Greek language at this period."

For some anecdotes of Sir Thomas Pope *vide* the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. liii., page 757 ; and *vide* also the same work, vol. lxvii., part I., pages 9 and 10.

Thomas Beddingfield gave by deed, dated in July, 1590, £2 per annum for ever, for the repairs of the church of Clerkenwell, out of a freehold house situate at the north-east corner of the churchyard; which house the Vestry caused to be pulled down, and the ground was to have been taken into the burial-ground, but instead was let to a Mr. Keeling at 40s. a year. Mr. Keeling was succeeded in possession by the Rev. Mr. Sellon, who in the year 1777 surrendered it back to the parish; but a committee suggested that only a part of the ground should be re-taken, and that part which joins the house formerly occupied by Mr. Sellon, and is walled in by the gate in St. James's-walk in the burial-ground, is the part left. This sum of £2 is mentioned in the Trustees' Act to be paid ; but it had not been paid or appropriated for many years (if ever) until 1843. It is now regularly paid by the Trustees. The following are further particulars relating to the gift:—By feoffment dated July 5th, 1590, 32nd Elizabeth, Thomas Beddingfield conveyed to William Breeche and Hugh Trapps and others, and their heirs, a yearly rent of eight shillings (which is determined), and a yearly rent of forty shillings, to be issuing out of a house or tenement adjoining to the east part or side of the great gate, commonly called Clerkenwell-gate, within the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, at Easter yearly, for ever, after the decease of the said Thomas Beddingfield, to be bestowed by the churchwardens, towards the maintenance of the church and divine service therein, and such godly and charitable uses as to the churchwardens should seem meet; with power of distress if forty days in arrear. On February 27th, 1617, 15th James I., George Trapps, heir of Hugh Trapps (the surviving trustee), granted the said rent-charge to Sir William Fortescue and twenty others. On September 10th, 1639, and on July 31st, 1673, the estate was again conveyed to new trustees. This gift is mentioned in and payment of it is secured by the Trustees' Act, as follows:—"And also a perpetual Charitable Donation, or annual sum of £2, given out of a messuage adjoining the east part of the great gate, called Clerkenwell-gate, by one Thomas Beddingfield, payable at Easter yearly, to be bestowed by the churchwardens of the said church towards the maintenance of the said church." In the Vestry minutes of July 11th, 1775, we find the following:—"Mr. Sellon gave notice, that he was desirous of giving up that part of the ground in the churchyard, which belongs to the parish, within the wall next to his house, for which Mr. Keeling gave 40s. per annum." On June 11th, 1776, a committee was appointed to inquire into the nature of the contract between the parish and the predecessors of the Rev. Mr. Sellon, relative to a piece of ground in the churchyard within the wall next to his house, that he had given notice to quit. In pursuance of this order the committee thereby appointed met on the 7th April, 1777, to inquire into the nature of the original contract concerning the ground ; and they afterwards reported that they had examined the vestry books and viewed the premises, and that it appeared to them that Mr. Sellon was at full liberty to decline occupying the same ; and that as four feet or upwards from the said house was paled from the side of some part thereof, and as it appeared to them that a part of the ground which belonged to the said house had been used by the parish for burials, they were of opinion that it would be right and just that five feet of ground in the clear from the said house should be deemed and taken to be and belong to the said house, and that the residue of the ground within the said wall should be deemed and taken to be the property of the parish.

In the churchwardens' account for this parish we find the following entries:—1611, June 12th. "Paid to Thomas Taylor, for plaisteringe and repairinge the vyckeridge house, 22s." "For two loade of doung, to fyll the hole in the vickeradge garden, 1s." "For the cleansing of the vickeradg house, and carrying away the rubbyshe, 2s. 6d." "For poweles and wyar, to sett up the rose trees in the vyckaradg garden, 16d." "To a gardener, one day and a half, at 20d. the daye, for trymminge the garden, and settyng up the roses, 2s. 6d."

In the Diary of Samuel Pepys we find the following entries relating to the church of St. James, Clerkenwell, August 11th, 1661:—

"Lord's Day.—To our own church (St. Olave's, Hart-street) in the forenoon, and in the afternoon to Clerkenwell Church, only to see the two fair Butlers; and I happened to be placed in the same pew where they afterwards came to sit; but the pew by their coming being too full, I went out into the next, and there sat, and had my full view of them both, but I am out of conceit now with them, Colonel Dillon being come back from Ireland again, and do still court them, and comes to church with them, which makes me think they are not honest."

On March 27th, 1664, we find Pepys again visiting Clerkenwell, to catch a glimpse of the fair Butlers:—

"Lord's Day.—It being church time, walked to St James's (Clerkenwell), to try if I could see the belle Butler, but could not; only saw her sister, who, indeed, is pretty, with a fine Roman nose. Thence walked through the ducking-pond fields; but they are so altered since my father used to carry us to Islington, to the old man's at the King's Head, to eat cakes and ale (his name was Pitts), that I did not know which was the ducking-pond, nor where I was."

In Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," there is an allusion to the "citizens that came a-ducking to Islington Ponds." The piece of ground, long since built upon, in the Back-road, was called "Ducking-pond Field," from the pool in which the unfortunate ducks were hunted by dogs, to amuse the Cockneys, who went to Islington to breathe fresh air and drink cream.[1] The King's Head Tavern stood opposite the church.

Pepys paid another visit to Clerkenwell Church, on October 2nd, 1664:—

"Lord's Day.—Walked out with my boy through the City, putting in at several churches, among others at Bishopsgate, and there saw the pictures usually put before the King's book (the "Eikon Basilike" of Charles I.) put up in the church, but very ill painted, though it were a pretty piece to set up in a church. I intended to have seen the Quakers, who, they say, do meet every Lord's-day, at the Mouth, at Bishopsgate; but I could see none stirring, nor was it fit to ask for the place; so I walked over Moorfields, and thence to Clerkenwell Church, and there, as I wished, sat next pew to the fair Butler, who indeed is a most perfect beauty still; and one I do very much admire myself, for my choice of her, for a beauty, having the best lower part of her face that ever I saw all days of my life. After church, I walked to my Lady Southampton's, through my Lord Southampton's new buildings in the fields behind Gray's Inn; and, indeed, they are a very great and a noble work. So away back to Clerkenwell Church, and so we walked all over the fields home, and then my wife was angry with me for not coming home, and for gadding abroad to look after beauties."

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," December, 1788, page 1045, is an engraving of curiosities which were found at the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell.

PAGE 37.

At this page mention is made of the gift of Francis Loveday to Clerkenwell parish. There are some errors in our account of it, which we now correct. In a vestry minute dated March 30th, 1704, we read:—"Whereas Frances (not Francis, as we have stated) Loveday, late of the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, widow, in and by her last will and testament, dated June 3rd, 1702, did, amongst other things, give and bequeath £100 to the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, the interest whereof, yearly and every year to the end of the world, to be laid out in bread, to be distributed amongst the poorest sort of people of the said parish on St. John's Day (27th December) in every year respectively,

[1] *Vide* pages 543-4.

according to the discretion of the minister and churchwardens of the said parish of Clerkenwell, and did appoint Jasper Waters and William Ingram, executors of her will; and whereas the said executors do desire and require, upon the payment of the £100 to the minister and churchwardens nominated and appointed by the vestry of the said parish of Clerkenwell, to be secured and indemnified by answering the design of the testatrix, and that they may be safe and secured in the payment thereof by having an acquittance pursuant to an order of vestry. Ordered, that the minister and churchwardens do receive the same, put it out to interest for the performance of the charity, and do give an acquittance for the same." By vestry minute, dated June 18th, 1704, it was agreed that out of Mrs. Loveday's bequest a gallery should be built on the south side of the church, the parish agreeing to pay £5 per cent. interest; and on July 10th following, Mr. Brown, carpenter, was chosen to build the same. On March 5th, 1705, it was agreed in vestry, that the churchwardens should let to John Staples, sexton, the gallery then lately built, for such rent as they should agree for with him. On May 22nd, 1770, it was resolved that Loveday's gallery should be taken into the hands of the churchwardens, the sexton being willing to give it up. By the Trustees' Act the charge of £5 per annum is recognised in the following words:—"And also in the payment yearly, on the 24th day of June, of the sum of £5, the same being equal to the legal interest of the sum of £100, which sum was given by Mr. Francis Loveday, to be distributed in bread to the poor of the said parish, and was received by the churchwardens and laid out in erecting a gallery in the said church, in consideration whereof the parishioners agree that the churchwardens for the time being should pay a perpetual yearly sum of £5 to be distributed according to the intention of the last-named donor." The date specified in this act, as well as the name "Mr. Francis," instead of Mrs. Frances, is wrong. Notwithstanding the provisions of this statute, the annual amount had not been paid for many years (if ever), until Mr. Pascall made the request in 1843. During the previous years that it was unpaid the amount was distributed annually by each churchwardens under the head of "Loveday's Gift" (generally in money-tickets, instead of bread, as ordered), although they had not received any money for that purpose; and thus the parishioners were led to suppose that the money so appropriated had been duly received, whereas the amount was always taken from out of the general stock of other charity moneys belonging to the poor, instead of being obtained from whence it was due. The sum, £5, is now paid regularly out of the pew-rents, and is appropriated to the poor, under the order of the Charity Commissioners.

In the City of London Library is "A Letter to the Bishop of London (Gibson), complaining of the new altar-piece in the church of St. James, Clerkenwell (a picture of the 'Virgin and Child'), with remarks." Large sheet, with an engraving, at the top, of the altar-piece: London, 1735. In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1735, p. 651, reference is made to the picture; and at page 679, November part, is "A representation of a fine picture on the altar-piece in the church of St. James, Clerkenwell." It gives Joseph and Mary in a stable, with cattle and a manger; the Virgin is nursing the infant Jesus. In vol. vi., 1736, page 497, of the same Magazine, further reference is made to this altar-piece.

PAGE 38.

At this page mention is made of a curious seat which was in the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell. Our copy of the inscription is not quite correct. We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1846, page 247, as follows:—

"Ancient seat in Clerkenwell Church. In connection with the subject of pews and seats in churches, we have been favoured by Mr. Britton with an early drawing by the celebrated John Carter, from which the accompanying engraving has been copied. It represents an open seat or bench, measuring 8 feet 6 inc. in length, and bearing this inscription, Hoc Opvs Peractvm Fvit Anno Dominy 1534. Distrusting somewhat Mr. Carter's copy of the inscription, we have attempted to correct it in the engraving, which we now regret. At the Society of Antiquaries is another drawing made by J. Sanders, Jun., in 1786, from which we find that the anomalies belong to the carver. He reversed the s in Opvs. He carved Peractvm to look like Perfectvm, which made us think Perfectum was meant, but the A in Anno was also like Æ. The last word according to one copy was



THE DETACHED PORTION OF CLERKENWELL PARISH, AT MUSWELL HILL.

DOMINE, and in the other DOMINY. In the most important matter, the date, the copies also differ. Mr. Carter made it 1331, Mr. Sanders 1534: the former could not be right; the latter may have been, and we think probably was so, though the cut represents it as 1554. The seat stood in old Clerkenwell church, and as it is not mentioned in Cromwell's History of the Parish, we fear it was sold away with the old materials."

In Chamberlain's "History of London," is an engraving of St. James's Church, showing the tower, entrance, close, houses, and archway.

We read in "Lloyd's Evening Post," 1768, as follows:—"Yesterday (January 10th), after morning service, some person or persons secreted themselves in the church of St. James, Clerkenwell, and found means to make off with the velvet cloth and gold fringe belonging to the minister and clerk's desk. Some years since the gold tassels were cut from the pulpit cloth of the said church; much after the same manner as the above."

PAGE 39.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," June, 1788, p. 501, is an engraving of Prior Weston's skeleton, as discovered in that year.

PAGE 42.

At this page mention is made of the Right Honourable George Delamere.[1] Sir George Booth was committed prisoner to the Tower of London during the usurpation, for his zeal in the royal cause, and his efforts to restore the exiled prince. He had the pleasure eventually of being chosen one of the twelve men deputed by the House of Commons, in May, 1660, to carry to that prince the recall of the house in answer to his Majesty's letters. And on Monday, July 13th, 1660, the House of Commons ordered that the sum of £10,000 be conferred on Sir George Booth as "a mark of respect for his eminent services and great sufferings in the public cause." In addition to which grant the baronet was elevated to the peerage by letters patent dated April 20th, 1661, as Baron Delamere, of Dunham Massie, in the county of Chester.[2]

There is a good account of Henry Booth, Lord Delamare, of this family, in Kippis's "Biographia Britannica," vol. ii., page 408, containing numerous references to other authorities. His lordship's works were published in 1694, in one volume 8vo.; and are noticed by Walpole in his "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors."

PAGE 45.[3]

At this page mention is made of Sir George Strode's gift to the parish of Clerkenwell. Some further particulars thereof may be interesting. On November 22nd, 1656, William Hall and Michael Streight agreed, by articles, to convey to Nicholas Strode, Esq., in consideration of £605, the messuage, mansion, or dwelling-house, and eight several closes or pastures, called Cockshute-field, More-meadows, More-closes, the Old-field, the Little-meadow, and the Red-acre, and One Sheep-house, situate and being in Much Malvern, County of Gloucester, then in the tenure of John Coleman. On March 27th, 1657, the same were by feoffment and fine conveyed accordingly. By lease and release, dated respectively August 6th and 7th, 1657, the said Nicholas Strode, by direction of his father, Sir George Strode, of St. James's, Clerkenwell, for whom he was a trustee, conveyed to Robert Lord Bruce,[4] son and heir-apparent of the Earl of Elgin,[5] and eleven other persons, and their heirs, the said premises, to the use of Sir George Strode for life, and after his

[1] *Vide* also pages 43 and 48.

[2] BURKE'S *Dict. of Peerage*. *Vide* also *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxii., part 2, p. 220.

[3] And *vide* page 48.

[4] *Vide* page 47.

[5] *Vide* pages 46 and 47.

death to the intent that his trustees and their heirs should for ever receive an annuity or rent-charge of £26, to be yearly issuing out of the said lands and tenements, and to be paid at the great south door of the Church of Clerkenwell, free of all taxes whatever; of which sum £6 was to be paid by quarterly payments for the minister preaching the Saturday afternoon before the monthly communion was to be administered, to prepare the parishioners for that great work, or to twenty-four people, at the discretion of the heirs of Sir George Strode, for ever; it being intended not to be paid to any minister who was not of religious conversation, and orthodox according to the doctrine of the Church of England professed in the reign of James I. And it was provided that if the £26, or any part thereof, should be unpaid for forty days, the trustees might enter into the said premises, until the said Strode, his heirs, &c., should pay the same and all arrears. It was also declared that the rent-charge of £26, limited to the said trustees, was in trust and confidence, that they should pay yearly and every year to the churchwardens and other overseers of the poor of the parish of Clerkenwell, on or before the 20th of December yearly, the sum of £20, to be by them distributed to eighty poor people of the said parish, every one of them five shillings a-piece, the said poor people of the said parish, if it may be, as shall have formerly been, or then shall be, housekeepers, and decayed by disasters, old age, or other infirmities, and such as have no other subsistence by keeping of shop, or other relation, nor keeping any victualling-house or ale-house, nor sell drink, tobacco, strong waters, or the like; and if there shall not be so many as eighty poor persons, then and so often the said trustees and their assigns shall distribute the residue of the said yearly sum of £20, which, after the proportion of five shillings a-piece for every of the said poor people shall remain undisposed of for want of poor people so qualified as aforesaid, unto such poor orphans of the said parish as shall be in want and necessity, and not otherwise provided for. And it is declared that the moneys to be given to the said poor persons should not be applied for the ease of the parishioners in their assessments, or to lessen any allowance which by law or otherwise the poor were to receive from the parish, but was intended for a further addition, comfort and relief of poor people so qualified as aforesaid. Mr. Pascall says:—"It appears probable that the estate was surrendered to the parish, on account of its not producing a rent equal to the charge, as it has been in their possession more than one hundred and sixty years." On February 15th, 1680, the property passed by lease and release from three surviving trustees to twelve new trustees. In 1705 and 1709 leases were granted by the trustees at the annual rent of £20, tax-free, at the church door. On the 1st and 2nd of October, 1712, the estate was leased and released to twelve new trustees. Mr. Pascall says:—"The parish possess the whole estate and the title deeds. The estate consists of a house, stable, and outbuildings, and six parcels of land, containing altogether 34a. 2r. 34p., and is now let on lease to Mr. Green at the yearly rent of £105; which lease will expire at Michaelmas, 1851." This property is now let on a building lease for ninety-nine years, at £250 per annum, and has six or seven genteel villas upon it already, and will, if properly watched and guarded, become, on the expiration of the lease, a most valuable estate for Clerkenwell.

At page 45 we have referred to an hour-glass which was found in a coffin in Clerkenwell churchyard. The "Gentleman's Magazine," 1746, vol. xvi., p. 640, contains an account thereof; and at page 639 is an engraving of it. Some further remarks thereon will be found in the same magazine, vol., xvii., p. 264.

PAGE 47.

It will be seen by reference to this page that, in 1691, Harry, son of Lord Lisle, was baptised at St. James's Church. Amongst the plates which were found in excavations made at this church was one bearing the following inscription:—"Harry Sidney, Esq., son of Robert Viscount Lisle, only son to the Right Hon. Philip Earl of Leicester, departed this life ye 9th May, in ye year of our Lord 1692, in ye 15 month and ye 20th day of his age."

Another plate bore the following inscription:—"Mrs. Dorothy Sidney, 4th daughter to Robt.

Viscount Lisle, only sonne to Rt. Hon. Philip Earle of Leicester, depd. this mortal life the 25 day of April, in the yeare of our Lorde 1689, in the 10th day of her age."

PAGE 49.

At this page is an entry of the death, on July 12th, 1694, of "Sir Richard Fanshawe, buried at Ware." He was born at Madrid, August 6th, 1665. He succeeded his father in 1666, and became the second baronet. He is said to have been deprived of his hearing, and at length of his speech, and to have died unmarried, when the baronetcy became extinct.[1] To him was addressed a book entitled "The memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, wife of the Right Hon. Sir R. Fanshawe, Bart., ambassador from Charles II. to the court of Madrid, in 1665; written by herself." In 1670 was published, in 4to., London, "Querer per solo querer;" by Sir R. Fanshawe.

Amongst the plates which were found in digging in the church of St. James, were those bearing the following inscriptions:—"The Hon. Mrs. Grace Naylor, wife to G. Naylor, Esq., died April 18, 1710, aged 24." "To the memory of Caleb Newton, gent., the eldest son of James Newton, late of this parish, who died the 7th of Sep., 1722, æt. 53.

Whose mortal body near this place doth lie,
Till Christ his Saviour shall it glorifie.

Also Ann Newton, his wife, who died the 1st of February, 1726, æt. 63."

PAGE 51.

The rebuilding of the spire of St. James's Church is noticed in the "Builder," vol. vii., page 512.

PAGE 53.

In September, 1862, the then churchwardens, Mr. Alexander Wright and Mr. Thomas Partridge, conceived the idea of beautifying the church by the insertion of a window at the east end. Some opposition was at first made upon the plea that the light would be too strong, and that the matter savoured too much of High Church principles; but by the perseverance of Mr. A. Wright the opposition was overcome, and a body of gentlemen were formed into a committee for the purpose of obtaining subscriptions. By February, 1863, the sum of £100 was collected, and designs were solicited for a painted window—the subject of the Ascension, by Messrs. Heaton and Butler, being chosen. Tenders were solicited for the execution thereof, and eight or nine were received, varying in amount from £75 to £460. The tender of Mr. Gibbs was accepted, the sum being £210. The window was put in during the month of April, 1863, and was subjected to much criticism, the prevailing taste being somewhat averse to the way in which the subject was treated, more especially as a female was introduced amongst the twelve figures. A service was held in commemoration of the event, and the sum of £25 14s. 8d. was collected towards the payment of the cost of the window.

It had been stated that many years before there had been a small window at that end of the church, but there was some doubt upon the subject, as no record could be found agreeing with such a supposition, and aged persons who recollected the building for upwards of half a century had no knowledge of such a circumstance. Upon breaking through the wall for the purpose of inserting the present window the workmen came across a quantity of materials which might have formed part of a previous window, and which were left embedded in the wall.

[1] La Neve's MSS. *College of Arms.*

PAGE 60.

At this page mention is made of Thomas Crosse, on whose monument are named his testamentary gifts to Clerkenwell parish.[1] By will, dated February 20th, 1709, and proved October 1st, 1712, he left in trust to this parish £1,000 upon certain uses. The following is an extract therefrom:—"I give, devise, and bequeath the sum of £1,000, to be paid into the parish stock of St. James, Clerkenwell, to be laid out in the purchase of lands of inheritance, and in the meantime and until a fit and convenient purchase can be found, to be put out at interest by the vestry of said parish, in trust, that the minister, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor, for the time being, shall, out of the rents and profits of such lands to be so purchased, or the interest of the said money, on every St. Thomas's-day yearly, pay unto five of my poorest relations, not further than first cousins, if so many shall be found to accept, the sum of ten pounds a-piece, those of the names of Crosse and Willymot to be always preferred to the said charity; and the overplus of such rents and interest I do hereby give and appoint to be paid towards the maintenance and better support of the alms-houses hereafter mentioned." In the codicil the trustees are empowered "to give into stock of Clerkenwell, to purchase lands of inheritance, said money, on every St. Thomas's-day, to pay each poor relation not further off than first cousin, but I will include second cousin, either my relation or my wife's, ten pounds each, if the churchwardens can find such out, names of Crosse and Willymot to be preferred." By the will the testator bequeathed £120 to his trustees, to lay out in lands of inheritance, to pay by rent thereof annually, on St. Thomas's-day, to the minister, for preaching sermon, 20s.; clerk and sexton, 2s. 6d. each; churchwardens, 2s. 6d. each for a pair of gloves; for ringing bells, 7s. 6d.; beadle, 2s. 6d.; and to forty poor people (no sum is named). This charity is to be distributed on the said day after the sermon. Crosse also gave to the charity school two houses in Turnmill-street, on condition that the churchwardens and vestry should provide a pew for the alms-people; and in default thereof he gave the two houses to his trustees, towards the maintenance of the said almshouses. He then gave the residue of his estate, real and personal, to four trustees, with power when two should die to appoint two others; and in default of such appointment, and when all should be dead, to the minister, churchwardens, and overseers, and six vestrymen of the parish of Clerkenwell, to be elected by the vestry, in trust, to purchase a piece of land in the said parish, and to build thereon almshouses, as therein described, for twenty poor persons, the purchase and building not to exceed £1,500, to be called Thomas Crosse's Almshouses, and to place therein two workmen brewers, and eighteen brewers' servants, above fifty years of age, to be paid and allowed equally once a year, what his said estate would produce, and to have once in two years, on St. Thomas's day, a blue cloth gown each, with silver badges and the Crosse's coat of arms engraved thereon. There are not any almshouses in the parish called Crosse's Almshouses, and the charity does not appear to have been carried into effect. After the signature and attestation of Crosse's will are some provisions of a testamentary character, apparently made by the testator himself; amongst which are the following, very obscurely expressed, and appearing as if intended more as notes for alterations than as part of the will itself—viz., "£120 in my trustees' hands, for sermon in the parish church of Clerkenwell on St. Thomas's-day (or some other day, for I think the parson is obliged to preach that day for one dead already), parson 30s.; clerk, 5s.; sexton, 5s.; to those that ring the bells that day by churchwardens' order, 7s. 6d.—but make it 10s.; the beadle 2s. 6d., make it 5s.; to churchwardens, a pair of gloves, 2s. 6d., make it 5s. each; to give to forty poor men and women—Mr. Poulson mentions 0 0 0, but I will them 10s. each." There is evidently some error here, because the interest of £120 would not be sufficient to pay the sums last ordered. But the £120 appears to have been received by the parish, and used. We read in the vestry minutes, under date November 26th, 1712, as follows:—"Subpœna served on the minister and churchwardens from the Court of Chancery relating to Thomas Crosse's will." The vestry minutes of February 22nd, 1722, state, that "The inhabitants have agreed that a gallery

[1] *Vide* page 49 for the entry of his burial.

should be built in the parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, with the £120 left by Thomas Crosse, Esq., the parish subject to six per cent. per annum, to the use as in the will of the said Thomas Crosse is directed, and to give such security for the payment thereof according as counsel learned in the law shall direct."[1] A vestry minute, of July 6th, 1729, is as follows :—"Vestry to be called, to consult about placing out a sum of money left by Thomas Crosse, Esq., deceased, for the benefit of his poor relations, and to settle a list who should receive the same." Pursuant to this minute the parishioners assembled in vestry on July 8th, 1729, and the executors and trustees of the will having paid into the hands of the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, the sum of £500, part of the before-mentioned £1,000, the vestry resolved, "That the said £500 now paid by Mr. Crosse be placed out upon the workhouse security, in order to discharge the securities already on the workhouse, so far as it will extend, at five per cent., the interest thereof to be divided yearly amongst the poor relations of the said Thomas Crosse, Esq., pursuant to the will and codicil." On June 17th, 1730, a vestry was again called to consult about Thomas Crosse's money, and the executors and trustee of his will paid a further sum of £225 on account of the legacy of £1,000; and the vestry resolved that the amount should be placed upon the workhouse security at £5 per cent.

Respecting Mr. Crosse's bequest, Mr. Pascall says :—"Out of this sum (£1,000) the parish, in the years 1729 and 30, appropriated £725 towards the purchase of the present workhouse, promising to pay five per cent. interest for the same, which would be £36 5s. per annum. Of this there was paid by the churchwarden to certain of his descendants for a time, about £34 a year; how long, or how the same was divided, I do not know; the last payment to any one of them was in the year 1811; and since that period neither interest nor principal has been paid. When in the year 1755 the Vestry bargained with Mr. Hammond Crosse for the purchase of the burial-ground in Ray-street,[2] a further sum of £220, part of the aforesaid sum of £1,000, was applied to that purpose, with a like promise to pay interest. These sums together make £945, leaving £55 unaccounted for. The whole purchase of the ground was £340; the sum of £120 to make up the purchase was borrowed of Mr. Keeling. Of the further interest of £11 per annum on the above £220, I do not think one farthing has ever been paid; while a part of the said purchased ground was for many years let by the trustees to Mr. Wright at £20 per annum; afterwards it was let at £10 per annum, independently of the burial-ground, vested in the trustees, which the guardians have the entire use of for the interment of their dead poor. So that this £1,000 has been applied to the service and benefit of the parish for many years without any consideration of the objects for which it was intended, save the payments before alluded to previous to 1811; and the small amount that is distributed as directed to be given annually is £6, viz., to forty widows, 1s. 6d. each; to the minister, 30s. for a sermon on or about St. Thomas's-day; to churchwardens, 10s.; to clerk, 5s.; sexton and beadle, 5s.; bells, 10s. For the payment of this £6 he left independently of the £1,000 a further sum of £120, which the Vestry used to build a gallery in the church, and promised to pay interest for the same; but the promise was all."

PAGE 63.

At this page is an account of Sir William Wood, the famous toxopholite, followed by some information relative to archery in the fields near to Clerkenwell in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some further particulars on this subject may be interesting to our readers; we therefore give them.

Finsbury-fields, which included a considerable portion of Clerkenwell parish in early times, were for centuries well known and resorted to by the pleasure-loving citizens, who came hither after the toils of the day, and at holiday times, either as spectators, or to join in the athletic sports practised there. As early as the time of Henry II., and in all probability long previously, it was customary after dinner for the young men of the City to go into the fields to play at football. They were chiefly

[1] *Vide* page 37, as to this gallery.

[2] *Vide* page 166.

the scholars of the several City schools, each of which had its particular ball, as did also the "City tradesmen, according to their respective crafts, have theirs;" and the more aged men, the fathers of the players, and the wealthy citizens, came on horseback to see the contests of the young men. Sunday afternoons in Lent were devoted by the young citizens to equestrian exercises in these fields. Mounted on warlike horses, "and equipped with lances and shields, they got up sham fights to exercise themselves in military combat." During the holidays in summer the young men exercised themselves in the sports of leaping, archery, wrestling, stone-throwing, slinging javelins beyond a mark, and also in fighting with bucklers, whilst others of the citizens indulged in hawking and hunting.[1]

The superiority of archery to other sports, and its utility in a political point of view, are considered in Roger Ascham's "Toxophilius: the Schole or Partitions of Shooting, contayned in Two Bookes, pleasaunt for all gentlemen and yeomen of Englande for theyr pastyme to reade, and profitable for theyr use to folowe both in Warre and Peace;" written in 1544. In "The Benifit of the Auncient Bathes of Buckstones, which cureth most greeuous sicknesses," &c., by "John Jones, Phisition," published in 1572, the following exercise is prescribed for an invalid:—"Shooting the noblest exercyse. Shooting at garden buttes too them whom it agreeth and pleaseth in place of noblest exercyse standeth, and that rather wyth the longe bowe, than wyth the tyller, stone bowe, or crosse bowe. Albeit, to them that otherwise cannot by reason of greefe, feebleness, or lacke of use they may be allowed. This practise of all other the manlyest leaueth no part of the body vnexercised, the brest, back, reynes, wast, and arms, with drawing the thyghes and legges with running or going."

Stow describes Finsbury-fields, in his day, as "commodious for the citizens therein to walke, shoote, and otherwise to recreate and refresh their dulled spirits in the sweet and wholesome ayre;" and refers to the archery sports practised therein, particularly at "Bartholomew-tide, when before the Lord Mayor and Corporation, the officers of the City and others used to shoot the standard, broad arrow, and flight for games."[2] To the practice of shooting with the long-bow the citizens of old were particularly attached, and until a very late period Finsbury-fields were preserved in common for the purpose, the Londoners having had a prescriptive right to recreate themselves therein in what manner they pleased from time immemorial.

The manly sport of shooting with the long-bow, which before the use of fire-arms afforded good training for offensive or defensive warfare, was greatly encouraged by the sovereigns of England for obvious politic reasons. The warrior-king, Edward III., in 1365, enjoined on the Sheriffs of London the general proclamation of his will that every citizen of robust strength, laying aside all idle and profitable games, should at his leisure hours and on all holidays learn and practice the art of shooting with bows and arrows;[3] and in the reign of Richard II. an act was passed commanding all servants to exercise themselves in the same pursuit at all times of leisure and on all holidays. And of such importance was skill in archery considered to be, that Sir John Forteseue, an eminent lawyer, *temp.* Henry VI., emphatically declares "that the mighte of the realme of Englande standyth upon archers."[4] In an old ballad written in praise of Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII., his Majesty is described as employed in a princely amusement:—

See where he shooteth at the buttes, and with him Lordes three.[5]

The great value set upon archery is evidenced by the statutes which were passed in its favour. By the 26th and 27th Victoria, cap. cxxv., July 28th, 1863, entitled "An Act for promoting the revision of the statute law by repealing certain enactments which have ceased to be in force, or have become unnecessary," eight archery statutes were repealed. They were as follows:—2nd Edward IV., cap. 4, "Benefits of Archery. Price of Long-bows shall not exceed 3s. 4d. Penalty 20. Application of penalties;" 3rd Henry VII., cap. 13, "An Acte agaynst the excessyve price of Longe-bowes;" 3rd Henry VIII., cap. 3, "An Act concerning shooting in Longe-bowes;" 3rd Henry VIII., cap. 13,

[1] Fitzstephen's *Descriptio Nobilissimæ Civitatis Londoniæ*, 1190.
[2] Stow's *Survey*, p. 85.
[3] Rot. Claus, 39 Edward III.
[4] *Anecdotes of Archery*, by E. Hargrove, York, 1792, p. 35.
[5] Harl. MSS., 367.

"An Acte agaynst shooting in Cros-bowes;" 6th Henry VIII., cap. 2, "Acte for mayntenance of archers;" 6th Henry VIII., cap. 11, "Acte concernyng the brynging in of bowestaves in to this realme;" 6th Henry VIII., cap. 13, "Acte avoidyng shoting in crosbowes;" and 14th and 15th Henry VIII., cap. 7, "Thacte for shotyng in crosbowes and handgonnes."

In the third year of the reign of Henry VIII., who had been from early life accustomed to athletic sports, and especially those of the bow, every father was directed to provide a bow and two arrows for his son when he should be seven years of age; and all men under forty years of age, some persons, such as the clergy and judges, only excepted, were ordered to have bows and arrows, and to use shooting; and the inhabitants of every city, town, and place were to erect butts, and use shooting on holidays, and at every other convenient time. The revival of archery in the reign of this monarch was promoted "by the publication, through the novel agency of the press, of the ballads and traditionary stories that told of the great outlaw of Sherwood. Henceforth he and his Maid Marian generally formed companion figures in the May-day dances, and archery again became popular."[1]

In the twenty-ninth year of his reign Henry granted a patent to Sir Christopher Morris and others, constituting them overseers of the "Seyence of Artyllery, to wyt our Long bowes, Crosbowes, and Hand gonnes;" and granting them liberty to "exercise shooting at all manner of marks and butts, and at the game of popinjay and other games, as at fowl and fowls, as well in the City as suburbs, and in all other places." In this patent there is a remarkable passage—viz., that in case any person should be shot or slain by a stray arrow of one of these archers, he who discharged it was not to be sued or molested if immediately before he shot he should "have pronounced and openly spoken" the usual archers' word, "Fast." Such was the favour shown to the practice of archery that these letters patent passed the great seal without fine or fee. The establishment of archers was called by the king the Fraternity of St. George. Sir Samuel Meyrick, in his "Treatise on Ancient Armour," vol. ii., page 296, says:—"The Honourable Artillery Company of London was instituted by Henry VIII., in the year 1537, for the encouragement of archery. The fraternity were also authorised to exercise themselves in shooting with long bows, cross bows, and hand guns at all manner of marks and butts."

Hall tells us that on one occasion, "his Grace, being young, and not willing to be idle, rose in the morning very early to fetch May, or green boughs, himself fresh and richly apparelled, and clothed all his knights, squires, and gentlemen, in white satin, and all his guard and yeomen of the crown in white sarcenet. And so went every man with his bow and arrows shooting to the wood, and so repaired again to the court, every man with a green bough in his cap; and at his returning, many hearing of his going a-Maying, were desirous to see him shoot; for at that time his Grace shot as strong and as great a length as any of his guard. There came to his Grace a certain man with bow and arrows, and desired his Grace to take the muster of him and to see him shoot. For (as) at that time his Grace was contented, the man put his one foot in his bosom, and so did shoot, and shot a very good shot, and well towards his mark; whereof not only his Grace, but all other greatly marvelled. So the king gave him a reward for his so doing, which person afterwards of the people and of them in the court was called Foot in Bosom."[2]

Rewards and honours were bestowed by different sovereigns upon such as excelled in archery. "Whilst keeping his court at Windsor, Henry caused various matches to be made, in which many of the principal archers of the day were engaged. When these had all shot, and some so well that nothing better could have been possibly anticipated, the king noticed one Barlow, a member of his body-guard, who had yet to shoot. 'Win them,' cried he, 'and thou shalt be duke over all archers.' Barlow did 'win them,' by surpassing the best of the previous shots; and the gratified king, having commended him for his skill, on learning that he resided in Shoreditch, named him duke of that place. The dukedom was, it appears, hereditary, and an annual show preserved the memory of the event."[3] The Duke of Shoreditch was the captain of the London Archers. Other titular distinctions were borne by famous archers, for there were marquisses of Clerkenwell, Islington, Hoxton, and

[1] Knight's *London*, p. 174. [2] Hall, p. 513. [3] Knight's *London*, p. 175.

Shacklewell, besides an Earl of Pancras, so named either from these villages being their places of residence, or where they were most accustomed to exercise themselves in the use of the bow.

On the 17th of September, 1583, "the citizens set forth at their great charge a shooting match, with much state, the Duke of Shoreditch and all his nobility and officers marching through the City of London to the shooting place. And first he gave a summons to all his marquises, earls, and barons, with all their trains of archery in and about the City of London, to be in readiness to accompany him into the field, every one with a long bow and four shafts, on the aforesaid day, to meet him in Smithfield. And so they did. The Duke with his company set forth from Merchant Tailors' Hall. There repaired unto him all those that were appointed for conducting of his person to the place of meeting as true Barons, and a multitude of good archers in their habits, under his own ensign. Who, with sound of trumpet, drums, and other instruments, passed along Broad-street (where the Duke dwelt), through Moorfields to Finsbury, and from thence to Smithfield. There was also the Marquis Barlo (who presented to his nobleness a wedge of gold, whilst a page flung abroad from a box glistering spangles), and the Marquis of Clerkenwell, with hunters, who wound their horns; and the Earl of Pancridge, and the Marquis of Islington, and the Marquis of Hogsden, and the Marquis of Shakelwell, and other such nobility, with all their trains, making a surprising show. For they marched in very great pomp, oddly habited, through several places and chief streets of London. The number of archers that now shot were three thousand. The number of them that accompanied the archers as whifflers and those that guarded them with bills was four thousand, besides pages and henchmen. Their attire was very gorgeous, a great many wearing chains of gold; the number of these chains were nine hundred and forty-two." The Marquis of Islington was accompanied by "twelve knights, who had six gentlemen attendant on them, in white fustian with black stripes, and caps agreeable, with a seemly show of archers wearing about their necks and bodies green ribbons and large green scarfs." After passing through the chief thoroughfares of the metropolis, to the great delight of the citizens, "the train passed to Shoreditch Church, and then turned down into Hogsdon-fields, into a fair, large, green pasture of goodly compass, where a tent was set up for the Duke and the chief citizens, where they might sit to see the shooters appointed to shoot at the butt new set up for the same." On the evening of the second (and last) day of the show, the victors were led off the field in triumph, mounted on horses and escorted by a body of two hundred torch bearers. In 1682 was published a book in "Remembrance of the Worthy Show and Shooting, by the Duke of Shoreditch and his Associates, the Worshipful Citizens of London, upon Tuesday, the 17th of September, 1583, set forth according to the Truth thereof, to the everlasting honour of the game of shooting in the Long Bow," by W. M., London, 12mo.

"The Duke of Shoreditch was not the only member of the aristocracy of archers in London formerly recognised by the King. There was Prince Arthur, at the head of another band, who held their meetings at Mile-end. Coming one day to see their performances, the King was so pleased that he took them under his direct patronage, and confirmed by charter their 'famous Order of Knights of Prince Arthur's Round Table, or Society:' and from that time, whenever he saw a 'good archer indeed,' he chose him, and ordained such a one for a knight of the same order. It is satisfactory to find that these contemporary, and in some respects rival potentates, and their descendants, were on exceedingly good terms. On one of Prince Arthur's field-days, held in the same year as the Duke of Shoreditch's pageant just described, and with scarcely less magnificence, a deputation from the duke presented a buck of the season to the prince, then in his tent at Mile-end, to regale him and his illustrious knights after the toils of the day. This was the golden age of archery as an amusement; but it was almost as brief as it was brilliant. As the introduction of gunpowder had already excluded the bow from the field, so now the growth of the City absorbed one after another all the places available for its pursuit as a pastime. Even in Hall and Henry VIII.'s time the system had begun of raising a hedge here, widening a ditch there, in the common fields around, but it was not as yet destined to be successful." [1]

[1] KNIGHT'S *London*, page 176.

Hall says:—"Before this time the towns about London, as Islington, Hoxton, Shoreditch, and others, had so enclosed the common fields with hedges and ditches, that neither the young men of the City might shoot, nor the ancient persons might walk for their pleasure in the fields, except either their bows and arrows were broken or taken away, or the honest and substantial persons arrested or indicted, saying that no Londoners should go out of the City but in the highways. This saying sore grieved the Londoners, and suddenly this year a great number of the City assembled themselves in a morning, and a turner in a fool's coat came crying through the City, shovels and spades! and so many people followed, that it was wonder; and within a short space all the hedges about the towns were cast down, and the ditches filled, and everything made plain, the workmen were so diligent. The King's Council, hearing of this assembly, came to the Grey Friars, and sent for the Mayor and Council of the City to know the cause, which declared to them the nuisance done to the citizens, and their commodities and liberties taken from them. . . . And so after the fields were never hedged."[1] The Chronicler's "never" applied to scarce half a century.[2]

Hollingshed bewails that in his time we had given over that kind of artillery, the long bow, in which in times past the chief force of England consisted; and Bishop Latimer equally laments the change that had taken place. "The art of shutynge hath been in times past much esteemed in this realme; it is a gyft of God, and he hath given us to excell all other nations wythall. It hath bene Godde's instrumente whereby he hath gyven us manye victories agaynste our enimies." He then points out the necessity of calling upon the justices and charging them upon their allegiance, that "thys singular benefit of God may be practised." The venerable preacher's exhortation was not in vain, for in the journal of Edward VI. it is recorded, that a hundred archers belonging to the guard of this king shot at an inch board singly, two arrows each, when some of the arrows pierced through the wood and entered another place behind it, although the wood was extremely hard. At what distance the arrows were discharged does not appear. Pere Daniel says the ancient bow would carry four hundred yards. We find in the registers of the Stationers' Company an entry as follows:—19th November, 1590, "John Perryn. Entred for his copie, &c. The Tectonicon of Finsbury feildes. vjd." This probably was some work of instruction on shooting.

Stow, writing in 1598, says:—"What should I speak of the ancient daily exercises in the long bow by citizens of the City, now almost cleane left off and forsaken? I overpass it. For, by the means of closing in of common grounds, our archers, for want of room to shoote abroade, creepe into bowling-alleys, and ordinarie dicing-houses, near home, where they have room enough to hazard their money at unlawful games." The archery grounds had been enclosed for gardens, wherein were built, says Stow, "many fair summer houses," some of which were "like Midsummer pageants with towers, turrets, and chimney tops, not so much for use or profit as for shew and pleasure, and bewraying the vanitie of men's minds." These erections bore such names as those which the following distich was penned to ridicule:—

Kirbie's Castle and Fisher's Folly,
Spinila's Pleasure and Megses Glory.

For the revival of archery, James I., in 1605, issued letters patent to the Lord Mayor, Lord Chancellor, and others, directing them to "view and survey on such grounds next adjoining to the City of London and the suburbs within two miles' compass, and the same to reduce in such order and state for the archers as they were in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., and to cause the banks, ditches, and quicksets to be made plain and reformed." In "the Kings Majesties' declaration to his subjects concerning lawful sports to be used," published in 1618, in a pamphlet of nine pages, and thence called "King James's Book of Sports," one of the lawful recreations mentioned, from which none were to be discouraged in their own parish after divine service on Sunday afternoons, was "archerie for men." This pamphlet was republished by Charles in 1633, and by an ordinance of Parliament in 1643, was burned by the common hangman. A like mandate to that issued by James was published by Charles I. (who was himself an archer) in the eighth year of his reign, addressed to the same

[1] Hall, p. 568.

[2] Knight's *London*, p. 177.

parties, and empowering them to prevent the fields near London from being so enclosed as to "interrupt the necessary and profitable exercise of shooting;" and to lower the mounds where they hindered the view from one mark to another.

A. J. K., a writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. cii., part I., p. 299, says:—"In the commission issued by Charles I. for the encouragement of archery, it is said that the monarch himself was a practical lover of the art, and we have here, as has been generally considered, a representation of him accoutered as an archer, and in the act of drawing the long bow. He is shooting at rovers, and draws his arrow to his breast, the position naturally assumed for attaining a distant mark. A bracer is attached to his left arm. He draws with three fingers, and the fore and middle finger of his shooting glove are fortified with what is called by archers a tab, attached to the wrist. The points of his arrows are received in a sort of pouch, which also might contain spare strings, and wax for the string on the bow. I imagine that the little circular appendage to the pouch is a small open box containing grease. It is the practice with archers to grease the finger-ends of the shooting glove to facilitate the loose. In the background are two of those archers' stakes or pillars which were so numerous in Finsbury-fields. Indeed, it is probable that the king is intended to be depicted as shooting on this celebrated ground. Thus the old ballad, 'Robin Hood and Queen Katherine'—Ritson's 'Robin Hood,' vol. ii., p. 86:—

> The King is into Finsbury field,
> Marching in battle ray;
> And after follows bold Robin Hood,
> And all his yeomen gay."

The engraving referred to is a copy of the frontispiece to a rare book preserved in the British Museum Library, 1,040 a 10, entitled "The Art of Archerie, &c.," by Gervase Markham, printed in 1634, and dedicated "To the Sacred Majesty of our Dread Soueraigne Charles, by the Grace of God King of Great Britaine," &c. At the sale of the library of Richard Howorth, Esq., by Mr. Sotheby, in 1826, a copy of this scarce treatise was sold for £1 8s.

"At this period (*temp.* James I.) and for some time previous, the great archery-grounds of London were Finsbury-fields. These extended from the open country down to the very wall of the City itself, where stood Moor Gate. The only buildings beyond Moor Gate were those scattered along a kind of avenue, then occupied by bowyers, fletchers, and stringers, but since known to fame as Grub-street, but more recently as Milton-street. Beyond Grub-street the broad meadows were dotted in every direction with the archers' marks, which were pillars of stone or wood supporting a target, the whole being crowned by a representation of a flying bird, a serpent, or a swan, according to the fancy of the individuals by whom they were generally erected. There were no less than one hundred and sixty-four of these marks in 1594, each being distinguished by a name, most commonly of a fanciful kind, exhibiting a strange partiality for alliteration. One was called Daye's Deed, another Dunstan's Darling; others respectively, Pakes his Pillar, Partridge his Primrose. Some more than ordinarily skilful shot doubtless was often the immediate cause of the erection of a pillar. The shortest distance from one mark to another was nine score yards, the greatest nineteen!"[1] The marks or butts varied in height, and were scattered over the fields from the City northward to beyond the Rosemary Branch, at various distances from each other. This practice was much preferred to shooting at a target from a fixed standing, as by roving and ranging across the fields and shooting at different butts the archers became excellent judges of distance.

In a small tract entitled "Ayme for Finsburie Archers," &c., to be sold at the sign of the Swan, in Grub-street, published in 1594, and republished in 1604, 1628, and 1738, is an alphabetical list of the names of these marks, many of which are amusing, as the following extracts will show:—Baines his Needle, Begrave's Phœnix, Cat and Fiddle, Coxe's Content, House of Good Fellowshipe, House of Honestie, King's Kindnesse, Locklie's Mouth, Martin's Monkie, Piggin's Love, Prichard's Hope, Theefe

[1] Knight's *London*, p. 177.

in the Hedge, Tree in the Lane. These marks are laid down in an engraved plan of Finsbury-fields, dedicated by W. Hole "To his affect. friends Mr. R. Baker and Mr. R. Sharp, and all other louers of Archery frequenting Finsbury-fields."[1]

At page 65 of this History will be found an extract from a poem by Sir William Davenant, the concluding lines of which, referring to archers, are these:—

All day most fiercely there they stand,
Like ghosts of Adam Bell and Clymme,
Sol sets for fear they'll shoot at him.

Adam Bell was the name of one of the marks in Finsbury-fields. "Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley were three noted outlaws, whose skill in archery rendered them as famous in the north of England as Robin Hood and his contemporaries were in the midland counties."[2] An account of the old popular poetry of "Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesly" will be found in "Notes and Queries," 1st s., vol. vii., p. 445.

During the great rebellion the practice of archery seems to have received no favour, but rather to have fallen into disrepute. At the restoration of Charles II. the noble sport was again revived. "On March 21st, 1661, four hundred archers with their bows and arrows made a splendid and glorious show in Hide-park." Archery appears to have been neglected from 1661 until 1675, when about three hundred and fifty archers, richly habited, met in Moor-fields, and then marched in a body to Guildhall, to receive the King and the Lord Mayor. The king was "highly pleased with the sight of so many archers," and extended to them his favour and patronage, and several times honoured their exercises by his presence. "Among the variety of sights none seemed to give his majesty more content and delight, more pleasure and satisfaction, than to see the bows and arrows, these ancient habiliments of warr, revived."

One of Hollar's six views of the north side of London, published in 1665, exhibits a party of citizens of the time of Charles II. exercising themselves in shooting with the long-bow at a butt or target.

In 1682 the Finsbury archers marched to Hampton Court, and there, in front of the palace, shot for prizes. Charles II. honoured their exercise by his presence, but the day being rainy, after staying for about two hours, he was obliged to quit the field.

The reader is referred to page 63 of this History for an account of Sir William Wood, a famous archer of this period, and of the Society of Finsbury Archers.

"By 1737 the marks had been reduced to twenty-one only, and the archers had degenerated almost in the same proportion; the greatest distance being now only thirteen, and the least about three-score yards. Compare this with the state of things in the reign of Henry VIII., when no man was allowed to shoot at a mark less distant than eleven score yards; or with the almost miraculous shots at four hundred yards distant! This degeneracy afforded a fair mark to another kind of archers—the satirists, with whom Finsbury Fields and their visitors became a continual theme of amusement. . . . The combination of the wits and their old and untiring enemies, the builders, was too much for the Finsbury archers. Charles I. issued a commission similar to that of his father; but still the work of innovation went on. The archers then once more took the matter in their own hands, and made visits every now and then to level hedges, fill up ditches, and replace marks; but at last they grew tired even of that method. The year 1786 saw the last effort of the kind they made."[3]

Archery now degenerated from being the glory of British warriors to a mere manly recreation. Finsbury-fields were unoccupied for the practice of this noble science, and the very name of archer seemed to be forgotten, until in 1753 targets were erected during the Easter and Whitsun holidays, when the best shooter was styled captain for the ensuing year, and the second best, lieutenant. The

[1] Barrington's *Observation on Archery, Archæologia*, vol. vii.; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1832, vol. cii., part I., p. 209; *Vide* the same volume, p. 113, for an account of Archery in England, and of William Wood, the archer.

[2] Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*.

[3] Knight's *London*, p. 177.

Society of Archers was afterwards incorporated with the Artillery Company, who maintained the privilege, vouchsafed by Henry VIII. to the archers, of assembling and exercising in the fields by occasionally marching into them to remove any obstructions to the company's rights, and to reinstate their marks.[1] An anecdote is related of Topham, the strong man,[2] some time a resident in Clerkenwell, who, happening to be at a public-house to which the Finsbury archers resorted after their exercise, expressed his opinion that the long bow was a plaything fit only for a child; upon which one of the archers laid him a wager of a bowl of punch that he would not draw the arrow two-thirds of its length. Topham accepted the bet with the assurance of winning; but, drawing the bow towards his breast instead of his ear, he was greatly mortified in being obliged to pay the wager, after many fruitless efforts.[3]

In the year 1388 the Lords Appellant, under the leadership of Thomas Earl of Gloucester, president of the commission by which the country was governed, assembled with their men of arms in Clerkenwell-fields, to protest against the treason of the king's favourites and evil counsellors, and also to require at the hands of the king their immediate punishment as traitors to the crown. "From St. Albans," says Grafton, detailing the progress of the malcontents, "they took their way to London, and there besydes Clerkenwell, with a goodly army, which they divided into three battayles (battalions); and their harness (armour) was so clean and bright that it was a goodly sight to beholde them. And they sent two knyghtes and two esquires vnto the Maior of London, and aldermen and chiefe citizens of the same, that they should come and declare unto the sayd lords whether they were minded to take their partes, and the partes of the commons, or else with the Duke of Ireland and his adherentes traytors unto the king and the realme. So came the Maior of London, whose name was Nicholas Exton, and certeine of the chiefe of the City with him, and brought the keys of the Citie at their pleasure, with all their people. And then the Lords sent certeine personnes to search if there were any bushmentes (ambushes), or personnes lye in wayte for to trap or destroy them. And when they were well assured all was cleere they entered the Citie, and there abode quietly." They afterwards proceeded to the Tower, where the king was staying, who, alarmed at the menacing aspect of affairs, willingly conceded their request, "That all those of his court, which were known or suspected of treason to his personne or realme, might be taken." And by the Parliament the five obnoxious counsellors—the Archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, de la Pole, Robert Tressilian, Chief Justice, and Nicholas Brember, Mayor of London—were all found guilty of high treason; their estates were confiscated, and the two last were executed.

The case of "Syr Nicholas Brembre, which afore had been maior of the City of London against the citizens' will," is a remarkable instance of retributive justice. "This man," writes Grafton, "had done in the cite many great oppressions, and in his mairaltie had made greate and monstreous stockes to imprison men in, and also he caused to be made a common axe to stryke off the heades of them which did resist his will and pleasure, for so highly was he in favour with the king that he might do what he would. And the report went that he had caused viij. thousand and mo to be endited, which before had taken part with ye Lords, which he intended to have put to execution if God had not shortened his dayes. And in the end, being called to his answer, he was found giltie, and had judgment neyther to be hanged nor drawen, but to be hedded with his own axe, which before he had deuised."[4]

In the year 1461, the forty-first of the troublous reign of Henry VI., an event took place in St. John's-fields, Clerkenwell, which is interestingly connected with our national history. In order to narrate it clearly it will be necessary to notice a few of the preceding circumstances. At a time when the peace of England was disturbed by the civil "Wars of the Roses," after the defeat of the Yorkists by the Lancasterian, or royal party, in the battle of Wakefield-bridge, December 30th, 1460, Margaret, the heroic Queen of Henry VI., advanced towards London with her troops, and in the battle of St. Albans defeated the Earl of Warwick and released the king, her husband, from an

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. vii., p. 14.
[2] *Vide* page 77.
[3] Hargrove's *Anecdotes of Archery*.
[4] Grafton's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, vol. i., p. 457.

ignominious captivity; and then prepared to enter the metropolis. At this time intelligence reached her that the Earl of March, son of the late Duke of York, with the forces which he had levied in Wales, had, in conjunction with the Earl of Warwick, defeated the Earls of Pembroke and Ormond at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and was marching on to London. The queen, aware of the disaffection of the citizens, changed her plans and retired to the north. The Earl of March was enthusiastically received on his arrival in London at the head of his troops, and on the 2nd of March the earl's army was mustered in St. John's-fields, in which a great number of people, "substantial citizens, were assembled to behold their order." Lord Falconbridge, taking advantage of the popular excitement, read aloud the agreement which had been made between the king and the Duke of York, and demanded of the people whether, agreeable to the settlement ratified by parliament, "thei woulde haue the sayd Kyng Henry to rule and reigne any lenger over them. To whom they with a whole voyce answered, 'Nay, nay.' Then he asked if thei would serve, loue, and obey the Earle of Marche as their earthly prince and sovereign Lord? To which question they answered, 'Yea, yea,' crieng, 'King Edward, King Edward,' with many greate showtes and clappyng of handes," for the young Duke of York, by his handsome person, agreeable manners, and courageous conduct, had won the esteem of the people. The next day a great council was held of the chief men of the realm at Baynard's Castle, in Thames-street, who, in their deliberations confirmed the choice of the people, and "on the morrowe" the Earl of March was conducted in great state to St. Paul's, and thence to Westminster Hall, where "being set on the king's seate, with St. Edwarde's sceptre in his hand," an appeal was again made to the people, who, with loud acclamations, approved him to be their sovereign. He was then processioned with great pomp to the Bishop of London's palace, where he lodged, and on the day following was proclaimed king in London and its vicinity by the title of Edward IV.[1]

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, *temp.* Charles I., under date March 19th, 1632, we find the "Confession of Andrew Humphrey, an enthusiast, who had seen many visions, and lived by the practice of geomancy, the setting of figures for recovery of things lost and stolen, and by fortune-telling. He saw, in a vision, the Duke of Buckingham's overthrow in the Isle of Rhé, four months before it took place; and when it was reported that Captain Jeffreys was slain, it was shown to Humphrey that he lived, at least forty days before the truth was known. He lives in a garden house in Finsbury-fields, near the Windmill, and close by Bunhill, and has a copyhold at Whitchurch, in Hants." Under date, June 1st, 1632, Finsbury-fields, over against the six windmills, westward, is a letter from Andrew Humphrey to Secretary Coke. "Being commanded in a dream to declare his visions to Sec. Coke, he was very unwilling to do so; but he took his Bible in his hand, and prayed that he might light on some chapter to set him forward. As he opened his Bible, he came to 1 Samuel, chap. xv. The 22nd and 23rd verses spurred him forward, wherefore he relates various visions; the conclusion being that the king put his hand in his pocket, and gave the writer some gold, and also promised that he should be righted of all the wrongs sustained of his brother, sister, and kindred." Annexed are two epigrams—one upon the circumstance that Roma, Amor, "Rome backward spelled is love;" the other, that by slight transposition the queen's name, "Maria," is converted into "Amari;" it concludes :—

> If God loves you, love him aright, and then,
> To be beloved you will deserve again.

And under date September 11th, 1632, Finsbury-fields, is another letter from Andrew Humphrey to Sec. Coke. "Has sent the two patterns of the darkening of the sun, and the moon turned into blood; also a small token, of which he has made good proof upon divers in the City. Hears a buzzing in his ears of altars that shall be set up in the churches of England. Refers him to Matthew ix., 13. What shall altars do in our churches? If it be not looked to in time, it will bring a leprosy. In

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, fol. 85., A.D.1548; Stow's *Annals*, p. 680.

the rising stifle it, lest it grow against the king's will. States various visions he had had, one of an abundance of licenses—

> Granted to carry away our grain,
> But it will never return from Spain ;
> The mealman, the merchant, and the clown
> Strive to pull our State down,
> And then they may run clean out of town,
> And buy them a velvet gown.

Although their noble queen is angry with him, he has watched day and night these seven years to keep her highness out of hell."

A satire, of 1675, says:—

> They'r mounted high, contemn the humble play
> Of trap or football on a holiday,
> In Finesbury-fieldes. No, 'tis their brave intent,
> Wisely t' advise the King and Parliament.

Pennant, writing about the year 1793, remarks of Finsbury fields:—"These fields were, till of late years, the haunt of most motley amusements, and some of not the most innocent nature ; among them was every allurement to low gambling by little fraudulent tricks ; it was likewise the great gymnasium of our capital, the resort of wrestlers, boxers, runners, and football players, and every manly recreation. Here the mountebanks set up their stages, and dispensed infallible medicines for every species of disease, to the gaping gulls who surrounded them. Here, too, I regret to say, that religion set up its stage itinerant beneath the trees, and here the pious, well-meaning Whitfield long preached."

In Boyne's "Tokens" we find that the following coins were issued by tradesmen residing in or about Clerkenwell fields, in the seventeenth century :—

Obverse.—Thomas Gibs in Clerken—Bust of Charles I., crowned. *Reverse.*—well Feilds. 1666. His halfe peny.

Obverse.—Tristram Hewes, at 1666. His halfe peny. *Reverse.*—Clarkenwell, Baker. The Bakers' Arms between T. A. H.

Adjoining Clerkenwell or Finsbury Fields, on the south side, were Moorfields, a short reference to which may interest our readers, although the same were not situated in the parish of Clerkenwell. The name of Moorfields has gradually passed into the gross misnomer which now it is. Here is not any moor now, nor are any fields within sight of the place ; indeed, it is very probable that many of the residents of it know nothing whatever of the pastoral except that which they see from the curtain-festooned sides of pleasure-vans, which make summer excursions from Moorfields to Hampton Court, Rye House, and Epping Forest. Not a blade of grass grows in these fields, but on a damp wall here and there, or in a patch of yard, where the rankest green growth lives eternally like an unpleasant reminiscence. Acres of houses, and other buildings of good age, cover the moor and the meadows of the old time, and the dew and fogs of the once sylvan suburb are now represented by the soot and smoke of this present bit of London.

Moorfields were so called from a great marsh or moor which was situated outside the old City walls on the north. At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, held January 28th, 1841, Charles Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a skate of bone then recently found in Moorfields, which afforded a highly curious illustration of the description of the manners and sports of the old Londoners, as described by Fitzstephen, in the reign of Henry II. He says, that when the great lake or pool, washing the northern walls of the City, was frozen, crowds of youths pursued their sports upon the ice ; some sliding, others riding on great mill stones of ice ; and others, more skilful, flying upon bones fixed under their feet. The skate discovered was apparently formed from the meditarsal bone of a horse ; its texture was remarkably sound, and the lower surface very highly polished. At one end it was cut to resemble in some degree the turned-up piece of iron now usual at the front of skates ; and there was a hole at both ends, by means of which the ligatures must have

been attached. In 1843 several ancient bone skates were discovered in excavating ground in Moorgate-street. They were embedded in the black mud which so characterised that neighbourhood. These bones were supposed to be the tibiæ of the horse, and were perforated at each end for the purpose of securing them to the foot.

Stow describes the moor as "stretching from the wall of the City betwixt Bishopsgate and the postern called Cripplegate to Fensbury and to Holywell;" and says, that it "continued a waste and unprofitable ground a long time, so that the same was all letten for four marks the year in the reign of Edward II." The manor of Finsbury took its name from this fen or moor,[1] and is of great antiquity, it having had a prebend in St. Paul's as early as 1104. Bricks are said to have been made here, before they were made in any other place in London, for the purpose of repairing the City wall between Aldgate and Aldersgate, 17th Edward IV., when Moorfields were "searched for clay, and bricks were made and burnt there." In 1415 Thomas Falconer, then Lord Mayor, caused a breach to be made in the City walls next the moor, and built a postern called Moor-gate, through which the citizens were enabled to reach the rural villages of Isledon[2] (Islington), Clerkenwell, and Hogsden (Hoxton), by using causeways which were laid across the moor. Bailey says Moor-gate was "a north gate of the City of London, so called of a moor or marsh which was formerly hard by it; from Sax. *mor*, a moor or marsh, and *gate*." The gate stood opposite the site of the present Albion Chapel, at the south-west corner of the fields. It was rebuilt in 1672, and the central way made higher than it previously had been, so that the City trained bands might walk through it with their pikes erect. In "Liber Albus," which was compiled in 1419, we read of a lease of the moor of Finsbury and the watercourse of Walbrook unto Thomas—atte Ram. And in the same book mention is made of ordinances as to Finsbury Moor and the new Latrine at London-wall; and as to the removal of gardens, herbs, hedges, and rubbish in Finsbury Moor.

Moorfields were not drained until the year 1527. This was a most pestilential spot, and as such it was allowed to remain for several centuries; for in those good old times there were no officious Boards of Health, nor any busybody sanitary commissioners, to disturb the dirty, conservative citizens. Howe, writing in 1631, says, "This field, until the third year of King James (1606-7) was a most noysome and offensive place, being a general laystall, a rotten moorish ground, whereof it first tooke the name. This fielde for many yeares was burrowed and crossed with deep stinking ditches, and noysome common shewers, and was of former times held impossible to be reformed." In 1606 the fields were laid out in walks for the first time, and buildings were commenced upon them in the reign of Charles II. In 1607, Richard Johnson wrote "The Pleasant Walks of Moore fields." This work forms the 23rd part of Collier's recently privately printed "Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature."

This low district was famous for its military and riotous musters; for its pleasant walks; for its laundresses and bleachers; for its cudgel-players and popular amusements; for its madhouse, known as Bethlehem Hospital; and for its bookstalls and balladsellers.

The musters of the trained bands here are thus referred to by Shakspeare in his "Henry VIII." act v., scene 3—"Is this Moorfields to muster in?" One of the characters in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," says, "I am sent for this morning by a friend in the Old Jewry to come to him; it is but crossing over the fields to Moorgate." And in the same play Brainwarm says, "My old master intends to follow my young master dryfoot over Moorfields to London this morning." In Sir William Davenant's "Dialogue between a Parisian and a Londoner," the Parisian says, "I have now no more to say, but what refers to a few private notes, which I shall give you in a whisper when we meet in Moorfields, from whence, because the place was meant for public pleasure, and to shew the munificence of your City, I shall desire you to banish the laundresses and bleachers, whose acres of old linen make a shew like the fields of Carthagena, when the five months' shifts of the whole fleet are washed and spread." In Bassompierre's "Embassy to England," in 1626, we read:—"After dinner, the Duke and the Earls of Montgomery and Holland having brought me home, I went to walk in the

[1] *Vide* page 23, note.

[2] *Vide* page 1, note.

Moorffield." Whitelocke says, that in 1651, "Twelve regiments of London, being one thousand four hundred, mustered in Finsbury (or Moor) Fields; the Speaker and divers members of Parliament were there, and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London." Pepys says in his diary:—28th June, 1661. "Went to Moor-fields, and there walked and stood and saw the wrestling, wh. I never saw so much of before, between the north and west countrymen." And again, 26th July, 1664. "Great discourse yesterday of the fray in Moor-fields, how the butchers at first did beat the weavers, between whom there hath been ever an old competition for mastery, but at last the weavers rallied and beat them. At first the butchers knocked down all for weavers that had green or blue aprons, till they were fain to pull them off and put them in their breeches. At last, the butchers were fain to pull off their sleeves that they might not be known, and were soundly beaten out of the field; and some deeply wounded and bruised, till at last the weavers went out triumphing, calling '£100 for a butcher.'"

The great fire of London in 1666 compelled the poor houseless citizens to seek shelter in the fields and suburbs of the metropolis, whither they carried such articles of furniture and valuables as could be saved from the burning, while they were encamped in the fields and lodging in the villages around London. "The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St. George's-fields and Moor-fields, as far as High-gate, and several miles in a circle; some under miserable tents and hovels, many without a rag or any necessary utensils, bed, or board; who, from delicateness, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty." The King, in order to provide for their immediate wants, ordained that markets for provisions should be established in Clerkenwell, Islington, Finsbury-fields, &c., the fire having consumed the market places within the City. The royal proclamation concerning the supply of these new markets was as follows:—"Charles R. His Majesty in his princely compassion and very tender care, taking into consideration the distressing condition of many of his good subjects whom the late dismal fire hath made destitute of habitation, and exposed to many exigencies and necessities; for present remedy and redress, whereof his majesty intended to give further testimony and evidence of his grace and favour towards them, as occasion shall arise, hath thought fit to declare and publish his royal pleasure that as great proportions of bread and all other provisions as can possibly be furnished, shall be daily and constantly brought not only to the markets formerly in use, but also to such markets as by his Majesty's late order and declaration to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, have been appointed and ordained, viz., Clerkenwell, Islington, Finsbury Fields, Mile End Green, and Ratcliff; his Majesty being sensible that this will be for the benefit also of the towns and places adjoining, as being the best expedient to prevent the resort of such persons thereunto as may pilfer and disturb them," &c.[1] Two days after this ordinance, September 7th, "I went," says Evelyn, "towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispersed and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss, and though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking a penny for relief, which to me appeared a stranger sight than I had yet beheld."[2] Evelyn then refers to the above "proclamation for the country to come in and refresh them with provisions." "Those parts of the town which God had spared," says another old writer, "were many hours without anything to eat as well as those who were in the fields, and yet it can hardly be conceived how great a supply of all kinds was brought from all places within four-and-twenty hours. And which was the more miraculous, in four days in all fields about town, which were covered with those whose habitations were burned and with goods which they had saved, there was scarce a man seen. All found shelter in a short time either in those parts which remained of the City, or in the suburbs, or in the neighbouring villages. All kinds of people expressed a marvellous charity towards those who appeared to be undone."[3]

Pepys says, 7th April, 1667. "Into Moorfields, and did find houses built two storeys high, and like to stand; and must become a place of great trade till the city be built; and the street is already paved as London streets used to be."

[1] Somer's *Scarce Tracts*, vol. vii., p. 659. [2] Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 15, ed. 1850.
[3] *Continuation of Clarendon's Life*, Oxford, 1759, p. 351.

In Shadwell's play of "The Humourists," 1671, we read:—"Had you any other customers, for a year together, than the cudgell players of Moorfields, or now and then a drawer that was wounded with a quart pot." In the same author's play of "The Scourers," 1691, Lady Maggot says, "With me! I'faith, but you shall not; when did you ever see a lady of my quality walk with her husband? Well, I shall never teach a citizen manners. I warrant, you think you are in Moorfields, seeing haberdashers walking with their whole fireside." Sir Samuel Garth tartly wrote:—

> But if to Tragedy his Lordship yields,
> False Fame cries Athens; honest truth, Moorfields.

In a pasquinade, entitled, "The last Will and Testament of the Charter of London," 1683, is a bequest to Sir Thomas Player, Chamberlain of the City, as follows:—"To Sir Thomas Player I leave all the manor of Moorfields, with all the wenches and bawdy-houses thereunto belonging, with Mrs. Cresswell's (who kept a noted bagnio), for his immediate inheritance, to enjoy and occupy all, from the bawd to the whore downward, at nineteen shillings in the pound cheaper than any other person, because he may not exhaust the chamber by paying old arrears, nor embezzle the stock by running into new scores."[1]

In a work on the public manners under Charles II., translated from the French of Mons. Le Pays, written in 1690, by W. Hamilton Reid, we read:—"There is an ale-house near a place they call Moorfields, where the company are entertained with musick and Merry Andrews, who perform in their turns from morning till night, on purpose to divert those who come to drink, and where the company give themselves up to every kind of gallantry. There are a number of actors of both sexes, who are painted to appear fair; and, as the place is built like an amphitheatre, the principal sports are made upon the open grass plat in the middle, which, being the same in this place as the stage in a theatre, a very numerous company may enjoy the diversions very much at their ease."

To this the translator, in 1791, adds the following note:—"The ale-house alluded to, near Moorfields, is the Flying Horse, and is still distinguished by the same sign. It is on the eastern side; and but a few years since the large yard of the house had an entrance into Union-street, which is now stopped up. According to the relation of aged persons, now living, it was in this yard that the diversions described by the French author were carried on. They remember the small houses in the yard having their tops covered with seats, though within their memory only cudgelling and boxing were exhibited in that place, except that children and women used to ride upon the seats, in the wings of a large wooden horse, that had a mechanical motion for that purpose upon a platform, and run in grooves. The assemblies at this place being prohibited, probably on account of the gallantries alluded to by M. Le Pays, the diversions of boxing and cudgelling were still carried on in the middle of the Upper Field, where, till within forty years past, the ring, as it was called, was under the direction of a master of those ceremonies, very well known by the appellation of Old Vinegar. Moorfield was, till within about twenty years past, divided into Upper and Lower, by a wall, that ran from the end of Chiswell-street to the opposite side." There is now a public-house called the Flying Horse, standing at the corner of Wilson-street and Crown-street, Finsbury-square.

There are many allusions in contemporary writings to the secondhand booksellers of Moorfields, which were the mart of cheap and scarce literature; and hither the bibliopoles of the last century came to search for the latter. Thus, Gay, in his "Trivia," says:—

> Thames-street gives cheeses, Covent-garden fruits,
> Moorfield old books, and Monmouth-street old suits.
>
>
>
> Volumes, on shelter'd stalls expanded lie,
> And various science lures the learned eye;
> The bending shelves with ponderous scholiasts groan,
> And deep divines to modern shops unknown.
> Here, like the bee, that on industrious wing
> Collects the various odours of the spring,

[1] Somer's *Tracts*, by Scott, vol. viii., page 392.

Walkers, at leisure, learning's flowers may spoil,
Nor watch the wasting of the midnight oil,
May morals snatch from Plutarch's tatter'd page,
A mildew'd Bacon, or Stagyra's sage.

Tom Browne, in 1709, said, "Well, this thing called prosperity makes a man strangely insolent and forgetful. How contemptibly a cutler looks at a poor grinder of knives; a physician in his coach at a farrier a-foot; and a well-known Paul's churchyard bookseller upon one of the trade that sells secondhand books under the trees in Moorfields." In Thoresby's Diary we find the following:— 1709. "In Moorfields, bought a very rare edition of the New Testament in English, printed anno 1536." Gray, writing to Mr. Wharton, says, "There was the cell of Guy of Warwick cut in the living stone, where he died a hermit, as you may see in a penny history that hangs upon the rails in Moorfields." This has reference to the ballad-sellers, who exposed for sale their wares upon the road side rails here.

In the "Secret History of the Calves' Head Club," published in 1706, we learn, that in a blind alley about Moorfields this club had its meeting. An axe hung up in the club-room, and was reverenced as a principal symbol in the club's diabolical sacrament. The great feast of calves' heads was held on the 30th of January, the anniversary of the martyrdom of Charles I., in derision of whose rule and death the club was created. The members' bill of fare included large dishes of calves' heads dressed in several ways; a large pike with a small one in its mouth, as an emblem of tyranny; and a large cod's head, to represent the person of the king alone, the calves' heads representing him with those who had suffered in his cause; and a boar's head with an apple in its mouth to represent the king as beastial, the other emblems being intended to show that he had been foolish and tyrannical. After the repast the Eikon Basilike was burnt, anthems were sung, and an oath was sworn upon Milton's "Defensio Populi Anglicani." Jerry White, formerly chaplain to Cromwell, said grace; and the table-cloth being removed, the anniversary anthem, as the company, consisting of Independents and Anabaptists, impiously called it, was sung; and a calves' skull being filled with wine or other liquor, a brimmer went round to the health of the pious patriot who had killed the tyrant.

In the summer vacation of 1723, a promising young actor, named Rackstraw, was performing in a theatrical booth in Moorfields the part of King Darius. In the scene in which he is attacked by Bessus and Nabarzanes, one of the latter two thrust his foil at the King so awkwardly that it entered the eye, pierced his brain, and laid the actor, after a scream, dead upon the boards.[1]

About a century ago Moorfields were divided into the Lower, the Middle, and the Upper Fields. In the first of these divisions was situated Bethlehem Hospital, or Bedlam, which occupied the whole south side. Gay wrote to Snow about this madhouse as follows:—

Through fam'd Moorfields extends a spacious seat,
Where mortals of exalted wit retreat;
Where, wrapp'd in contemplation and in straw,
The wiser few from the mad world withdraw.

Under Bethlehem wall, in 1753-4, Elizabeth Canning was seized, robbed, and gagged; and thence dragged to Mother Wells's, at Enfield Wash, where she was nearly starved to death. Close to the hospital the fields were divided into four squares by strong but clumsily made wooden rails; these squares were planted with elm trees around a grass-plot. Intersecting the spaces or quarters, as they were called, were gravel walks, which were named the City-mall. This was a favourite place for Sunday promenade by the citizens. The beaux of the period who used this parade wore their hats inclined on one side, hence the name of "the Moorfields' Cock" was applied to that style of hat-wearing. Middle and Upper Moorfields then lay waste.

On referring to page 189 our readers will see that Henry Carey originated his pretty love-ballad of

[1] Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants*, vol. i., p. 351.

"Sally in our Alley" through seeing a shoe-maker's apprentice making holiday with his sweetheart in these fields.

Keats, the poet, was born at the Swan and Hoop livery stables, No. 28, on the Pavement, in Moorfields, over against the riding-school, now a public-house of that name.

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In reference to the vaults of St. James's Church, the "Builder," for June 18th, 1859, p. 411, says:—"It is a number of years now since we first visited the vaults of St. James, Clerkenwell; it was here that we first learned that it was necessary to puncture lead coffins in order to prevent them from bursting with loud explosion."

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In the Calendar of State Papers, domestic series, 1623-1625, *temp.* James I., mention is made of a letter, dated March 10th, 1625, from Secretary Conway to the Bishop of London. "Recommends the accommodation of Mr. Alport's election to Clerkenwell benefice with the parishioners."

"Doctor Sibbald, Pastor of James's, Clerkenwell," is mentioned in "The Parliament of Ladies," 1647, 4to., page 11 (Brit. Mus. 116. l. 39., King's Library), *Vide* also Wood's "Life of Hamilton."

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Richard Kingston, M.A. (eventually called Doctor Kingston), preacher of St. James, Clerkenwell, was author of the following works:—

1. "Pillulæ Pestilentiales; or, a Spiritual Receipt for the Cure of the Plague, delivered in a Sermon at S. Paul's (on 2 Chron. viii., 13, 14). Lond., 8vo., 1665."
2. "The Cause and Cure of Offences, in a Sermon (on Matt. xviii., 7). Lond., 4to., 1682."
3. "Vivat Rex, a Sermon (on 1 Sam. x., 24) before the Mayor, &c., of Bristol, upon the Discovery of the late Treasonable Phanatical Plot, at S. James's Church, July 25, 1683, being Sunday in the fair week. Lond., 4to., 1683."
4. "A True History of the Several Designs and Conspiracies against His Majesty's Person and Government for 1688 to 1697, &c. &c., Lond., 8vo., 1698."
5. "Tyranny Detected, and the late Revolution Justified by the Law of God, the Law of Nature, and the Practice of all Nations, &c. &c.. Lond., 8vo., 1699."
6. "A Discourse on God's Providence, 8vo., pp. 151. London, 1700." This has a long dedication to the Duke of Devonshire.
7. "A Modest Answer to Capt. Smith's Immodest Memorial of Secret Service. Lond., 8vo., 1700."
8. "Impudence, Lying, and Forgery Detected, in a Rejoinder to Smith's Reply. Lond. 8vo., 1700."
9. "Impartial Remarks about Dr. Freind's Account of the Earl of Peterborow's Conduct in Spain, chiefly since the raising the Siege of Barcelona, 1706. Lond. 8vo., 1707." (Anon.)
10. "Enthusiastick Imposters no Divinely Inspired Prophets; wherein the Pretended French and English Prophets are shown in their true colours, &c., &c. Part I . . . Part II. Lond., 8vo., 1709. Dedicated to Henry Compton, Bishop of London."
11. "Apophthegmata Curiosa; or, Reflections, Sentences, and Maxims; a Collection of Cautions. Lond. 8vo., 1709."

The preface to "Pillulæ Pestilentiales; or, a Spiritual Receipt for the Cure of the Plague," runs as follows:—

"PREFACE.—To the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell, for the time being, and to the rest of the officers and inhabitants of the same parish, R. K. wisheth health and happiness in this life, and eternal blessedness in that to come.

"Loving Friends,—It pleased the wise Dispenser of all things to cast my lot among you in one of the most dreadful visitations that ever England knew, when the black Horse of the Pestilence, with pale Death on his back, pranced our streets at noonday and midnight, at which dreadful (and never to be forgotten) time our sense of seeing was well nigh glutted with beholding the sight of our diseased and deceased friends, enough to have extinguished the optical faculty.

No papers then over our doors were set
With chambers ready furnished to be let;
But a sad 'Lord have mercy upon us,' and
A bloody Cross, as fatal marks did stand
Presaging the noisome pestilence within,
Was come to take revenge on us for sin.

"And as our eyes might well be dimmed, so might our ears be deafed with the doleful cries of the poor for food to keep them from starving, of the sick for physic to keep them from dying, and of them that were marked for spiritual helps to preserve them from perishing.

We well might hear of Death there was such plenty,
One bell at once was fain to ring for twenty;
No clocks were heard to strike upon their bells,
'Cause nothing rung but death-lamenting knells.

"Which dreadful noises so terrified some, and affrighted all, that men knew not what course to steer to preserve themselves from the wounding shaft.

Some by their fear to go to church debarr'd,
Anon are carried dead into the yard;
And churches now with too much burial fed,
Fear'd they should have no meeting but of dead.

"This poisoned arrow of the pestilence (especially when it was first shot among us) wounded so suddenly and sharply, that we could scarce be resolved whether it was sickness or death itself that assaulted us; for many lying down to repose in the evening, made their sleep true kin to death by dying before morning.

Ah! who would then defer
A preparation for this messenger?

"But not to detain you longer with a large epistle to a little book, be pleased to accept thereof as a testimony of my sincere love to you, which shall always be accompanied with my hearty prayer for you, that our merciful God would be pleased to withdraw his sin-revenging scourge, which is still amongst us, and charge his angels to guard your persons from future dangers, and give you his Holy Spirit to guide your souls in the path of holiness here, and bring you to the Palace of Happiness hereafter. So prayeth the earnest desirer of your soul's welfare,

"Richard Kingston."

"From my study at St. James's, Clerkenwell, Oct. 18, 1665."

For his remarks upon Dr. Freind's account of the Earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, Kingston was taken into custody by order of the House of Lords, who, on January 19th, 1707-8, ordered his discharge, and directed him to be prosecuted by the attorney-general.

"It is surprising so very little is known of this busy, meddling disputant. Posterity, indeed, would have heard of him only from his literary productions, had he not in an unlucky moment, picked a quarrel with that notorious scoundrel and spy, Matthew Smith, the reputed author of 'Memoirs of Secret Service,' 8vo., 1699. *Arcades Ambo!* Kingston is taxed by Smith with not only forging his letters of orders, but guilty of such licentious conduct as compelled the Bishop of Bristol to expel him from his diocese. (See Smith's 'Reply to Kingston's Modest Answer,' 1700, pp. 36-38.) Kingston was accordingly constrained to give some account of his antecedents, which he has done in his 'Rejoinder to Matthew Smith, a Squire of Alsatia, now resident in the Gate House, Westminster,' 8vo., 1700. Here is his own account of himself. He states, that he was ordained deacon and priest at Westminster on the 17th July, 1662, by the Bishop of Galloway, who subscribed himself 'Thomas Candidæ Casæ Episcopus.' That on the 6th of February, 1681-2, he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles II. 'After this,' he adds, 'I had other considerable preferments, a prebend (unnoticed by Le Neve), and a rectory added to my living of Henbury. In

the parish of Henbury I continued from 1678 till a little after the happy Revolution. Then I sold an estate in Henbury, paid my just debts, and brought over £200 with me to London, where I have lived ever since.' He further reminds his assailants, that 'their insinuating my not being in orders, after I am above sixty-three years of age, and having exercised the ministerial function in the Church of England above seven-and-thirty years, and have been four times instituted and inducted into very considerable ecclesiastical preferments, shows their ignorance is as great as their malice.' This was written in the year 1700, and it does not appear that after his return to the metropolis 'a little after the happy Revolution,' he was inducted into any other church living.

"In proof of the validity of his orders, he printed the following certificate:—

'These are to certify whom it may concern, that Mr. Richard Kingston, late Minister of Henbury, in the diocese of Bristol, was ordained Deacon and Priest, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, in Westminster, by the Bishop of Galloway, who then ordained there, and subscribed himself, Thomas Candidæ Casæ Episcopus, myself being ordained at the same time and place with him, upon the 17th day of July, 1662. In witness thereof I have hereunto set my hand.

'Thomas Beesly, Vicar of Little Marlow, in the County of Bucks.'

"This certificate, it must be admitted, is not by any means satisfactory. It is undated, and when first printed Mr. Beesly had been dead three years. (Lipscomb's 'Bucks,' iii., 609.) Moreover *James* Hamilton was Bishop of Galloway in 1662, having been appointed to that see in the preceding year. It is just possible, but not probable, that *Thomas* Sydeserf, his predecessor, who was translated to the see of Orkney in 1662, may have exercised his episcopal functions at Westminster.

"Kingston's incumbency of St. James's, Clerkenwell, has escaped the researches of Newcourt, Malcolm, and Cromwell, the historian of that parish. His sermon on the Plague is dated 'from my study at St. James's, Clerkenwell, Oct. 18, 1665;' and, according to Newcourt, his successor, Mr. Sclatter, was appointed to the living on Sept. 17, 1666. Granger ('Biog. Hist.,' iv., 369), states, that his 'Pillulæ Pestilentiales' has an engraved portrait of him, which is absent without leave in the British Museum copy.

"Kingston's work, 'Enthusiastick Imposters no Divinely Inspir'd Prophets,' was first published anonymously in 1707, by J. Morphew, near Stationers' Hall. It is dedicated to Henry, Lord Bishop of London." [1]

In a catalogue of Manuscripts, issued by Thomas Thorpe in 1834, is the following document relating to Kingston:—

"Lot 468. Petition of Richard Kingston, addressed to Mr. Brathwayte [Clerk to the Privy Council], urging his interest to obtain Kingston the arrears of his Pension, being about £600, A.D. 1699.

"This Petition sets forth his services in the cause of King William III.; his having been a witness in the conviction of three several traitors; his bringing into the Treasury £1,225 by a seizure of French silks; his printing thirteen books on the Government's behalf at his own charge; having a hundred pounds' worth of books and other goods taken from him for the payment of the King's tax upon his pension, which he has not received; his being aged sixty-four, having nine children, and in extreme poverty; will be inevitably ruined unless speedily supplied by His Majesty's goodness.

"With these papers are three letters, wholly autograph, of Lord Lucas, Governor of the Tower of London, imploring Brathwayte's good offices 'in behalf of the poor gentleman, Dr. Kingston, that if not helped speedily, he and his numerous family must perish for want: a hard case, that after nine years' service he should starve.' The letters also show that this pension had been antecedently paid by Lord Lucas as secret service money." [2]

In 1701 the Rev. Mr. Bourghope, lecturer of St. James's, published a sermon.

In 1718 the Rev. William Hendley, lecturer of St. James's, Clerkenwell, was elected by a majority of sixty hands to the lectureship of St. Mary's, Islington. He was the author of a charity sermon, which occasioned a remarkable trial at the Rochester assizes, when he and the collectors for the children were confined. It was entitled "The Rich Man's Barns; a Sermon preached at the Parish Church of Chisslehurst, in the County of Kent, on Sunday, August 24th, 1718, for the benefit

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., vol. i., p. 470.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., vol. iii., p. 76.

of the charity children belonging to St. Ann's within Aldersgate, London. By William Hendley, Curate and Lecturer of St. Mary at Islington, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. Charles Lord Fitzwalter. Text, Jas. i. 27." A disturbance took place owing to the unseemly opposition of the local justices of the peace, who chose to consider these charity children as vagrants, and as such denied the legality of any collection being made for them. A disgraceful scene was enacted in the church in consequence. After the sermon a collection was made from pew to pew, which was proceeded with in an orderly manner until the collector reached the pew of one of these irate Solons, who not only refused to contribute, but seized the collector, and declared that the money should not be given to the children. Mr. Hendley from the pulpit commanded that the collection should be proceeded with, and from the Prayer-book read aloud several rubrics authorising what was being done, and reminded the justices that for disturbing divine service they must expect a complaint to be made to the Bishop of Rochester. They replied that they cared neither for the Bishop of Rochester nor for him, and charged him and the rector to desist from collecting at their peril. The rector, upon the failure of the proper officers, took the plate himself and collected from his parishioners, who crowded around him to make their contributions, while those in the rear threw their money into the plate. The justices endeavoured to take possession of the money by force, but in this they were defied by the rector and Mr. Hendley, who dared them at their peril to come within the communion rail. After counting up the money upon the communion table, the rector in the afternoon delivered it into the hands of the Bishop of Rochester. Towards the evening of the day the rector, preacher, and the three persons who brought the children down, were bound over to the quarter sessions at Maidstone as rioters and vagrants. They were brought to trial on the 15th of July, 1719, and the charge of being "wickedly desirous of gain, and most horridly and unjustly intending to procure to themselves unlawful gains under the pretence of collecting charities, alms, and gifts, for the sustenance and maintenance of boys and girls," was affected to be established, and a fine of 6s. 8d. each was imposed by the learned judge. Hendley afterwards published, by subscription, "A Defence of Charity Schools, wherein the many false, scandalous, and malicious objections of those advocates for Ignorance and Irreligion, the Author of the Fable of the Bees, and Cato's Letter in the 'British Journal,' are fully and distinctly answered, and the Usefulness and Excellency of such Schools clearly set forth."

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The Rev. G. Burnet was between 1718 and 1721 one of the editors of a periodical called "The Free Thinker." Burnet's abridgement of Boyle's Lectures is not mentioned in the "Bibliotheca Britannica," nor in Lownde's "Biblio. Dict."

The Rev. J. Doughty was buried on July 1st, 1768. He was the author of a volume of sermons which was published in 1764.

The Rev. W. Sellon was chosen minister July, 1758. By a resolution of the vestry previous to this it was determined that the right of voting was in the inhabitants only paying the poor rates, agreeably to the method of election observed from the year 1691. But after this election had been for some time carried on, the friends of Mr. Nichols, the other candidate, opened books, in which they polled every one who paid forty shillings per annum, by which means there was a double return. The barons ordered a new election, at which Mr. Sellon was again successful. Sergeant Sellon was a son of this reverend gentleman. In 1852 was published the "Memoirs of the Rev. William Sellon, formerly minister of St. James's, Clerkenwell; by B. P. Smith," of Sellon House, a relative. During Mr. Sellon's incumbency "died (March 30th, 1768) at his house in Clerkenwell, aged ninety, Mr. William Stevens, for fifty-five years grave-digger of that parish. The following story is related of him:—That being once on examination in one of the courts in Westminster Hall, relative to some parochial affairs, he was asked by the court who he was. To which he replied, 'I am grave-digger to the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, at your honour's service.'"[1] We find the following

[1] *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 1768.

obituary notice of the Rev. W. Sellon in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1790, vol. lx., part II., page 673:—July 18th. "After a long and painful illness, attended with frequent returns of epilepsy, the Rev. William Sellon, M.A., curate of the united parishes of St. James and St. John, Clerkenwell, joint evening preacher at the Magdalen, and alternate afternoon lecturer of St. Andrew, Holborn, and St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Few gentlemen possessed great church preferment under the same circumstances as Mr. S., who held £1,300 a year without any patron but popular adoption. His death has called forth a number of expectants, whose respective friends are engaged in the bustle of a canvass. In Clerkenwell (which though only a curacy, with scarcely any endowment, is worth £500 a year) there is a strong opposition, and committees daily sitting. The candidates are Messrs. Davis, Foster, Mead, De Cotlegon (the Lord Mayor's Chaplain, whose zeal in the business of the Test Act has gained him much popularity), and the venerable Harrison, who, ripe in years and good works, after thirty years active duty in the metropolis, comes forward in the hope of sweetening with competence the close of his pious labours. He has already the small rectory of St. John, Clerkenwell."

At page 994 of the same volume of the "Gentleman's Magazine," a correspondent wrote to the editor as follows:—"You have committed several errors in the article relative to the late Rev. Mr. Sellon, of Clerkenwell. You describe him as 'M.A., curate of the united parishes of St. James and St. John, Clerkenwell, joint evening preacher of the Magdalen, and alternate afternoon lecturer of St. Andrew, Holborn, and St. Giles-in-the-Fields;' and you represent his church preferment as worth £1,300 per annum. But Mr. Sellon was *not* a graduate. From Westminster School he became a member of Trinity College, Cambridge, at which place, in consequence of a very early marriage, he discontinued his residence, prior to the possibility of his proceeding regularly to an academical degree. The episcopal licence to the minister of Clerkenwell, I conceive, onerates him with the cure only of St. James's, and runs in such terms. St. John's parish is a separate cure, and a rectory, being taken out of the old parish of St. James; but at the time of its establishment the pecuniary rights of the perpetual curate of St. James not being expressly taken from him, in any part of his original parish, he continued to claim the surplice fees in St. John's parish as well as that of St. James; and they have been decreed to belong to him. He is not, however, curate of the united parishes of St. James and St. John, but minister or curate of St. James; and, by virtue of such incumbency, he has a claim to certain pecuniary emoluments, but no cure of souls, in the parish of St. John. The patronage of the benefice having been originally vested in the inhabitants of the whole parish, consisting of both districts, the inhabitants of St. John still justly claim and exercise their right of voting at the nomination of a minister for St. James. Mr. S. was not alternate but sole afternoon lecturer of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. He was also proprietor and minister of Portman Chapel. His church preferment, as I am credibly informed, did not produce a moiety of the sum mentioned by you; and, in stating the value of Clerkenwell living to be £500 per annum, you have certainly very much overrated it. The true description *now* of the minister of St. James, is minister or curate of St. James, Clerkenwell, Cum Capella de Pentonville."

PAGE 71.

The Rev. R. C. Dillon, D.D., Minister of Charlotte Chapel, Pimlico, was for some time Sunday Evening Lecturer at St. James's Church, Clerkenwell. An engraving, by Richard Smith, from a painting by E. Dixon, was published by B. Wertheim, of 14, Paternoster-row. It represents the rev. gentleman in his gown and band; he has small features and a pleasing countenance.

The Rev. W. E. L. Faulkner, on November 2nd, 1840, established the Clerkenwell Ladies' Benevolent Society, for the relief of the sick poor, for granting small monthly pensions to poor aged females, and lending boxes of linen, during their confinement, to poor married women of the parish. Since Mr. Faulkner's decease the charity has been carried on as before by Miss Caroline Griffith (who has been the honorary secretary from the foundation of the charity to the present time), in conjunction

with the Rev. R. Maguire and his curates. The Queen Dowager was the patroness of this society from its institution until her death in the year 1849, since which time Miss A. G. Burdett Coutts has liberally supplied her place. The cases relieved by this society in the years under-named are in number as follows:—

	Aged Pensioners.	Maternity Cases.	Sick Cases.
In 1859	6	67	884
In 1860	6	60	1,194
In 1861	6	61	1,166
In 1862	6	72	911
In 1863	6	88	877

The income of the society was, in 1859, £92 11s. 3½d.; in 1860, £117 0s. 11½d.; in 1861, £151 19s. 7½d.; in 1862, £116 16s. 2½d.; and in 1863, £112 17s. 10½d.

The Rev. Robert Maguire. From this gentleman's second pastoral letter (1859) we learn that St. James's district numbered 28,000 souls, and stood third among the populous parishes in the list of the Diocesan Church Building Society. At this time the Rev. H. W. Tindall, B.A., was first curate; the Rev. Samuel A. Herbert, B.A., second curate; and the Rev. Daniel Ace, B.D., of St. John's College, Cambridge, third curate. The latter relinquished in 1860. He subsequently went to St. Leonard's, Malton. In May, 1864, he was presented by the Lord Chancellor to the vicarage of Dacre, near Penrith, Cumberland, a living in the gift of her Majesty. He is the author of a compendious treatise on auricular confession, 12mo. The work is divided into eight chapters, and is a powerful argument against the pernicious practice which gives a title to it.

At page 71 *et seq.* of this History will be found an account of the long-contested election of the Rev. R. Maguire. We may here add some particulars of the past elections of ministers for Clerkenwell parish.[1]

The right of advowson has been productive of much evil, for ever since the parish became possessed of it, in 1656, the election of the minister has generally been carried on with violence and animosity. The first instance on record of the parish exercising their rights was in 1691, when the election was protracted from July to November, although it did not give rise to any lawsuit.

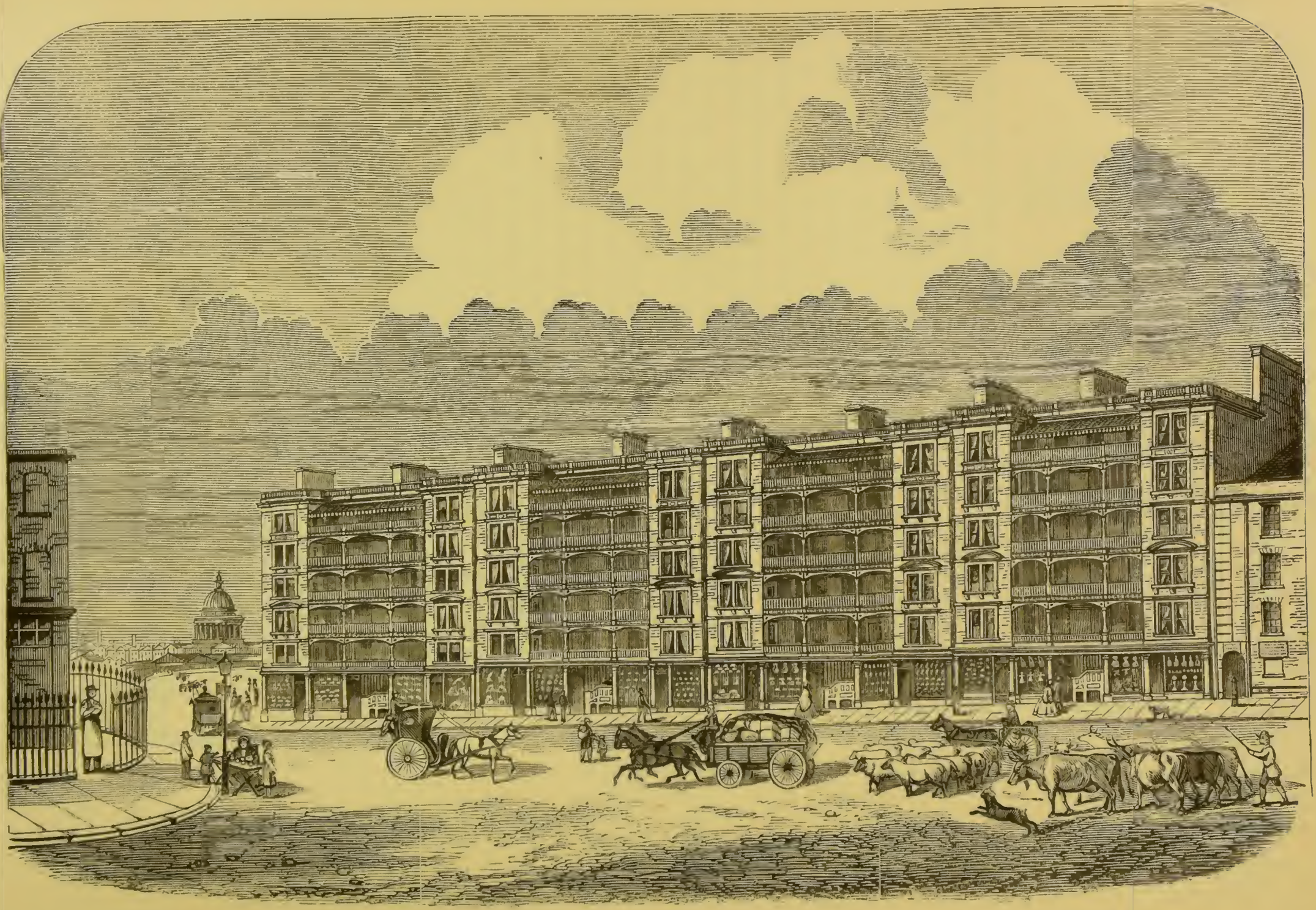
In 1725 there was a poll, followed by a scrutiny, to settle how the election should be conducted, and the question was settled in favour of a poll, which, after some delay on the part of the churchwardens, and measures taken to compel them to move, was accordingly proceeded with; but the validity of this election was questioned by a bill in the Exchequer—Ley *v.* Nicholson—on the ground that the churchwardens had not given due notice of it, and on their refusal to grant a new election a great number of the parishioners proceeded without them, and the plaintiff on that occasion had a large majority. This bill was dismissed, and the churchwardens were required to proceed to another election; and upon their not doing so, some of the parishioners gave notice of a meeting in the church for that purpose, but a poll was taken on a tombstone in the churchyard, the churchwardens refusing the meeting the use of the church, and on this poll Mr. Ley was declared duly elected. This occasioned an information to be filed by the Attorney-General, at the instance of Mr. Ley's friends, against the churchwardens and others, in the issue of which his election was established.

In 1745 there were four candidates, one of whom being returned on a show of hands, a poll was demanded, which was followed by a scrutiny, and this was succeeded by an information and bill in Chancery—1 Vesey, 43; 3 Atkins 576—which was dismissed with costs.

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1770, page 139, that on February 28th in that year, "The right of election of a minister to the living of Clerkenwell, was this day adjudged by the Barons of the Exchequer to be in the inhabitants paying scot and lot."

In 1786, the living being again vacant, it was strongly contested in vestry who should have the right to vote at the ensuing election, and a poll was taken on the question, which lasted three days,

[1] As to Clerkenwell living, *vide* Burn's *Eccl. Law*, vol. ii., p. 58.



THE MODEL LODGING HOUSES, FARRINGDON ROAD.

and was followed by a scrutiny. The inhabitants then proceeded to poll for a minister, when the churchwardens disagreeing, each took a separate poll for three days, and returned the candidate whose interest he had espoused; whereupon a suit was instituted in the Exchequer, which terminated in a decree setting aside the election, and declaring the right of voting to be only in the parishioners and inhabitants paying to the rates and assessments to the church and poor.

In 1790 there was another sharp contest, and a poll which lasted three days, but the majority being a decided one, no further steps were pursued on the part of the losing candidate.

In 1804 there were another contention for the vacant living, and a poll, which lasted four days. At the close of it Mr. Foster was declared elected by a majority of fifty-eight. A scrutiny was demanded on the part of Mr. London, which commenced on the 3rd of September. The first day was spent in disputing with the legal advisers, and some remarks appeared in the next day's "Times," describing it as one of the exhibitions at Bartholomew Fair; the second day terminated in the same way. The churchwardens then put the question whether the result of the scrutiny was to be final? The friends of London replied, "No," if not in their favour. The churchwardens then refused to proceed. London appealed to the Court of Chancery, and on December 24th following, Chancellor Eldon gave judgment in favour of Foster, when he said that he was happy to think the inhabitants had elected a man who was as able as he was willing and as willing as he was able to serve them.[1]

Thursday, September 20th, 1839, was the day appointed for the nomination of an incumbent of St. James's, Clerkenwell, in the stead of the Rev. T. Sheppard, deceased. A meeting for the purpose was convened in the vestry of the church for twelve o'clock at noon; but long before that hour the vestry-room was crowded to excess. Mr. Senior Churchwarden Larard was called to the chair, and immediately moved the adjournment of the meeting to the Parochial School-room, Amwell-street, which soon became as thronged as the vestry had previously been, and was as little deficient in clamour as in numbers throughout the day, for the proceedings lasted till four o'clock. Scarce two continuous sentences could be heard from any of the speakers, except by those in their immediate vicinity. Mr. Nicholson nominated the Rev. W. E. L. Faulkner, as a fit and proper person for the vacant office, and Mr Lovell proposed the Rev. Dr. Dillon. A poll was demanded on behalf of Mr. Faulkner, the show of hands being in favour of his rival. This was appointed to take place on the ensuing Friday, Saturday, and Monday. The "Morning Advertiser," of September 24th, 1839, well describes the excitement that prevailed on the last day of the election, which was so great as to have caused apparently a general holiday through the parish, all business being suspended, and the street in the neighbourhood of the church thronged by eager groups, who beguiled their time throughout the day by speculating on the probabilities of the result, or else by exhibiting their feelings of partizanship in cheering or hissing the different vehicles that drove by almost covered with placards. Indeed, there seemed to have been an abundant waste of stationery on the occasion, as scarce a window was to be seen which did not bear, in all the variety of size and colour, its host of testimonials to the incomparable abilities of one or other of the candidates. A mania of letter-writing or placard-concocting seemed to have fallen on the worthy inhabitants of Clerkenwell, and the latent genius of the parish was fully developed. The consequences were productions of all sorts, from the extensive placard covering a whole pillar, and presenting, with brevity suitable to its dignity, in massive characters, the pithy recommendation—"Vote for Dillon," or "Vote for Faulkner,"—to the unobtrusive but caustic billet in some humble shop window. One gentleman, in his enthusiasm, announced that so confident was he that the Rev. Dr. Dillon would be elected, as having been called by God to the office, that he would every year of the remainder of his life, on the anniversary of that joyous day, give £50 for the education and support of the pauper children, to be placed at the disposal of the parish officers. The place where the poll was taken was the parish workhouse, and at four o'clock the gross numbers polled were announced to the assembled crowd as follow:—For Mr. Faulkner, 2231; for Dr. Dillon,

[1] *Vide* page 70.

1842. Majority for Mr. Faulkner, 389. After the announcement of the close of the poll, an adjournment to the church took place; but there not appearing sufficient room in the interior of the building, the crowd was addressed in the grounds outside by the friends of the rev. gentleman.

Upon the decease of Mr. Faulkner occurred the memorable contest which is described at page 71 *et seq.*

PAGE 84.

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for July, 1822, vol. xcii., part 2, page 10, as follows:—

"At the Coldbath-fields Prison, the treadmill was brought into operation on Tuesday, the 2nd inst., and all the prisoners in the gaol, both male and female, were set to work. At the first onset it was looked upon as a mere matter of amusement, but the experience of a quarter of an hour at once proved that it was a most irksome occupation. In the end, the whole of the men in one of the wards, to the number of forty, declared they would not work, and absolutely refused to obey their taskmaster. Among these were some very notorious characters. The governor, Mr. Adkins,[1] was immediately sent for, and on his arrival he remonstrated with the ringleaders on their misconduct. This remonstrance was in vain; one of the mutineers, acting as spokesman for the rest, positively declared their intention not to go to work again. Mr. Adkins, with becoming firmness, immediately ordered sixteen of the most prominent to be double ironed and locked up in their cells, declaring at the same time that they should remain in this state on an allowance of bread and water, until they thought proper to show contrition for their offence. This had the desired effect. The whole of those who remained immediately set to work with apparent goodwill, and in the course of the day eleven of the sixteen who had been locked up sent for the governor, and begged to be permitted to resume their occupation, with a promise that he should hear no more of their opposition. Their prayer was complied with, and they mounted the wheel, and in the course of the next day the remaining five, with a humbled spirit, followed their example. At a given signal all the prisoners in the different yards are ordered on the wheels, and immediately set in motion. In the court-yard there is erected a sort of pyramid, surrounded by woodwork of a particular construction, upon looking at which the governor can at once ascertain the degree of labour which is applied, and thereby discover whether there is any negligence on the part of the prisoners, for which, of course, the taskmaster is answerable. At present the power of the wheels is applied to no profitable purpose; but it is in contemplation to erect a mill outside of the prison for grinding flour, in which it can effectually be brought into action."

The useful appliance of the treadwheel power at Coldbath-fields Prison, at the present time, has been noticed at page 86 *ante*. In the volume of the "Gentleman's Magazine," from which we have just quoted, page 9, we find the following:—"The wheels erected at the House of Correction, at Coldbath-fields, are each capable of containing forty or more prisoners, and the joint force of the prisoners is expended in giving motion to a regulating fly, which, by expanding of itself in proportion to the power, will keep any number of men, from twenty to three hundred and twenty, at the same degree of hard labour."

PAGE 86.

In consequence of the crowded state of this prison, and the increasing number of prisoners therein, the Court of Quarter Sessions for the county of Middlesex voted a sum of £30,000 for the erection of two new buildings, containing three hundred and twenty-six cells on the separate system, in the grounds attached to the House of Correction. The works were commenced in the summer of 1862, by the contractors, Messrs. Chinnock Brothers, on plans prepared by Mr. Frederick Pownall, the county surveyor. The cells are heated, lighted, and ventilated in the most approved manner, as required by act of parliament for the separate confinement of prisoners. They were first occupied on the 30th of November, 1863; and every prisoner was then furnished with a bed or hammock. Previously about two hundred and fifty slept every night on the floor of a work-room. The number of prisoners in Coldbath-fields House of Correction on the 20th of November, 1863, was one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, besides eighty at Taunton prison under contract.[2]

[1] *Vide* page 62.

[2] The Editor is indebted to T. H Colvill, Esq., the governor of the prison, for these particulars.

PAGE 89.

In a newspaper dated in November, 1775, we read, that "On Tuesday evening some villains broke into the house of Mr. Lister, the Cherry Tree, by Rosoman-row, and carried off all the brass and copper furniture. They got in by lifting the door off its hinges."

The present Cherry Tree public-house was built northwards of the old tavern, next Bowling-green-lane. This estate belongs to the Marquis of Northampton, and is held by the trustees of St. James's Church, and leased to Mr. Shergold, who erected the present building in 1852, from the designs of Mr. W. P. Griffith, architect. Mr. Brake, of Clerkenwell, was the builder. The cost was £1,000.

PAGE 90.[1]

The old Cheshire Cheese public-house, which stood at the corner of Mount-pleasant, was pulled down on June 20th, 1833. This was long the favourite resort of the fantails in the employ of the late John Burge Esq., of fragrant memory.

For "Thomas" Weever, in page 90, read John Weever.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the following tokens were issued by tradesmen in Clerkenwell-close:—

Obverse, Ye Rose and Crowne In—a rose and crown. *Reverse*, Clerkenwell-close—A. E. C.

Obverse, Edward Pinckethman—five bells. *Reverse*, In Clerkenwell close. [16]68—his halfe peny—E. A. P.

Obverse, Richard Stydley at the Shropshiere House. *Reverse*, In Clarkenwell close—R. I. S.

Obverse, Christo Anderton. A ye—a crown—C. A. A. *Reverse*, At Clerkenwell. 1667—his halfe peny.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1631-1633, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a letter dated March 27th, 1633, from Robert Evelyn to Humphrey Fulwood, at his house, near the Broken Cross, in Westminster. "Mr. Consett came to live in Clerkenwell-close about Christmas. He has a wife and many children. No man knows his means, but there is no want. He has a horse, but what talent he has in managing horses to a better than natural pace, his neighbours know not. His country is Yorkshire. Store of company resort to him, but not ill-demeaned. Hears nothing ill of him."

At page 90 mention is made of the Crown Tavern, which stands at the corner of Clerkenwell-close and the Green. Sir Edward Smith left a rent-charge on this tavern of £2 per annum for ever to the poor of this parish. It has been paid since 1650. Respecting this gift Mr. Pascall says, "The sum of two pounds is paid annually, understood to be the gift of Sir Edward Smith, and is received, and has been so for many years, from the Crown Tavern, Clerkenwell-green, as a rent-charge on that house for the poor of this parish. I have learned from good authority that the charge was on that house in the year 1641, and it is mentioned as a rent-charge in all the deeds relating to this property, as also a rent-charge of eight pounds per annum to the poor of the parish of Husbands Bosworth, Leicester. Some further information respecting this gift ought to be obtained."

Sir Robert Wood, by will dated March 26th, 1663, left certain messuages in Clerkenwell-close, the issues of which were "to be given away in bread on the day next, or within twenty days of the receipt of the money, to be distributed half-yearly, Lady-day and Michaelmas," amongst the poor of Clerkenwell. By a vestry minute dated January 12th, 1673, it was "Ordered, that whereas Sir Roger Wood, grandson of Sir Robert Wood, desired that trustees should be nominated and appointed by the ancient inhabitants of the aforesaid parish, unto whom he would assign his interest, which he

[1] *Vide* page 188.

hath in the pious gift which the said Sir Robert Wood gave by will for the use and relief of the poor people of the said parish:—George Ryley, senior; George Ryley, junior, son of George Ryley, the elder; George Clark, distiller; Thomas Allen Gardner; — Scott, junior; Henry Brown; and William Mulford, are nominated and elected to be trustees for the said poor." By indenture made January 4th, 1683-4, between William Mulford, surviving trustee, of the one part, and John Cross and eleven other inhabitants of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, nominated by the parishioners and churchwardens as trustees for receiving the rent-charge thereafter mentioned, of the other part; reciting that Sir Robert Wood, deceased, uncle to Sir Roger Wood, thereafter mentioned, by his will directed that the said Roger Wood should, out of the eleven brick houses in Clerkenwell, settle and assure a rent-charge of £10 by the year for the use of the poor of the parish of Clerkenwell for ever, to be paid into the hands of the churchwardens at Michaelmas and Lady-day, and that the churchwardens were, the next day after the receipt of the money, to bestow the same in bread for the use of the poor of the said parish; and further reciting, that by indenture dated January 12th, 1672, Roger Wood, in obedience to the said recited will, granted to George Ryley, and others, one of whom was the said William Mulford, trustees appointed by the parishioners of the poor of the said parish, an annuity or rent-charge of £10 per annum, issuing out of all those eleven messuages then late in the occupation of Adrian Cotes, being the same houses intended by the said will to be chargeable as aforesaid, in trust according to the intent and meaning of the said will; and further reciting, that the said William Mulford was the only surviving trustee mentioned in the said indenture; he, the said William Mulford, at the request and by the appointment of the churchwardens and other inhabitants of the said parish, granted and conveyed to the said John Cross and others, their heirs and assigns, the said annuity or rent-charge of £10, in trust to the use of the poor, to the intent that the same should be disposed of in such manner and form and according to the true intent and meaning of the said recited will and deed. By a vestry minute dated May 12th, 1754, it was "Resolved and ordered, that the opinion of counsel be taken in respect of the title of the parishioners of Clerkenwell to an annuity or rent-charge of £10 per annum, issuing out of an estate late of Sir Robert Wood's, and how far the churchwardens may be at liberty to enter upon the premises and convert the same into a burying-ground, the houses that formerly stood thereon being entirely demolished, and the said annuity being for many years in arrears; and in case counsel shall give his opinion in favour of the parish, then the said ground is to be made use of forthwith as a burial-ground."

In reference to this minute Mr. Pascall says:—"By the foregoing it is evident that this property was greatly neglected, the houses demolished, and the annuity lost for many years. The result of counsel's opinion does not appear, other than what may be inferred from the ground not being used for burials; and that in May, 1762, a bargain was made with Mr. Wrangham to take the ground on a building lease for sixty-one years at the annual rent of £7 10s., and to expend £200. This property now brings in for the poor £62 per annum; and the direction of the donor is that bread shall be distributed half-yearly within twenty days after the receipt of the money. If the vestrymen had succeeded in converting this estate into a burial-ground, there would have been no bread for the poor according to the trust, but it would have shared the same fate as Cross's gift, which was taken from the poor for the benefit of the parishioners, to purchase the workhouse and burial-ground in Ray-street."

By the lease granted to Francis Wrangham for sixty-one years, at the rent of £7 10s., which expired in 1824, the amount received was less than the £10 ordered. But since 1824 a lease was granted to Mr. John Moore, of two houses, for thirty-one years, on condition that he should convert the two into one substantial house (now No. 38, Clerkenwell-close), and expend £100, and pay yearly the sum of £50. The other house was let on lease for sixty-one years to Mr. Howell Powell, at £12 per annum, on his covenanting to take down the old house and erect two substantial fourth-rate houses on the site, now Nos. 36 and 37, Clerkenwell-close.

Brayley, in his "Londiniana," vol. ii., page 287, in reference to Clerkenwell-close, says:—"The well-known trading justice, Mr. William Blackborough, died there, at an advanced age, on the

16th of September, 1794. Both himself and Mr. Justice Girdler, who lived on the south side of Clerkenwell-green, had hired *barkers* (like the secondhand clothes dealers of Monmouth-street) patrolling near their doors in quest of customers; and they would both occasionally give credit for warrants, to encourage litigation, and promote the obtaining of fees."

The name of William Blackborow, Esq., appears on the foundation-stone of the present church of St. James, Clerkenwell, as the treasurer of the church building fund, *vide* page 51.

That well-known and active associate of the Royal Geographical Society, and talented goldsmith, John Brown, resided and carried on his business at No. 3, Clerkenwell-close, where his sons continue to carry on the same trade. Mr. Brown died at his residence, Scaleby Lodge, Camden-road, on February 7th, 1861, aged sixty-three.[1] In the "Gentleman's Magazine," May, 1861, pages 571—573, is an interesting biographical account of this Clerkenwell worthy:—

"Mr. Brown was in many respects a remarkable man. He was mainly self-taught, and while his energy led him to success in almost all he undertook, his integrity and warm-heartedness secured him many friends. He was born August 2, 1797, at Dover, of an old Kentish family, and chose the sea as a profession; and in 1811, through the interest of Mr. John Jackson, got an appointment as midshipman to the H.E.I.C.'s ship 'Surrey,' Captain Beadle. In 1813 he removed to the H.E.I.C.'s ship 'Scaleby Castle,' Captain Harrington, in which he went to China, and then for a cruise to Ternate and the Spice Islands, the particulars of which he delighted to relate in after life. He left this ship in November, 1815. After that period we find him in a revenue cutter, and subsequently in the merchant service; until, from a defect in his eyesight, he was compelled to leave the sea in March, 1819. Thrown thus upon the world at the age of twenty-two, without a calling, we find him trying many pursuits, among others, that of assistant to a surgeon. Ultimately he took up a business, that of goldsmith and diamond merchant, of which in the outset he knew positively nothing, but which ultimately led him to competency. Notwithstanding the cares and intense application required to secure a position, he made the friendship of many, including the artists Etty, Northcote, and Huggins, and also of the antarctic pioneer, James Weddell. In 1828 he married.

"Amid the absorbing nature of a business vigorously pursued, he found time for the study of geology, mineralogy, ethnology, and especially geography, with which he afterwards more particularly allied himself. Upon the decease of his friend Weddell, he zealously endeavoured to preserve his memory (*vide* 'Literary Gazette,' March 16, 1839), as his great merits as an explorer had certainly not been then acknowledged, and an encomium upon Mr. Brown's enthusiasm and the justice of his cause was passed by the editor.

"In 1836 the Royal Geographical Society invited opinion on the best means of deciding the question of a north-west passage, and completing the survey of the north coast of America. Mr. Brown advanced his opinions, and the reasons for them, on this his favourite subject. It required the influence of such a powerful and independent body as that Society to present to the Government the concentrated views and opinions of most men of science. The result was the expedition of the 'Terror' under Captain (now Sir George) Back, which, however, was destined to disappointment. The correspondence with the president, Sir John Barrow, led to Mr. Brown's proposal as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society by Captain Washington, R.N., in 1837. In 1843 he was among the founders of the Ethnological Society; and in the same year, finding that his late friend, Captain Weddell's family, still neglected, were in need of assistance, he earnestly took their case in hand. He wrote to Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, stating their claims and merits, which drew forth" pecuniary aid to the widow, and employment for her son.

"In 1847 he (Brown) had some communications with the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, and in 1851 was unanimously elected a *membre fondateur* of that body. In 1852, a singular and unique runic inscription of the tenth or eleventh century was found on the south side of

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1861, page 353.

St. Paul's churchyard, and a cast and description furnished by Mr. Brown to Professor Rafn made the subject of a very interesting memoir by that learned man in 1854."

Mr. Brown, on December 9th, 1850, addressed a paper on the search for Sir John Franklin's arctic expedition, "to Admiral Smyth, then President of the Royal Geographical Society, advocating what he continued firmly and consistently to maintain was the proper direction for search." During the "controversy Mr. Brown enjoyed the friendship of most of the arctic officers then engaged in his favourite field of research, and the kindness and cordiality of Lady Franklin and those who were aiding in her good cause, gave Mr. Brown much gratification; but he never swerved from his first opinion, unexpectedly verified by the return of his friend, Dr. Rae, in October, 1854.

"Fully impressed with the conviction that the enigma was not even then completely solved, and, moreover, that some of the ill-fated expedition might still survive, Mr. Brown produced his well-known book, 'The North-west Passage, and the Plans for the Search for Sir John Franklin: a Review,' published in 1858. The work was very favourably reviewed, and, among others, the author had the gratification of receiving a complimentary letter on it from the venerable Humboldt, then in his eighty-ninth year, and one of the last he ever penned. A second edition of his 'Review' appeared in 1860, and accompanied by a 'Sequel' bringing down the information to that period.

"Mr. Brown in his business was very successful, and in the prospect of enjoying his competency among his scientific circle, when he lost his wife in 1859, and afterwards his failing health led to a premature decease, to the great regret of many who valued his friendship." He left three sons and two daughters.

PAGE 92.

The house represented in our engraving of "Buildings in Clerkenwell-close in 1791," is said to be the one in which Oliver Cromwell resided. For an illustration of this house see the "Gentleman's Magazine" for July, 1794, vol. lxiv., part II., p. 617. The house was then occupied by Mr. Blackborough, whom we have mentioned on page 629.

PAGE 93.

In the "Mirror," 1840, vol. xxxv., page 405, is an engraving of the monument of Sir Thomas Chaloner, in Chiswick Church. On the south wall of the chancel of that church is the monument of Sir Thomas Chaloner, whose effigy and that of his wife are represented kneeling at a faldstool under a pavilion, the curtains of which are supported by two soldiers, armed, in the costume of the times. On a tablet beneath is the following inscription:—"Here lieth the bodey of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who was knighted in the warres of France, by Kinge Henry the Fourthe, A° 1591, and after governor in the Minority, and Chamberlayne to the late Prince of famous memorey, Henrey, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester. He married to his first wife Elizabeth, daughter to William Fleetwood, Sergeant-at-Law to Queen Elizabeth, and Recorder of London, by whom he had yssue, Thomas deceased; Arthur deceased; James; Elizabeth deceased; William; Edward; Thomas; Henry deceased; Arthur deceased; James; Elizabeth deceased; Mary, wife of Sir Edward Fisher, Knight; Elizabeth; and Dorothey; and died 22d of June, A° 1603, aged 3 yeares; and to his second wife he married, Jude the daughter to William Blunt of London, Esquier, by whom he had also yssue, Henrey; Charles; Frederieke; and Arthure; Anne; Katherine; and Frances; and she deceased the 30th day of June, A° 1615, aged 36 yeares; and the aforesayed Sir Thomas Chaloner died the 18th day of November, 1615, being of the adge of 51 years. An. Dom. 1721. In grateful remembrance of his honourable ancestor, this monument was repaired at the charge of Edward Chaloner, of Gisbrough, in com. Ebor, Esq."

In the "Archæologia," vol. xii., pp. 85, 86, is given Sir Thomas Chaloner's letter, dated January 27th, 1607, on Prince Henry's establishment.

Henry Peacham, M.A., writing in 1627, in a work of instruction to his pupil, William Howard, third son to the then Earl Marshal of England, refers to the poet, "Sir Thomas Chaloner, himself bred at the Vniversitie, sometime embassador in Spain, where, at his leisure, he compiled ten elegant bookes in Latin verse, supervised after his death by Malim, dedicated to my Lord Burghley, and since happily mislaid." Particulars of both the Sir Thomas Chaloners will be found in the "Biographia Britannica" and "Athenæ Oxon." Of the Sir Thomas who died in 1615, mention is made in Fuller's "Worthies," p. 186; Gough's "Camden," viii., p. 80; Berkenhout "Biog. Liter.," p. 529; and Puttenham's "Art of Poetry," p. 51; and of the Sir Thomas who died in 1565, in Lloyd's "Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation," 8vo., London, 1665, p. 343. *Vide* also the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxvii., part II., p. 1087.

PAGE 95.

In "Notes and Queries," 3rd s. ii. 506, we find the following query relating to Everard Maynwaring:—"Everard Maynwaring, son of Reuben Maynwaring, rector of Gravesend, born in that town and educated in the school there under Mr. Chandelor, was admitted sizar of S. John's College, Cambridge, 21 Jan., 1644-5, æt. 16, and proceeded M.B. 1652. He is author of numerous medical works published 1664 to 1697, and to him is attributed (but, perhaps, erroneously) 'Medicamenta Chymica,' Lond. 8vo., 1645. Any particulars respecting him will be acceptable. As he was not a member of the College of Physicians, it is presumed that he did not practise in London."

In "Notes and Queries," 3rd s. iii., p. 198, was the following information in reply:—By a MS. containing a sketch of the family, it appeared that "Everard Maynwaring, M.D., was born in 1629, and wrote several medical works, &c. There is a memoir of him, with a list of his books, in Granger's 'Biographical History of England,' and his portrait (æt. 38, 1668), is prefixed to his 'Treatise on the Scurvy.'"

A title page of one of his works bore the following:—"The Method and Means of Enjoying Health, Vigour, and Long Life, &c., by Everard Maynwaring, M.D. Non accepimus brevem vitam, sed fecimus. London: Printed by J. M. for Dorman Newman, at the King's Arms in the Poultry, 1683."

Some of this author's works will be found in the Radcliffe Library, Oxford. He is not mentioned in Bohn's "Lowndes."

PAGE 96.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for December, 1785, p. 935, is an engraving of the ancient cloister of the nunnery of St. Mary. It represents a front or outside view, and shows the six arches.

PAGE 97.

William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, in enumerating his honours and privileges on the title page of his work on "Horsemanship," refers to his power to make knights. In Scott's "Peveril of the Peak," chap. xv., reference is made to the Duchess of Newcastle. The Earl of Derby, who expected to receive some light books, complains "that the fellow has brought me nothing but a parcel of tracts about Protestants and Papists, and a folio play book, one of the conceptions, as she calls them, of that old mad-woman, the Duchess of Newcastle. I would not give one of Waller's songs, or Denham's satires, for a whole cartload of her Grace's trash." (*Vide* pages 98 and 99 of this History.) In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for February, 1755, p. 56, is an engraving of the monument of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and his Duchess, referred to at page 99 of this History.

PAGE 100.

John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, was born January 9th, 1661-2, and died July 15th, 1711. He married the Lady Margaret, third daughter and heiress to Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, by whom he left issue only one child, the Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley, who caused a monument to be set up for her father in 1723. An engraving of this monument is given in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for October, 1755, p. 440. Burnet says, that this nobleman was the richest subject who had been seen in England for ages, his estate being as high as £40,000 a year.

About the year 1710 this Duke of Newcastle bought Tyburn-road, and subsequently named it Oxford-street, after his son-in-law, Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford.[1] About 1718 it was probably first publicly known by its present name. Towards the middle of that century this street was described as "a deep, hollow road, full of sloughs, with here and there a ragged house, the lurking-place of cut-throats." Edward Harley was created Earl of Oxford by patent (the preamble to which was written by Dean Swift, *vide* "Journal to Stella") bearing date May 24th, 1711. Harley was a great patron of literature, and the founder of the Harleian Library. Upon his death, Vertue was employed by his countess to make a catalogue of all the pictures and portraits in all styles left by the earl in his several mansions, and of his library contained in his three London houses, at Marylebone, Wimpole, and Clerkenwell. Amongst these books he particularly mentions a complete collection of proofs of his own works up to the year 1740. "These," he says, "had been preserved and gathered by me for my good Lord, for which he paid me very generously. It was in his library at Marylebone, and was sold by Osborne to the Earl of Aylesbury for fifty guineas."[2] The Earl of Oxford's mansion at Clerkenwell was in all probability Newcastle House, sometimes called Albemarle House, that being the residence of his father in law.[3]

The estate left by Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, realised about £9,000 per annum. Lutteral says in his Diary :—May 14th, 1692. "Last night a rancounter in Lincoln's Inn-fields betwixt the Earle of Clare and Thanet, who married the two daughters of the Duke of Newcastle; the first was run through the hand, th'other thro' the arm; the difference was about the late duke's will." In the same year the diarist records :—"Ldy Isabel Cavendish, daughter to the late Duke of Newcastle, is to be married to the Earl of Portland." On September 23rd, 1695, died the Duchess Dowager of Newcastle.

In a biographical sketch by M. Guizot, originally published in a French periodical (the "Revue Française"), under the title of "Monk, Etude Historique," a translation of which, by Lord Wharncliffe, appeared in 1838, George Monk, first Duke of Albemarle, is said to have been born December 6th, 1608, at the mansion-house of Potheridge, the ancient inheritance of the family, in the county of Devon. Potheridge (otherwise Pen-the-ridge) is a village situated "on the ascendant ridge of a small hill," in the parish of Merton, four miles south-west of Torrington. Lysons, in his account of Devonshire, in the "Magna Britannia," says Monk appears to have been born at Lancross or Landcross, near Bideford, alleging that his baptism took place there on December 11th, 1608. In another account, a notice of the Restoration, by M. Riordan de Musery, appended to Monteth's "History of the Rebellion," Monk is said to have been born in Middlesex. The life of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, was written by Thomas Skinner, M.D., published from the original manuscript by the Rev. William Wester, 8vo., 1723.

In Burnaby's comedy, "The Lady's Visiting Day," are the characters of Courtine, a gallant lover, and Lady Lovetoy, who would marry only a prince. Courtine wins her as Prince Alexander, of Muscovy. At the first performances of this piece the audience laughed as they recognised therein the incident of the merry Lord Montague wooing the mad Duchess Dowager of Albemarle, as the

[1] In the *Archæological Journal*, vol, ix., p. 17, is an interesting paper on the descent of the ancient earldom of Oxford, by J. G. Nichols, Esq.; which paper was read in the historical section at Oxford, June 21st, 1850.

[2] *Addit. MS.* 23,093, Brit. Mus.

[3] *Notes and Queries*, 3rd s., iv., p. 286.

Emperor of China, and marrying her under that magnificent dignity, to any inferior to which the Duchess had declared she would not stoop.[1]

PAGE 102.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1623-1625, *temp.* James I., mention is made of a document dated from Clerkenwell-green, May 13th, 1604 (?) "Arguments in favour of the king's absolute right to confer knighthood on whomsoever he pleases, irrespective of rank, with examples from history, English and foreign, and confutations of the arguments of 'Advocate' or 'Censurer,' on the other side, dated March 1, 1605; by Anti-advocate Fras. Thynne, Lancaster Herald. With a letter from him to a friend, transmitting the answer for his opinion."

Boyne in his "Tokens" gives the following as a list of the tokens issued by the tradesmen of Clerkenwell-green:—

Obverse, Iohn Roberts at ye Drvm—a drum. *Reverse*, In Clerkenwell greene—his halfe penny—I. E. R.

Obverse, Iohn Scott at the Tvrn Stile—a turnstile. *Reverse*, At Clarkenwell greene—his halfe Penny, 1667.

Obverse, Edward Wright Baker—1658. *Reverse*, Clarkenwell greene—E. D. W.

In the "Annual Register," we read, under date May 22nd, 1767, as follows:—"As some workmen were digging in the road which is now repairing on Clerkenwell-green, they found several coins and medals, among which were a shilling of Charles I., a small copper medal of Charles II., the legend *Quatuor Maria Vindico;* a base shilling of King James II., dated 1689; a small copper medal, legend round the head *Const polis;* another small medal, with a man's head on one side and a woman's on the reverse; a small copper piece, a head on one side, on the reverse *Mlni. Dvx;* a small copper coin, on one side *Hisp. Re.*, reverse *Dominvs Mevm Adivto . . .*; a German coin, with *Stast. Osnabrvck* on one side, and on the reverse V.; together with some other German ones of base metal, the legends of which are mostly illegible."

In the "Public Advertisement," of November 21st, 1775, we read:—"Thursday night, as Mrs. Fenley, of Wood's-close, was crossing Clerkenwell-green, she was attacked by two footpads, who robbed her of seventeen shillings, cut her cloak from her neck, and took a pair of silver buckles from her shoes."

On the night of May 13th, 1799, a fire broke out at Mr. Lowe's, a pawnbroker, opposite the New Sessions House, Clerkenwell-green. The premises were entirely destroyed, as were also those of Mr. Green, a grocer adjoining.[2]

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1803, vol. lxxiii., part II., page 682, we read, under date Wednesday, July 13th, as follows:—

"About half-past ten at night, the house of Mr. Murphy, a jeweller and goldsmith, on Clerkenwell-green, was discovered to be on fire. From the quantity of wood with which the house was built, the flames soon spread with astonishing rapidity, and threatened the whole row of buildings with destruction. The roof and ceiling of the second storey were on fire before any supply of water could be obtained by the engines; and it was not until after eleven o'clock that any attempt to extinguish the fire was made. The engines then began to play, and continued to do so all night. When the flames were extinguished, no less than five houses were entirely consumed. The cause of the calamity proceeded from a furnace in which Mr. M. was melting some gold, the fire of which flew out, and set the shop in flames, before any assistance could be procured. Fortunately no lives were lost; but three of the firemen belonging to the Phœnix Company were dreadfully bruised by one of the walls which fell in upon them during their exertions to save the property of the sufferers; they were

[1] *Vide* page 100; and Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants*, vol. i., p. 258.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1799.

conveyed to the hospital. Mr. Murphy, we understand, is insured, but not sufficiently to indemnify him for the loss; the other sufferers are poor people."

At page 102, note, mention is made of a satirical poem, entitled, "Falsehood Chastized, or the Shepherds Vindicated, from a late scurrilous libell of some Rotten Sheep about Clerkenwell-green and Mutton-lane," 1665. The following extracts therefrom will show the style of it, and may prove interesting to our readers:—

When Rabsekah reviled with pride and scorn,
Good Hezekiah made him no return;[1]
Such mouths no slanders! indeed venom'd tongues
Confute themselves betraying putrid lungs;
Yet since 'tis Solomon that doth advise
Answer a fool, lest he seem wondrous wise,
I shall herein myself so far displease
As to give somewhat of Reply to these,
These brats of Jerusalem that stone
The prophets so as here wound two in one,
Two nations; the chief function, let them know
To the name of Sparke so much respect I owe,
That by leave of his patience and their hate,
Truth and his honour I shall vindicate.
As in Law and Reason it is meet,
Make the rude knaves do penance in a sheet.
Why doth the rabble, like the heathen rave?
And with their envies, tempt the angry Grave?
Like Israel in the Wilderness of Sin
With murmurs calling all the judgments in,
Until the people out of Ægypt led,
Where most of them through divine vengeance, dead!
Who do the people then vain scoffs contrive,
And taunt their friends because they 'scape alive?
Doth not our Lord indulge us leave to fly
Whene'er pursued, lest we untimely dy?
And that when angel or when man doth strike[2]
The mandate as to either runs alike.
But may a prophet fly? Yes, David so
Himself to Gibeah's altar durst no go:
No, not to sacrifice unto the Lord,
Because of the destroying angel's sword.
Nor yet (as phansie you) think we to fly
The hand of God, which everywhere is nigh,
But to breath purer Aire; we only think
To fly your noysome Alleys, and the stink
Of stifled buildings, whose unsavory breath
With soultry venom, Cloyes the jawes of Death,
For next to Sin what doth the Pest advance,
So much as Slutt'ry and Intemperance;
Hence it is wise men, without your stolid wonder,
Avoid your City claps as worse than thunder.
Why then doth ignorance and envy mock
Their Shepherds as deserting of their flock,
When Supplies left, they but to Zoar hast,
Praying with Lot to quench the fiery blast,
And though withdrawn into more wholesome Ayres,
Are still among you Resident by Pray'rs.

Those no good Obadiahs then, to save
The Prophets that would Bury 'em in the cave!
In other things you count them flesh and blood,
As well as you, and is it not understood
They are so now, doth any function shield,
From outward dangers would you have them killed?
Sure Miracles are ceased, nor can we look,
Such perils should be charmed by a book.
Though some once trod on serpents shall we think
Men can still venture deadly things to drink.
It is no act of faith to court known snares
But tempting God, which each wise man bewares;
Nay, though the flock itself do mostly fly
Yet Pastor fido he must stay and Dy.
Surely, some Popish zeal did this devise
That our priest thus might fall a sacrifice.
But Clerkenwell above the rest, why full
Of such complaints? Great cry, where little wool!
There's neither House, nor Tythes, nor offerings paid,
And yet great clamour of their Shepherds straid,
There being nought else but arbitrary pay,
Then why not so their residence and stay;
No Institution or Induction there
Confineth any's motion to that Sphere;
And yet the story they not only hint
To their *Privades*, but tell the lye in print,
When as their morning preacher, 'tis well known
Made good provisions, till themselves disown
Him, and his friends; and in an hasty pride
The second Sunday laid them both aside,
Taking advantage while he served his prince
To choose another for Non Residence.
What Cov'nant others made with Clerkenwell
(To lay your bones together) I cann't tell.
But sure your English Doctor ne'er did vow,
In your old league, to live and die with you;
When all the Birds of better feather flown,
The nobles and the total gentry gone,
Who were his charge. Why should he longer stay
With such as ne'er did but ill language pay?
That while there Resident could scarce afford
His courteous Diligence a civil word;
Though from the meaner rank he wished no more,
Preaching the gospel freely to the poor,
That neither value heart, nor head, nor tongues;
But only taken are with guts and lungs,
Such as can swallow, and with Stentor's voice,
Like your own casks, make a loud empty noise.

[1] 2 Kings, xviii. 36.

[2] Matt. xxiii. 10.

PAGE 103.

That portion of Clerkenwell-green on which the Middlesex Sessions House stands is in the district of St. John, but it was thought to be more convenient to refer to it in that part of this History which relates to St. James's district, inasmuch as the larger portion of the Green is in that district.

At page 103 mention is made of Mrs. Maguire, the wife of the Rev. Robert Maguire, the minister of St. James's Church, Clerkenwell. This esteemed lady died in the month of June, 1864, at Richmond, aged thirty-six years. Her body was removed to her husband's residence in Myddelton-square, Clerkenwell; and she was buried at Highgate Cemetery. Her funeral was attended by most of the authorities of the parish, and by many of her husband's congregation. The deceased lady was much respected and lamented by all classes in her parish, and her death was a severe loss to the poor therein, for whom she laboured cordially during her life and residence amongst them.

PAGE 110.

In the City of London Library are an original engraving of Jack Adams, the astrologer, of Clerkenwell-green, and also a copy of the same. The original is most rare. The copy was published May 30th, 1792, by J. Caulfield.

PAGE 111.

The parish of Clerkenwell purchased of the Marquis of Northampton for £100, by deed, dated October, 1673, a piece of ground, part of Clerkenwell-green, enrolled in Chancery by order of the Vestry. This ground was let on lease for two hundred years at 40s. a year, but re-purchased by the Vestry in 1770. Part was taken into the churchyard, and part to widen St. James's-walk.

In reference to this purchase Mr. Pascall says:—"On perusing the Vestry minutes, I found that in the year 1673 the parish purchased of the Earl of Northampton, for £100, a piece of ground adjoining the churchyard on Clerkenwell-green; and in 1680 the Vestry granted a lease of the same for two hundred years, at the rate of 40s. a year, to a Mr. Naylor. This lease would now (1851) have some thirty years to run; and, not knowing to the contrary, I was led to think it still existed. Being desirous to ascertain the site of such ground, I stated to the Trustee Board in 1845 my impression that such subject was worthy of inquiry, and the clerk was to have ascertained the fact; but from that time to the present no information has been received. On a more recent examination of the minutes, however, I found that in the year 1770 (ninety years after the date of that lease) the ground was held by a Mr. Keeling, and that he surrendered the same to the parish on their paying him the sum of £53 12s., being the amount he had paid for it, on the condition that the parish should leave him and the public a commodious way into New Prison-walk. The remainder was taken into the burial-ground."

Andrews, the almanack maker, lived on Clerkenwell-green before he went to live in Baldwin's-gardens.

At page 111 we have referred to a token which was issued by a tradesman of Mutton-lane. Boyne, in his "Tokens," says that the following was the inscription:—

Obverse, John Gardiner, at the — A crooked billet and a shovel. *Reverse*, In Mytting-lane. 1688. His Halfe peny. I. A. G.

PART II.

The Cold Bath—Walter Baynes and Robert Warner—Jervoise Clarke Jervoise—Eustace Budgell—Certificate of Justices of Peace relative to poor of Clerkenwell, 1631—Clerkenwell Workhouse—Influenza therein—Coppice-row—Clerkenwell Parochial Schools, Highgate—John Wykeham Archer—Sir John Oldcastle, the Good Lord Cobham—Clerkenwell Volunteers—Pantheon, Spafields—Countess of Huntingdon's Hymn-book—Dr. Thomas Haweis—Arrest at Spafields Chapel—Ducking Pond-fields—Pipe-fields—Wood's-close—Hockley-in-the-Hole—Borough of Hockley—Hudibras—Ann Gardiner's gift to Clerkenwell—Highway robbers—The Bear Gardeu—The Watch-house—Ray-street Burial-ground—Rosoman-street—Red Lion Cock-pit—London Spa—Islington Spa—New Wells—Charlotte Charke—"Clerkenwell News"—Sekforde-street—Thomas Sekforde's gift to Clerkenwell—St. James's-walk—New Prison—Prisoners confined therein—Richard Baxter—Clerkenwell Bridewell—Aris, the Governor—Upper and Lower Smith-street—Red Lion Inn—Red Bull Theatre—New Ward's Poetical Will—Knights Hospitallers of St. John—Priory of St. John—The Grand Priors—Sir Thomas Tresham—Burials in the Priory—Burning of the Priory—Lady and Sir Richard Mansfield buried at the Priory—Seals of the Priory—Joanna, daughter of Edward I., resides at the Priory—Princess Mary resides at the Priory—The Revels Office—Extracts from the State Papers—St. John's Church—Dr. John Langhorne—Rev. Richard Harrison—Rev. Dr. Hughes—Curious Epitaph—David Henry—James Basire—Dr. Johnson's Chair—Sir Roger Wilbraham—Richard Savage—Walter Harte—Elizabeth Carter—Dr. John Hawkesworth—Jedediah Buxton—Books published at St. John's Gate—Moses Browne—Jesuits in Clerkenwell—Execution in Clerkenwell—Thomas Bewick—Dr. Thomas Birch—Compton Wynyate—Lady Compton—Thomas Britton—Lord Berkeley—Goswell-street and Goswell-road—Goswell-place—Tradesmen's Tokens—Mount Mill—Eclipse, the Race Horse—Dr. Trusler—St. John-street—Nicholson's Distillery—Hicks Family—Hicks's Hall—Tradesmen's Tokens—St John's Court—St. John's-square—Dudley, Lord North—J. Lancelot Smith—Bishop Burnet's House—Dr Joseph Towers—Dr. Adam Clarke—Deodatus Bye—Gilbert and Rivington's Printing-office—William Pettit Griffith—Alfred Bartholomew.

PAGE 112.

In Ambler's "Law Reports," vol. i., p. 589, we find an account of a suit instituted in Chancery by Walter Baynes against Robert Warner. It appeared that they were tenants in common of a considerable estate at Clerkenwell, on which were two ancient water-conduits. Baynes, at a cost of £3,000, had turned one into a cold bath. In 1733, Warner filed a bill for a partition. In 1736, Warner purchased part of the estate. In 1745, upon Baynes's death he applied to his son, Baynes, jun., to have a partition made. In 1746, the bath was under lease to Baynes for twenty-one years. A moiety of the bath then let for £60 a year. The decree of 29th October, 1750, ordered that the bath should be allotted to Baynes, and the conduit to Warner, who was not to convert it into a bath.

Mr. Warner was the son of John Warner, Esq., a banker, near Temple Bar, who is mentioned in the "Spectator" as having always worn black leather garters, buckled under the knee, a custom which his son (who in no other way was eccentric), is said to have religiously observed. He resided in an old house at Woodford-row, Essex, called Hearts, which was built in 1617, by Sir Humphrey Handforth, master of the robes to James I., who, it is said, was much attached to the house, and used to breakfast there when hunting in Epping Forest.

The house was situated at a considerable distance from the road, about eight miles and three quarters from London, behind several rows of beautiful elms, which formed an evening walk for the gentry of the neighbouring village.

By marriage the house became the property of the Onslow family. Arthur Onslow, Esq., so famous in the House of Commons as Speaker, was born here, as also was his brother, the general. When the Onslows removed to an estate near Guildford, this one was sold to Mr. Sherman, a linendraper, of Cheapside. After his decease, his daughter sold it, in 1722, to Mrs. Warner, widow of John Warner, the banker, who left it to her youngest son, Richard Warner, in 1743; and he left it to his only niece, who was married, in 1763, to Jervoise Clarke Jervoise, Esq.,[1] member of Parliament for the county of Hants, in whose possession it was in 1789. Here Mr. Richard Warner planted a botanical garden, and was extremely successful in the culture of rare exotics. The apothecaries, who once a year made an excursion into this neighbourhood to search for herbs and simples, after their morning's ramble, dined with Mr. Warner, who published the results of these annual researches under the title of "Plantæ Woodfordienses." He claims a place also among dramatic writers, having translated several of the comedies of Plautus. He published a letter to David Garrick concerning a glossary to the plays of Shakspeare, and had made large collections for an edition of his works, but relinquished his intention when Mr. Stevens issued proposals for a similar work. Mr. Warner, in his youth, was remarkably fond of dancing, and not until his mania for this diversion had in some degree subsided, did he convert the largest room in the house into a library. At his decease, which took place April 20th, 1775, in the sixty-second year of his age, he left his house and furniture to his niece, and his valuable collection of books to Wadham College, Oxford, where he had been educated.

In 1789 Hearts was furnished with a choice collection of paintings by eminent masters, a good library of books, and many curiosities. The gardens were laid out in rural and elegant taste. There was a large and intricate maze, with a thatched house in the middle, on which were lines in Latin and English, having reference to the situation. There were also the artificial ruins of an abbey, with walls enshrined in ivy, gothic windows, and painted glass.[2]

PAGE 114.

For an account of Eustace Budgell, and his interest under Dr. Tindal's will, *vide* the "Gentleman's Magazine," November, 1733, pp. 594-5; and "Notes and Queries," new series, vol. v., pp. 489-492, and 509-511. In the "Gentleman's Magazine," February, 1734, p. 99, we find the following poem:—

On Dr. Tindal's Last Will and Testament.

Hundreds of years, th'old testament and new,
By general consent, have passed for true:
In this learn'd age, a doctor[3] *god-like, great,*
By dint of reason, prov'd 'em both a cheat:
A third he made; which, sinking *nature's* share,
Gave more than he dy'd worth to *reason's heir.*
Male-practice to prevent, of his last thought
A female scribe ingross'd the genuine draught.
But oh! 'gainst testaments such reasons shown,
Have taught the world to question e'en his own.
Those, seventeen centuries old, he scarce could raze:
His own[4] unshook remain'd not seventeen days.
Yet all perhaps are true: if none, the third,
Of three forg'd testaments seems most absurd.

Dactyl; in Grub-str. J.

[1] *Vide* page 123.
[2] Lyson's *Environs*, vol. iv., p. 284; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1789, vol. lix., part II., p. 583.
[3] Dr. Tindal is so stiled by Mr. Budgell for making him his heir.
[4] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 595.

In the same volume of the Magazine, October part, page 566, are these caustic lines:—

ON THE MODEST PROPOSAL OF MR. BUDGELL TO GIVE A NEW TRANSLATION OF A FRENCH AUTHOR.

Dulness, good goddess, chane'd to see
The product of a *belle* esprit,
Which clearly does the causes mention
Of Roman *grandeur and declension*,
Pen'd in pure *French* so very sprightly,
She judg'd 'twou'd take, and judg'd it rightly.
Quoth she, so much I hate his nation,
I'll damn this author in translation;
Then, to concert her purpose well,
She hasten'd to *Oblivion's* cell,
And found her moping over *Tindal*,
For she reads all who e'er have been dull.
Sister, said she, you must befriend me,
And some *spare blockhead* quickly lend me;
Lay by that old religion-hater.
And let me have your *worst translator*,
Some drudging foe to wit and merit,
Most fit to damp an author's spirit.
Oblivion, smiling, cry'd, I have
The *flower of dunces* in my cave,
And one who, I can safely swear,
Will suit your purpose to a hair;
He is your darling, or I judge ill;
Here—*Humdrum*, call your brother B——el.

A pamphlet letter of Budgell is reviewed in the "Gentleman's Magazine," May, 1731, p. 193. In the same Magazine for May, 1737, p. 315, we find the following obituary notice:—"May 4. Eustace Budgell, Esq., who finished his life by jumping out of a boat at London-bridge. He appear'd so much disorder'd for a day or two before, that his servant-maid thought proper to hide his sword. When he went out he said he should not come home any more. He had about him when taken up a bank bill of £70, another of £50, a note of Sir Francis Child for £20, twenty guineas in money, and a gold watch. 'Tis said he expected an execution to enter the house the next day; and that he had a cause to come on at Westminster Hall, which gave him great uneasiness. In his escritoir was a short scrap of a will, wrote a day or two before, importing that he left his natural daughter, Ann Eustace (about eleven years of age) all his personal estate. He was a near relation to Mr. Addison, and had once a considerable post in Ireland, the consequence of the reputation he acquir'd by writing the Spectators, signed with the letter X. The coroner's jury brought him in Lunatick." In 1744 Miss Budgell, an illegitimate daughter of Eustace Budgell, played Polly, in the "Beggar's Opera," at Drury Lane Theatre.

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In the Calendar of State Papers, domestic series, 1631-1633, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a certificate, dated October 24th, 1631, from the Justices of the Peace for Middlesex to the Council, of measures taken for relief of the poor in the parishes of St. Sepulchre, Clerkenwell, St. Giles, Cripplegate, Islington, Hornsey, Finchley, and Friern Barnet.

In the 15th George III. was passed an Act of Parliament for building a workhouse for the better relief and employment of the poor of St. James, Clerkenwell, Middlesex. This act was afterwards published in 8vo., London, 1811.

In a newspaper of the 16th of January, 1837, we read:—"The epidemic (the influenza) is raging most violently in the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell and St. Andrew, Holborn, where several families have been affected and rendered incapable of pursuing their avocations. In Clerkenwell workhouse 201 of the inmates are at present confined to their beds."

The laundry and washhouse, which are situated in the rear of Clerkenwell workhouse, were erected in the year 1828, from the designs of Mr. J. W. Griffith, the father of Mr. William P. Griffith, the architect, whose name has frequently been mentioned in this History. Messrs. Bowden were the builders.

At page 577 we give an engraving of the Clerkenwell Parochial Schools, situated at Highgate. This establishment is used for the education of resident pauper children, who are chargeable upon the parish

In Coppice-row, Clerkenwell, worked the able artist, and industrious and well-informed antiquary, the late John Wykeham Archer. References to this gentleman are made at pages 90, 239, 379, 389, and 393 *ante*. He was a friend of Mr. William P. Griffith, and his colleague in the happy work of obtaining the means to restore St. John's Gate.[1]

Of Mr. Archer an interesting obituary notice appears in the "Builder," No. 1,113, vol. xxii., pages 409-410.[2] From it we learn the following:—

"Mr. Archer was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the year 1808, and was the eldest son of a respectable and prosperous tradesman of that town. His father had considerable antiquarian and artistic taste, and delighted in the collection of prints, old china, rare violins, and other curiosities At a very early age John showed skill in drawing, and copied in a vigorous manner some of the designs of the Bewicks and other artists. Having received a very good general education, it was determined to apprentice him to John Scott, who was a fellow-townsman, then practising in London, with repute, as an animal engraver.

"At the time of the arrival of the young artist in the great city, the antiquities of which he was destined in after years so extensively to investigate and illustrate, Scott lived in one of the houses on the east side of Coppice-row, Clerkenwell, not far from the workhouse, and one of the duties of the apprentice was to go at certain times of the day to the Clerks' Well,[3] not far off, for drinking-water for his master's use.

"In many respects the studio of Mr. Scott proved a good school. Cousens, the engraver of some of the best plates after Turner and other well-known artists, was a fellow-student with Mr. Archer, and the master encouraged the youths to practise drawing and sketching, not only from models but from nature; then there were plenty of picturesque materials close by Coppice-row, where multitudes of houses now stand.

"The last part of the engagement of Mr. Archer with Mr. Scott was spent in little comfort, for the mind of the master gave way, and the days were passed in trouble and confusion. Mr. Archer then returned home, taking a passage from the Thames to the Tyne in a collier, a very common means of transit for the few travellers who wandered from the north to the south. The voyage lasted three weeks. Arrived at Newcastle, he found that a small artistic community had sprung up in the town, amongst the members of which may be mentioned the elder Richardson, his son George, and Thomas Myles, Carmichael, Balmer, the marine painter, David Dunbar, the sculptor, and a few others, who became closely associated together. There was also a literary circle of 'clubable men,' who much assisted each other in mutual mental improvement. In both these little societies Mr. Archer distinguished himself by the skilful use of both the pen and pencil. About this time the subject of our memoir, in conjunction with Mr. William Collard, a local engraver, produced a series of large views of Fountains Abbey, in Yorkshire, from drawings by Mr. Carmichael. These etchings are remarkable for their bold artistic style, and for the original manner of their execution. During the visit to Yorkshire Mr. Archer engraved several plates for Mackenzie's History of Durham, and spent the time pleasantly enough in sketching along the coast, and rambling to places of interest in the neighbourhood.

"In the year 1830-31, Mr. Archer returned to London. At this time, Mr. Heath and the brothers William and Edward Finden had large engraving establishments, where artists of ability were engaged in manufacturing the plates for annuals and other elaborately illustrated books. In the Messrs. Findens' studio, Mr. Archer readily obtained an engagement, but at a small salary; such, however, was the success of his first etching from a picture by Calcott, that the amount of income was at once doubled. The Findens were then engaged with the illustrations of the Bible, 'The Ports and Harbours of Great Britain,' and some other important works; but in 1836, 1837, 1838, a change took place in the system of book illustration, and eventually the once crowded studios of the Messrs. Finden and Heath became deserted, and many engravers were thrown out of employment, especially those who had only been accustomed to engrave parts of pictures. Those who had artistic ability, and were able to begin and complete an engraving, could, for some time after this period, find plenty of remunerative employment from various publishers, and in this way Mr. Archer continued to follow his professional pursuits, with some little assistance, at his own residence; and in 1838 he took his chance in one of the most important lotteries in life, and drew as a prize an affectionate wife, who was well fitted to help and encourage an artist in those passages of his life which cause trouble and despondency. This lady was sister to Mrs. Lance, the wife of the well-known painter.

"During the next few years Mr. Archer engraved many plates for the New Sporting Magazine, from pictures by A. Cooper, R.A, Lance, and others. Some of these are remarkable for the richness and variety of the tints, and for dexterous skill in imitating various textures by means of etching and the graver. Numerous other plates might be mentioned, but eventually the introduction of lithography and engraving on wood, especially the latter, almost entirely superseded the old-fashioned plates as a means of book-illustration. In consequence, several

[1] *Vide* page 246.

[2] *Vide* also *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1864, page 246.

[3] *Vide* pages 165-166.

engravers, who continued to follow this now profitless work, fell into poverty and distress. Instead, however, of continuing without advantage a pursuit which he had so long followed, Mr. Archer began to look in other directions for a market for his talent, and turned his attention to painting in water-colours. It happened that, while waiting for pictures to be engraved in the old way, the spare time had been filled up by visits paid by Mr. Archer and his pupil to places of ancient fame, which then remained within the bounds of the metropolis; and on these occasions a series of sketches were made of St. Saviour's, Southwark, Lambeth Palace, and of many miscellaneous subjects. In time these illustrations numbered upwards of one hundred, which were offered, but without meeting with a purchaser, to the late keeper of the prints in the British Museum. These works were, however, brought under the notice of Mr. W. Twopenny,[1] of the Temple, who became a purchaser, and commissioned Mr. Archer to produce twenty drawings each year of the relics of bygone days which were to be found scattered about in the highways and byways of this bustling city.

"Up to the close of the artist's life this work was carried regularly forward, and the result is that Mr. Twopenny has a collection of the greatest value illustrative of the various aspects of London. In these sketches there is a happy combination of cleverly drawn figures with the architectural features: for instance, in a view of Temple Bar of twenty years ago, we find the groups delineated with fidelity, and we see the bulk-head shell-fish shop which must have been familiar to Dr. Johnson and his friends, the placards of the day, and so forth. A glance at this sketch and a comparison with the scene at present shows the changes which have been made there since these pencillings were made. In other subjects we find the same attention to truth and matter-of-fact: on the walls of old houses which have a literary or historic interest, the bills of the theatres and other announcements are drawn exactly as they appeared at the time, and show as much character as the figures in front of Sir Paul Pindar's house in Bishopsgate-street, and other parts of East London, or those in connexion with the few bits of antiquarian interest which have been drawn at the West-end.

"In years to come, these illustrations will be of importance to persons who are making inquiry into the progress of the metropolis. And this worth is greatly enhanced by careful and copious notes made by the artist, showing the sites, and giving other particulars of many objects which are represented, and have now passed away from the view. Besides, these sketches have much artistic merit.

"All who have had the advantage of acquaintance with Mr. Archer, and have at times had opportunities of accompanying him on his rambles amongst old-world matters, will remember the perseverance with which he wandered into dark alleys, amongst ruined tenements, and rookeries; by the margin of unwholesome ditches; and amongst people who required management to prevent them from becoming dangerous to intruders, in search of even the most minute fragment which would illustrate the pages of London historians. The ability of our artist in this way was extraordinary, for no fox-hunter ever entered with more zest on the chase than did he in search of some old stone or other feature which would serve to prove the former existence of more important structures. We must, however, hurry on, and note that, at the time of the decline of steel-plate engraving, Mr. Archer began to draw on wood. Some of the earliest specimens of his work are to be found in the first parts of Mr. Charles Knight's 'London.' Limited space prevents us from giving any detailed account of the numerous examples of this kind, which form but a limited portion of this artist's works; and must, therefore, be content with the mention of 'Choosing the Wedding Gown,' after Mulready; several of the beautiful wood engravings after Mr. George Lance, which have appeared in the pages of the 'Illustrated London News;' and the illustrations to 'Blackie's Comprehensive History of England,' an impression of which was edited by the artist.

"Amongst the miscellaneous works of Mr. Archer were several monumental brasses: one of the most remarkable was a large bronze tablet—ordered for India by Lord Hardinge—to the memory of the distinguished officers who fell in the battles of the Punjaub. This was a very elaborate work, the ornamentation surrounding the inscription being of Eastern pattern, and consisting of flowers, elephants, lions, &c., the whole being inlaid with colours. The colouring was a difficult matter, and required unusual means; for tinted wax—or sealing-wax, as it is called—prepared with shellac, or pigments mixed with oils or varnishes, would speedily have perished in the heat of the Indian climate. To meet the necessity, Mr. Archer prepared a filling-in substance, including silica as a medium, which after a season became as hard as flint, and which but little deadened the brilliancy of the hues. This memorial was exhibited in the Great Exhibition of 1851. In the execution of this and other monumental brasses, the artist used a process of outlining the letters and devices with the graver, and coating over with a wax preparation, which was of sufficient strength to resist the acid which was applied to reduce the sunken parts.

"Amongst the other labours of Mr. Archer, we may mention a handsome folio volume of etchings (vestiges of old London) of subjects selected from the sketches in Mr. Twopenny's collection (this was published by the late Mr. Bogue); a series of very able and amusing illustrated papers, called, 'The Recreations of Mr. Zigzag the Elder,' which might well be reproduced; and some pleasant articles and sketches, illustrating a ramble along the Roman

[1] Read Twopeny

wall: he also contributed extensively to the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' the 'Illustrated London News,' and many other well-known periodicals. Chiefly, we believe, in consequence of an inspection of the drawings in Mr. Twopenny's possession, the Duke of Northumberland[1] gave a commission, the execution of which afforded Mr. Archer the greatest pleasure: this was, in the course of each summer, to make sketches of the interesting antiquities which are so thickly scattered over his grace's extensive estates. Sometimes, when no other lodging but a shepherd's hut, amongst the wilds of the Cheviots, was to be had, the artist, with a most praiseworthy degree of care, spent long intervals in drawing the singular remains of a people who have been long since forgotten; and at other times the farm in Holy Island, old castles and churches, and many a time-honoured spot, occupied Mr. Archer's attention during these, to him, delightful rambles. Already his grace is in possession of a large number of these drawings, which are as remarkable for their artistic qualities as they are for being faithful transcripts of nature; and it is worthy of notice, that as the experience of this artist advanced, his attention to detail increased also; but this was managed without interfering with the breadth or boldness of his works.

"Mr. Archer has been for long an associate of the new Society of Painters in Watercolours; but his varied cupations prevented him from being a very prominent exhibitor. During many years the subject of our brief emoir had collected extensive and valuable materials, with a view towards corrected histories of London and Northumberland; and the last time the writer met Mr. Archer, he spoke hopefully of making those matters the quiet labour of his age. Unfortunately this idea has not been realized. About three months ago Mrs. Archer, to whom her husband was greatly attached, died somewhat unexpectedly, although after a long illness. This bereavement was seen by his friends to have been Mr. Archer's death-blow. He declined in health, but immediate danger had not been apprehended, when he expired on the morning of the 25th ultimo (May, 1864, aged 56), to the grief of his family and a large circle of friends. The life of the deceased did not pass without trials, but these he vigorously battled with, and, by honesty and earnest industry, eventually overcame. His pleasing, gentlemanly manner and amusing conversation will be remembered by many; but those who had been most closely connected with him will most deplore his loss."

PAGE 121.

At this page will be found a short memoir of Sir John Oldcastle, the Good Lord Cobham. He was the first man of rank in the noble army of Protestant martyrs who suffered in the glorious cause of truth. This worthy was born in the reign of Edward III., and became a peer through marrying the heiress of that dauntless patriot, Lord Cobham, who firmly opposed the tyrannical rule of Richard II. He possessed in a degree the noble spirit of his father-in-law. "He was," says an old writer, "a valiante captaine and a hardie gentlemane." He was one of the principal men in the reforming party, who drew up a number of articles against the corruptions which prevailed among Churchmen, and presented them in the form of a remonstrance to the Commons. He was also at a great expense in collecting and transcribing the writings of Wickliffe for dispersion among the people. As we have stated at page 121, he was, in the reign of Henry V., accused of heresy. The king, by whom he was beloved for his integrity, and respected for his military rank and good services to the state, undertook to reason with him, and persuade him to renounce his errors. Using every argument to convince him of the sin of separating from the church, the king "pathetically exhorted him to retract and submit as an obedient child to his holy mother." Oldcastle frankly answered the king, "You I am always most ready to obey, because you are the appointed minister of God, and bear the sword for the punishment of evil doers; but as to the Pope and the spiritual dominion, I owe them no obedience, nor will I pay them any, for as sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident that the Pope of Rome is the great Antichrist foretold in holy writ, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." The extreme ignorance of Henry in matters of religion by no means disposed him to relish such an answer as this; he therefore immediately turned away from Oldcastle in visible displeasure; and afterwards gave him up to the malice of his enemies. He now shut himself up in his castle of Cowling, and entirely disregarded the citations of Archbishop Arundel, who in a rage excommunicated him for contumacy, and demanded the aid of the civil power to apprehend him. Cobham now penned a confession of his faith, which he addressed to the king, asking him to judge it impartially. Henry gave the written confession to Arundel. Cobham then offered to bring one hundred knights who would bear testimony to the innocence of his life and

[1] The nobleman here alluded to died February 12th, 1865.

opinions. These expedients failed, and, soldier-like, he begged to be permitted to vindicate his innocence by wager of battle. He said, that he was ready in the quarrel of his faith to fight for life or death with any man living, the king and the lords of his council only excepted. Cobham was, however, arrested, and brought before the primate, bishops, and doctors. He was accused of following the tenets of Wickliffe, and was condemned for heresy by Archbishop Arundel, October 10th, 1413.[1] He was thereupon committed to the Tower, from whence he escaped one dark night, and arrived safely in Wales, where he was concealed for more than four years. He was accused of being concerned in a pretended conspiracy of the Lollards, and a reward was offered to anyone who should take him. The following was the proclamation offering the reward :—

KING HENRY'S PROCLAMATION FOR THE APPREHENSION OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE.

"Be it knowne to all manner of men on behalfe of owre soveraigne liege lord, Henry, kyng of Inglond and Fraunce, lord of Ireland, that for al mykyll (good) as Sire John Oldcastle, sometyme called Lord of Cobham, refuses nor wilnoght ressaive, nor sue to have none of the graeys before yis tyme bi oure foresaide liege lorde grauntid to all his liege people that hath offended, but continued forth in evil and coursid purpose to destroye this noble kyrke of Ingelonde and the kynge and his true liege people, owre forsaid sovereigne liege lord hath grauntid and grauntys to what man he may be that takys or may take from this day forth the forsaid Sir John Oldcastle, and kepis and bryngys him to the kynge, he sall have and be trewly paied M mares of gold and xx.li of sure lyveliod yerly during his lyve. And if any Cite, Burgh, or othir towne, may take the forsaid Sir Johne, and keep him or bryng him to the kynge, it sall be discharged and made free, that it sall pay nethir Quinzisme, Disme, nor Taxe during the kynge's lyve, though any be grauntid in thys fro thense forwarde."[2]

Froude, in his "History of England," vol. ii., pp. 22-23, says,—

"A rumour having gone abroad that the King intended to enforce the laws against heresy, notices were found fixed against the doors of the London churches, that if any such measure was attempted, a hundred thousand men would be in arms to oppose it. These papers were traced to Sir John Oldcastle, otherwise called Lord Cobham, a man whose true character is more difficult to distinguish, in the conflict of the evidence which has come down to us about him, than that of almost any noticeable person in history. He was, perhaps, no worse than a fanatic. He was certainly prepared, if we may trust the words of a Royal proclamation (and Henry was personally intimate with Oldcastle, and otherwise was not likely to have exaggerated the charges against him), he was prepared to venture a rebellion with the prospect of himself becoming the president of some possible Lollard commonwealth. The King, with swift decisiveness, annihilated the incipient treason. Oldcastle was himself arrested. He escaped out of the Tower into Scotland ; and, while Henry was absent in France, he seems to have attempted to organise some kind of Scotch invasion ; but he was soon after again taken on the Welsh border, tried, and executed."

His capture was effected by Lord Powis. The enemies of Lord Cobham "confedered with the Lorde Powys, which was at that tyme a great govenor in Walys, fedynge him with lordeleye gyftes and promyses to accomplysshe theyr desyre. He at last thus monyed with Judas and outwardly pretendynge him great amyte and favor most cowardly and wretchedly toke him." On being brought to London, he was condemned to death.

"Upon the day appointed (December, 1417[3]) he was brought out of the Tower with his armes bound behind him, having a very sorrowful countenance ; then was he laid upon an hurdle, as though he had been the most heyneous traitor to the crowne, and so drawn forth into St. Giles' Field, whereas they had set up a new paire of Gallowes. As he was comen to the place of execution, and was taken from the hurdle, he fell down devoutly on his knees, prayinge Almyghte God to forgive his enemies. Then he stood up and beheld the multitude, exhorting them in a most Godly manner to follow the laws of God written in the Scriptures. Then he was hanged up in the middle in chaynes of yron, and so consumed alive in the fyre, praying the name of God so long as his life lasted, and in the end commended his sowle into the hands of God ; and so departed hence most Christenly Sir Johan Oldcastle, ye martyr Lord Cobham, and most valyant warrior of Jesus Christe."

Another old writer says,—

"On the feste of Seyn Lucie the virgyne, the yere of our Lord a m'cccccxvij , Sr. John Old Casttell, Lord of Cobbcham, was taken in the march of Walys, and brought to Westm' where he was forjugged, and he was drawe through the citee of London, which in his days was heed of heretykes and Lolers, and he was hanged be a cheyne of iron, and was brent up, the galawes and alle."

[1] RYMER, ix., 61. [2] BALE'S *Bref Chronycle of Sir Johne Oldcastle*, p. 112 [3] PAUL, v., 117, 118.

The gallows at the elms in Smithfield was removed in the 1 Henry V., 1413, to the corner of St. Giles's Hospital wall, opposite where the pound stood; and there continued until it was transferred to Tyburn. Oldcastle was hanged at these gallows. He seems to have died with some expectation of rising on the third day. "He desired Sir Thomas Erpingham, that in case he saw him risen again the third day, after that then he would be the means to procure favour for the rest of his sect."

He wrote "Twelve Conclusions Addressed to the Parliament of England;" edited the works of Wickliffe, and was the author of several religious tracts and discourses.

In an Issue Roll of the time of Henry V. are payments for the arrest of Lollards, and especially to one Constable for seizing Lollard books in the house of a parchment maker; and to another for searching the house of William, a parchment maker, in Smithfield, where Sir John Oldcastle dwelt.[1]

Lord Cobham had a mansion at the village of Charing.[2]

PAGE 132.

On the 1st of October, 1804, the War Office published "A List of the Officers of the Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteer Infantry of the United Kingdom." In that list we find the following:—

CLERKENWELL (LOYAL).

LIEUT.-COLONEL COMMANDANT.—Francis Magniac 10 Nov., 1803.
MAJOR.—Thomas Maynard 10 Nov., 1803.

CAPTAINS.

Thomas Handley	3 Aug., 1803
John Robins	Do.
James Cumming	Do.
William Cook	Do.
Thomas Ritchens Smith	29 Oct.
James Smallman	Do.
George Buckton	Do.
Josiah Rhodes	Do.
John Jackson	Do.
William Murrell	Do. Adjt.
Isaac Greensmith	11 Feb., 1804

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

William Hurle	3 Aug., 1803
David Wimperis	Do.
Francis Stedman	Do.
Thomas Carpenter	Do.
Thomas Molyneux	Do.
Francis Hobler	Do.

FIRST LIEUTENANTS.—(*Continued.*)

John Bayly	29 Oct., 1803
George Buckton, jun.	Do.
Frederick Silver	Do.
William Milne	Do.
Charles Miller	11 Feb., 1804

SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Francis Molyneux	3 Aug., 1803
Thomas Deacon	Do.
John Radcliffe	29 Oct.
George Le Boutillus	Do.
George Adam	Do.
Frederick Purney	Do.
John Ansell	Do.
Hugh Dixon	Do.
Edward Field	Do.
Hector Davies Morgan	11 Feb., 1804
George Travers	Do.

CHAPLAIN.—Richard Lendon 29 Oct., 1803.
ADJUTANT.—William Murrell 29 Oct., 1803, Captain.
PHYSICIAN.—John Reid 29 Oct., 1803.
SURGEON.—William Chamberlaine 29 Oct., 1803.
ASSISTANT-SURGEON.—Edward Austin 29 Oct., 1803.

[1] *Vide* page 120.

[2] For further particulars of Sir John Oldcastle, *Vide* VAUGHAN's *Life of Wickliffe*; HUME and HENRY's *History of England*; FOX's *Acts and Monuments*; the *State Trials*; and the *History of St. Giles-in-the-Fields and St. George, Bloomsbury*, by Rowland Dobie, 1829.

PAGE 144.

A letter, of which the following is a copy, having reference to the conversion of the Pantheon at Spafields, into a chapel, appeared in a public newspaper :—

"To the Printer of the St. James's Chronicle.

"Sir,—When a certain little Rotundo was first ereeted in humble imitation of the great Panthcon in Tyburn-road, I often thought if it did not sueceed as a *Tea and Bun House* it would make an exeeeding good Methodist chapel, and that its translation from being a receptacle for profligate Sinners to a Tabernacle for sinful Saints would, on sueh an event taking plaee, afford fine scope for the preacher's talents at its first opening. Though I lay no claim to the gift of prophesy, so it has happened, for my old friend, the Copper Captain, who, every one knows, is a clever fellow, finding this Round House too near him on a side that was apt to intercept his evening visitors, by the seduceements of Puneh, Cakes, Women, and Musie, very wisely bought it out of the hands of his wieked competitors, and transferred it to a set of Reverend projectors, whose Exhibitions did not interfere with his own. All this was quite natural on the Captain's side, but while we have Chapels of Ease for the accommodation of large parishes, and Meeting Houses of various denominations for scrupulous eonsciences, I own I do not see the propriety of tolerating what may be called Gospel shops, ealculated merely to raise profit for a partnership aceount by humouring the eecentrie vagaries of ignorant zeal. Nor do I readily eomprehend how the partners in this *round-about* seheme ean reeoneile the officiating in holy things on sordid principles with the precepts of him who drove all traffiekers out of the Temple, saying, 'Take these things hence ; make not my Father's house a house of merehandise' (John ii. 16). I was led to these reflections by stepping into this chapel two or three Sundays ago about noon, just as a throngcd eongregation were reeeiving the sacrament. But the appearance of things was mueh more lively than I expected. Instead of seeing a dismal ehop-fallen figure, clothed in black, with lank hair of the true Oliverian eut, I beheld two spruce sprigs of divinity in neat surplices, with the single clerieal eurl quite in the modish style. The earriage of these young gentlemen corresponded with the smartness of their appearanee, for instead of that solemnity I imagined suitable to the duty they were engaged in, they administered the elements with the same polite *dégagée* air that they would hand cups of tea to the ladies, offer pinches of snuff, or piek up dropped fans. "I am, your most obedient,

"October 8-10, 1778. "John Bunyan, Junior"

In 1793 was published "A Collection of Hymns, universally sung in the chapels of the late Countess of Huntingdon. London, Published July 1st, 1793, by G. Thompson, Old Baily. Sold also by J. Parsons, Paternoster-row; Scatcherd & Whitaker, Stationers'-court; and Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate." On the title page is an engraving (R. Bowyer Pinxt and Malpas Sculpsit) of the worthy countess in a frilled cap; and beneath are her arms, with the motto, "In Veritate Victoria." Round the portrait are the words, "The Righteous shall be had in Everlasting Remembranee."

Dr. Thomas Haweis, LL.D. and M.D., who is referred to at page 144, was a native of Truro, in Cornwall, and was educated at the free grammar-school in that town, where he had for his contemporary the celebrated Samuel Foote. After receiving a good classical education, he was put apprentice to an eminent surgeon and apothecary in his native place. Mr. Samuel Walker was at that time curate of Truro, and young Mr. Haweis was so affected with his preaching that he desired to become a minister. He was therefore sent to Oxford, where he entered Magdalen Hall, and in due course took the degree of LL.D. Soon after his being admitted to holy orders, he became distinguished as a popular preacher, particularly at Oxford, where he delivered a set of discourses, which he, in 1760, published under the title of "Evangelical Sermons." Not long after he became assistant to Mr. Madan, at the chapel of the Lock Hospital, and about the same time was appointed chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. While he officiated at the Lock chapel, a circumstance occurred which made a considerable noise at the time, and brought upon the doctor much unmerited odium. A gentleman, who usually attended that place of worship, informed Mr. Madan, that he had a living in his gift, which he wished to bestow upon some minister of evangelical sentiments. Mr. Madan recommended Dr. Haweis, who was surprised at this generosity in a stranger. Some time after his

being inducted to the living of Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire, the patron thought proper to make a demand upon him for the presentation. The matter got into print, much was published on both sides, and those who were prejudiced against the body of Christians to whom Dr. Haweis belonged, exclaimed vehemently against him for his conduct, as well as that of his colleague, Mr. Madan. About that period, he published a very useful and judicious commentary upon the scriptures, entitled "The Evangelical Expositor," in three volumes, folio. Dr. Haweis continued to have the chief management of the Countess of Huntingdon's concerns until her death, when he found himself by her will one of the principal trustees of her various chapels. In 1795, the Missionary Society commenced. At the first public meeting of this society, held at Spafields Chapel, Dr. Haweis preached a very affecting and masterly sermon; and at a subsequent one he read a memorial, in which he examined the subject with the greatest precision and accuracy, and strongly recommended that the first mission should be to the Friendly Islands, which measure was adopted. This sermon and memorial were printed in the collection of the society's papers. In the same year he obtained, from one of the Scotch universities, the degree of doctor of physic. In 1797 the doctor published the life of the eminent and popular divine, Mr. Romaine. Dr. Haweis was an eloquent and powerful preacher. His style was perspicuous and elegant. He had a clear method of reasoning, and seldom launched into the wildness of declamation. As a writer he possessed great merit, on account of an elegant style, which was at once pious and fervid. He died on February 11th, 1820, at his house in Beaufort-buildings, Bath, aged eighty-six. For a biographical notice of Dr. Haweis, see the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. xc., part I., pages 277 and 290.

PAGE 147.

The Rev. James Shore, of Bridgetown, Devon, was arrested at Spafields Chapel, on a Friday evening, in March, 1849, immediately after a sermon by him; which sermon was subsequently published.

PAGE 151.

The names of the Ducking Pond Fields, Clerkenwell Fields, Spa Fields, and Pipe Fields, were indifferently applied to the same locality, and were synonymous. The oldest name used to denote the district now covered with houses, surrounding Spa Fields Chapel, and extending northward, was the Ducking Pond Fields. The name of Pipe Fields was used because the ground was about thirty or forty years ago covered for a considerable extent with wooden pipes, being the hollow trunks of elm trees belonging to the New River Company. One Thomas Nash, of the Ducking Pond Fields, was rated to the poor in 1661 at twopence monthly.[1] He was described as "very old and poor."

PAGE 154.

Wood's-close was a large field on the west side of St. John-street-road, near its junction with St. John-street. Northampton-street, when first built, was called Wood's-close. In 1703 occurred a very violent tempest. One author says, "An account of the brick walls which fell in and about London by the fury of this tempest would make a volume. At Battersea, Chelsea, Putney, Clapham, Deptford, Hackney, Islington, Hogsden, Wood's-close, and on every side of the City, the walls of the gardens generally felt the shock, and lay flat on the ground, twenty, thirty, or more rods in a place." After the storm tiles rose in price from 21s. to £6 per thousand, pantiles from 50s. to £10, and bricklayers' labour to 5s. a day.

We read in "Lloyd's Evening Post," for 1768, that during the Wilkes' riots, the mob on the night of March 29th "were very riotous in Wood's-close, Clerkenwell, &c., and while a laundress in that

[1] Extract from the Rate Book, 1661.

place was putting out lights, some of the villains went into the yard, and carried away upwards of forty ruffled shirts, the property of divers persons."

PAGE 155.

The name of Hockley-in-the-Hole occurs in "Merry Drollery Complete," 1661, and the tune in "The Dancing Master," 1651. It commences,

Riding to London on Dunstable way,
I met with a maid on a Midsummer-day,
Her eyes they did sparkle, like stars in the sky;
Her face it was fair, and her forehead was high.

In a map published in 1675, by the aid of the key, the thoroughfare Hockley-in-the-Hole may be distinctly traced, and at the east end, at its junction with Coppice-row, are placed the pound and stocks.

Amongst the many places which have disappeared through the changes which have taken place in Clerkenwell, were Lee's-court, Shepherd's-court, and Smock-alley, at Hockley-in-the-Hole; Adam's-alley and Bull Head-alley on the south side of Ray-street; Three Pigeon-court, on the north side of Ray-street; Love-court, on the east side of Brook-hill; Jack Adams-alley, Saffron-hill; and Breeches-yard, on the north-east side of Coppice-row, below the workhouse.

The factitious body, the mayor, aldermen, and corporation of Stroud-green, Islington,[1] which probably was an offshoot of the Company of Parish Clerks, appear to have had a right to elect two members for the Borough of Hockley.

At page 155 of this History will be found a reference to "Hudibras," in allusion to Hockley-in-the-Hole. The connection is somewhat as follows:—Ralpho Hudibras and his squire, in the course of one of their expeditions encounter Orsin, a bearward, and his company, who are leading bruin through to town to advertise a baiting, as was customary. Hudibras, in the warmth of his puritanic zeal, makes an onslaught upon the company; a scuffle ensues, the knight is unhorsed, and falls upon the bear's soft fur-gown.

The friendly rug preserv'd the ground,
And headlong knight, from bruise or wound.

This infuriated the poor beast, who, breaking loose,

—— made way through th' amazed crew;
Some he o'erran, and some o'erthrew.

Ralpho on rising from the ground finds that his foes have fled, save Crowdero, a lame fiddler whom he grapples with and vanquishes. Taking him prisoner,

They march'd on,
Until quite through the town th' had gone;
At further end of which there stands
An ancient castle, that commands
Th' adjacent parts; in all the fabric,
You shall not see one stone, nor a brick,
But all of wood, by pow'rful spell
Of magic made impregnable:
There's neither iron bar nor gate,
Porteullis, chain, nor bolt, nor grate;
And yet men durance there abide,
In dungeons scarce three inches wide;
With roof so low, that under it
They never stand, but lie or sit.

.

A bastile, built t' imprison hands;
By strange inchantment made to fetter
The lesser parts and free the greater.

[1] *Vide* Nelson's and Lewis's *Histories of Islington.*

Into this prison (the stocks) in Hockley-in-the-Hole, Ralpho and the squire put the poor fiddler. The discomfitted bearward and his people rally, and again encounter Hudibras and the squire, whom they vanquish, and bear away in triumph to the place where Crowdero is confined;

> And in the self same limbo put
> The knight and squire, where he was shut;
> Where leaving them in *Hockley-i'-th'-Hole,*
> There bangs and durance to condole,
> Confin'd and conjur'd into narrow
> Enchanted mansion to know sorrow;
> In the same order and array
> Which they advanc'd, they march'd away

This allusion to Hockley-in-the-Hole, which we have verified by reference to the first edition of Hudibras, 1663, appears to have somewhat puzzled the annotators upon this satire, whose opinions and interpretations are of an amusingly diverse and opposite character. Dr. Zachary Gray, in his edition of this poem, thinks that Butler was alluding probably to two old ballads, entitled, "Hockley-in-the-Hole," to the tune of the "Fiddlers in the Stocks," *vide* old ballads, "Bibliotheca Pepysiana," vol. i., 294, 295. Upon the allusion to Hockley-in-the-Hole, which, in a subsequent edition was altered to "the wretched hole," Nash remarks, "In the edition of 1704, it was printed 'in Hockley-i'-the-Hole,' meaning, by a low pun, the place where the hocks or ankles are confined."

Ann Gardiner, by her will, dated January 12th, 1703, gave two houses in Hockley-in-the-Hole (Ray-street), in trust to pay twenty shillings annually to the Charity School of Clerkenwell; twenty shillings to Mary, the wife of William Munns, mariner, and the residue to be distributed, on Shrove Tuesday, amongst twenty poor widows belonging to Clerkenwell parish. The first-mentioned sum was not paid to the school for many years, but was kept by the parish, until Mr. French, the treasurer of the school, in 1783, made a demand in Vestry of the same. On the Vestry minutes, of May 15th, 1757, appears the following:—"The gift of Mrs. Ann Gardiner, consisting of two houses in Hockley-in-the-Hole, belonging to this parish, being in a ruinous condition and tumbling down,—It is resolved that the same may be pulled down, to prevent the lives of his Majesty's subjects being lost; and in case at any time hereafter the ground whereon the houses now are shall be built upon, the profits arising therefrom shall be employed to such uses as are mentioned in the will of the said Ann Gardiner." By indenture of demise, dated 30th November, 1757, made between John Doughty, minister, Robert Hawkins, and Henry Hudson, churchwardens, of the one part; and George Stretton, of the other part; after reciting the will of Ann Gardiner, and further, that the said two messuages had been for several years in a very ruinous condition and uninhabited, so that a total stop had by that means been put to the payments to the said school and widows; likewise that Mary Munns had been long dead; and further, that in pursuance of an order of Vestry in September last to empower the minister and churchwardens to let a building lease of the vacant ground, and build thereon, and in consideration of the costs and charges in erecting the same, the said John Doughty, Robert Hawkins, and Henry Hudson, demised to the said George Stretton all that piece of ground lying in Hockley-in-the-Hole, in the said parish, for the term of ninety-nine years, from Michaelmas, 1757, at the yearly rent of one guinea, to be applied to the use and behoof of the school in payment of the twenty shillings.

We read in "Lloyd's Evening Post," for 1768, that on January 17th, in that year, died "Mrs. Jones, aged seventy, in Coldbath-fields, possessed of several estates in the said place, and likewise in Hockley-in-the-Hole, and in Clerkenwell-close."

PAGE 156.

The badly reputed neighbourhood of Hockley-in-the-Hole was occasionally visited by highway robbers. Thus, we find, that in July, 1731, William Gates, John Armstrong, and Nathaniel Lampree, were indicted for stopping a coach near the Bull and Gate, in Holborn, and stealing a gentleman's hat. They then went to St. Giles's, and stopped another coach; Gates going into it with a drawn

hanger, and holding out his hat for guineas and watches. On the same night these men stopped a chaise at Hockley-in-the-Hole, and stole a gold watch, a silver-hilted sword, and some money. The prisoners were traced to a public-house near St. Giles's Pound, where they showed the watches, quarrelled about the division of the money, drank a good deal of "twopenny," and then ordered rum punch. These men were all hanged at Tyburn, July 26th, 1731. In their confessions, they owned to the most audacious robberies. They had robbed a Roman Catholic priest at his own door in Hanover-street, and being seen by two servant-girls from a window, had threatened to shoot them if they did not pull down their blinds.

PAGE 158.

The Bear Garden in Hockley-in-the-Hole was thus advertised in 1700 :—"At his Majesty's Bear Garden, in Hockley-in-the-Hole.—A trial of skill to be performed to-morrow, being the 10th instant (July, 1700), at three in the afternoon, between John Bowler, of the city of Norwich, and champion of Norfolk, master of the noble science of defence; and Will of the West, from the city of Salisbury, master of the said science of defence."

PAGE 159.

In the "Daily Courant," for August 16th, 1709, is the following advertisement :—"A tryal of Skill to be fought at the Bear Garden, Hockley-in-the-Hole, to-morrow, 17th instant, between John Padwin, belonging to Her Majesty's ship, the Chester, and George Nover Turner, black, for a considerable sum of money. Note. That John Stokes fights James Harris, and Thomas Hesgate fights John Terrwest, three bouts at back-sword for love."

PAGE 161.

In Dawks's "News Letter," April 2nd, 1713, we read :—"Yesterday a trial of skill was fought at the Bear Garden, between Henry Clements and Parkes, of Coventry, where there was a good sport, hacking and hewing. It is thought they got £50 a piece, the French ambassador being there, and giving them money very liberally. Soon after three bouts 'at threshing flail' were announced, and a flourish of 'no cut—no bout.'"

In the "Daily Courant," for July 1st, 1715, appeared the following :—"At the old Bear Garden, Hockley-in-the-Hole, this present Friday, a tryal of skill to be performed between James Woodan, from Frome, in Somersetshire, and Robt. Waldron, plummer. Note. The aforesaid West-country champion has come to London to try his skill with the best masters; to begin at six o'clock."

In the same newspaper for July 5th, in the same year, the following appeared :—"At the Old Bear Garden, at Hockley-in-the-Hole (wet or dry), a Tryal of skill between James Woodan, from Frome, Somersetshire, and Robt. Waldron, of London, plummer, will be performed this present day; several noblemen having punctually promised to be present; and after the masters have done, John Joy and Wm. Johnson are to fight at the same weapons. To begin at five o'clock by reason of the double battle. Note. The said Woodan has cut down all the swordsmen in the west, and will fight the best in London."

At page 161 mention is made of Wells, the proprietor of the New Bear Garden at Marylebone, William Wells was assistant at or proprietor of the Old Bear Garden, in Hockley-in-the-Hole, for

some time after the slaughter of Mr. Preston there. The former died in 1721, and the following ludicrous epitaph was compiled by Dan Singleton upon the occasion :—

Shed, O ye combatants, a flood of tears ;
Howl, all ye dogs ; roar, all ye bulls and bears
Ye butchers, weep ! for ye, no doubt, are grievers,
And sound his loss with marrow bones and cleavers.
Wells is no more ! Yet death has been so kind,
That he hath left the bulls and bears behind.

Elizabeth Preston, the daughter of Preston, the proprietor of Hockley-in-the-Hole bear-garden (*vide* pages 68, 158, 159, 161, 162), is referred to with some humour in a paper on that place in the 436th number of the "Spectator," from which we have quoted at page 160.

Pope carries the name of Cibber to this popular bear-garden :—

Back to the Devil the last echoes roll,
And Coll each butcher roars in Hockley Hole.

PAGE 162.

In 1730, the following advertisement was issued :—

"AT HIS MAJESTY'S BEAR GARDEN, MONDAY, 14 SEPT., 1730.

"A mad bull to be dress'd up with fireworks, and turned loose in the game place. Likewise a dog to be dress'd up with fireworks over him, and turn'd loose with the bull amongst the men in the ground. Also a bear to be turn'd loose at the same time ; and a cat to be ty'd to the bull's tail.

"NOTE.—The doors will be open'd at four, and the sport begin at five exactly, because the diversion will last long, and the days grow short."

The celebrated bear-garden in Hockley-in-the-Hole fell into neglect, in part owing to the superior attractions at the Boarded House, better known as Figg's Amphitheatre, in Oxford-road, which was established about 1728.

PAGE 166.

At this page mention is made of property which was formerly one of the parish watch-houses. In reference to this estate Mr. Pascall, writing in 1851, says :—"This property consists of two houses opposite Mutton-hill, let on lease to Mr. Fidler ; the well, with the house adjoining eastward ; and the premises that were formerly the watch-house, now let on lease to Mr. Gregory, the rent of which is paid by Mr. Clare. There are no documents that show by what means the parish first became possessed of this property. The whole is merely a slip of land ; and it may, I think, be reasonably inferred either that it was waste land, which being unclaimed by the Lord of the Manor (the Earl of Northampton), the parish took possession of it, or that it came to them in the same way as the well as being the grant of the Earl of Northampton for the benefit of the poor, and of which it will be seen that they have had an uninterrupted possession for one hundred and seventy-two years, and perhaps of this other ground for the same period."

In the Vestry minutes of May 11th, 1762, we read :—"At a Vestry held this day, being informed that a little house, commonly called the parish hut, situate near clerks' well, facing Mutton-lane, hich belongs to the parish, and in which a poor family had lived rent free, is deserted by the late

occupier; and Mr. Edward Harrison, carpenter, in Coldbath-fields, is willing to give £2 per annum for the same:—agreed that he may have a lease for sixty-one years." This is the property which was let to Mr. Fidler, as before mentioned. Gregory's lease having expired, the property now produces an annual rent to the parish of £28 instead of £15. Fidler's lease expired at Michaelmas, 1863, and the property produces £28 per annum.

The land in Ray-street, which was used as a burial-ground, and is mentioned at pages 166-7, together with a small piece of land at the south-east corner, in Ray-street, being formerly part thereof, but latterly let to Mr. Curtis, at £10 per annum, was purchased of Hammond Crosse, in 1755, for the sum of £340. A Vestry minute, dated February 23rd, 1755, states:—"Pursuant to notice, the parishioners met, and committee reported, that they had attended Hammond Crosse, Esq, and he proposed to convey, as the Vestry should direct, several freehold messuages (except the tyles) and the ground whereupon the same are built, situate in Hockley-in-the-Hole, for the sum of £340; which, when the messuages are pulled down and the ground cleared, the committee are of opinion, will be a proper place for a burying-ground. That Mr. Crosse admitted that he had in his hands the sum of £120, which was left by the will of Thomas Crosse, Esq., to be laid out in the purchase of lands of inheritance for the purpose mentioned in the said will; and also the sum of £100, being part of £1,000 left also by the said Thomas Crosse, Esq., to be paid to the parish for the purposes in the said will mentioned, making together £220, which Mr. Crosse is willing shall be taken as part of the consideration for the purchase of the said burial-ground." The report was confirmed by the Vestry, and it was ordered that certain persons should be trustees, to whom the said ground and premises were directed to be conveyed, upon the trusts in the will of the said Thomas Crosse mentioned, and the decree made concerning the said will. Mr. Crosse agreed to execute a conveyance within fourteen days. In July, 1763, it was ordered, that a wall be built, to make the burial-ground in Ray-street; and shortly after, it was ordered, that the ground as lately walled in should be consecrated. By a Vestry minute of April 21st, 1824, it appeared that deeds by which the ground had been conveyed could not be found. Mr. Pascall says:—"The parish have never repaid the £220 used in the purchase of this ground, nor any interest since. The sum of £6, ordered to be paid by the will on St. Thomas's-day, has been regularly paid; but until the year 1843 was taken from other charity moneys, although £20 a year was received from 1824 as a rent for the same piece of ground (now let to Mr. Curtis for £10), and applied to the service of the parish. By the conditions of the above assignment, the same appears made in trust conformable to the conditions of the will, and the produce of the land so purchased should be applied accordingly. A copy of the decree of Chancery made on the will some few years after it was proved, might establish the principle on which this money could be used."

PAGE 167.

The cemetery in Ray-street was consecrated on August 19th, 1763, by the Bishop of London. Upon the occasion a morning service was held in the parish church of St. James, and a tent was erected on the ground.

PAGE 168.

In the "Daily Post," March 1730, appeared the following advertisement:—

"At the Red Lyon Cock-pit at Clerkenwell, near the Old London Spaw, this present Monday, March 9th (1730), will be seen, the royal sport of cock-fighting: to-morrow begins the match for six guineas a battle, and two guineas the odd battle; to begin at half an hour after three o'clock precisely, and continues all the week."

In the "London Daily Post," for May, 1741, appeared the following advertisement of marvels:—

"To be Seen at the Great Booth adjoining the London Spaw, Clerkenwell,

"A collection of beautiful creatures, lately arrived from Turkey, Germany, the East and West Indies, Muscovy, &c., particularly:—1. A large and beautiful young *Camel* upwards of eight feet high, which can rise a ton weight upon his back. 2. A *Carniphagus*, a most surprising creature of two different species. 3. Two wonderful and surprising *Hyænas*, male and female. 4. Two wonderful *Panthers*, male and female. 5. Two beautiful *Leopards*, male and female. 6. A *Crocodile* from Alexandria in Egypt. 7. A young *Wolf* brought from Muscovy. 8. A young *Armidillo*, or hog in armour, brought from the river Nile. 10. The Gloucester wonder, or a miracle in nature, being a *Lamb* that has six legs, four shoulders, and double breasted. 11. A *Satyr* of the woods. 12. A beautiful *Mango* from Africa. 13. A Turkish *Ape*, a creature much admired for his ugliness. 14. A young he *Jackall*."

PAGE 169.

Opposite this page is an engraving of Islington Spa. In some copies of this History that engraving bears the title, "Old Mulberry Tree Tavern, or Islington Spa, 1737." The title should be "Islington Spa, 1737;" the words "Old Mulberry Tree Tavern, or" having been printed in error.

In the "Daily Post," for October 11th, 1739, appeared the following advertisement:—"At the New Wells, near the London Spaw, Clerkenwell, this present Thursday the diversions will begin at five o'clock in the afternoon; in which will be exhibited a great variety of new Humourous songs, Serious and comic dances; Particularly the modern Mason's Song, by leave of the Grand Master and Brethren, together with grand views of Vauxhall as altered this season, and two entertainments, the first called Harlequin Chemist, will open exactly at seven, and the last new entertainment called Harlequin Transported, thence Columbine made happy, will conclude at ten. The Early Horn and Mad Tom by Mr. Blogg. With proper decorations and a preamble on the Kettle Drums by Mr. Baker. Pit and First Gallery, 1s. 6d.; Upper Gallery, 1s."

PAGE 170.

At this page mention is made of a wonderful young giant. In the "Daily Advertiser," for February 23rd, 1745, we find the following advertisement relative to him:—"There is a young Colossus to be seen at the Sign of the French Horn and Mansion House, opposite the Mansion House, being a Boy fifteen Years of Age, Seven Feet high, and every way proportioned; born at Hurtfield, in Sussex; and allowed by several Judges to be a greater Curiosity than the famous Sweede[1] that was shewn at the above Place some Time ago. He is to be seen any Time, from Ten in the Morning till Nine at Night; and never was exhibited to publick View before." In the same newspaper for August 3rd, 1745, we read:—"The Wonderful Young Giant will perform on the Rope this present Saturday, at the New Wells near the London Spaw, Clerkenwell."

At pages 170, 171, and 172 mention is made of Mrs. Charke, who performed and lived in Clerkenwell. Dr. Doran informs us that in 1730 the part of Mademoiselle, in the "Provoked Wife," was acted at Drury Lane Theatre by this lady, who was the wife of a good singer, but a worthless man, and the youngest child of Colley Cibber. There seems to have been a touch of insanity, certainly there was no power of self-control, in this poor woman. From her childhood she had been wild, wayward, and rebellious; self-taught as a boy might be, and with nothing feminine in her character or pursuits. With self-assertion, too, she was weak enough to be won by a knave with a sweet voice, whose cruel treatment drove his intractable wife to the stage, where she failed to profit by her fine opportunities. Mrs. Charke loved to play male characters; and of the many, that of Plume was one of her favourites. At the Haymarket Theatre, in 1745, she played Captain Macheath,

[1] Daniel Cajanus.

and other masculine parts, before she attempted to pass herself off upon the world, or hide herself from it, as a man. In 1755 she was at the head of "Bayes's" newly raised company of comedians at the Haymarket Theatre.[1]

Doran, writing of the year 1757 (that of Colley Cibber's death), says:—

"Then, while the body of the Poet Laureate was being carried to Westminster Abbey, there was, up away in a hut in then desolate Clerkenwell, and starving, Colley's own daughter, Charlotte Charke. Seven and twenty years before, she had first come upon the stage, after a stormy girlhood, and something akin to insanity strongly upon her. Her abilities were fair, her opportunities great, but her temper rendered both unavailable. She appears to have had a mania for appearing in male characters on, and in male attire off, the stage. By some terrible offence she forfeited the recognition of her father, who was otherwise of a benevolent disposition; and, friendless, she fought a series of battles with the world, and came off in all more and more damaged. She starved with strollers, failed as a grocer in Long-acre, became bankrupt as a puppet-show proprietor in James-street, Haymarket; re-married, became a widow a second time, was plunged into deeper ruin, thrown into prison for debt, and released only by the subscriptions of the lowest, but not least charitable, sisterhood of Drury-lane. Assuming male attire, she hung about the theatres for casual hire, went on the tramp with itinerants, hungered daily, and was weekly cheated, but yet kept up such an appearance that an heiress fell in love with her, who was reduced to despair when Charlotte Charke revealed her story, and abandoned the place. Her next post was that of a valet to an Irish Lord; forfeiting which, she and her child became sausage-makers, but could not obtain a living; and then Charlotte Charke cried, 'Coming, coming, sir!' as a waiter at the King's Head Tavern, Marylebone. Thence she was drawn by an offer to make her manager of a company of strolling players, with whom she enjoyed more appetite than means to appease it. She endured sharp distress, again and again; but was relieved by an uncle, who furnished her with funds, with which she opened a tavern in Drury-lane, where, after a brief career of success, she again became bankrupt. To the regular stage she once more returned, under her brother Theophilus, at the Haymarket; but the Lord Chamberlain closed the house, and Charlotte Charke took to working the wires of Russell's famous puppets in the Great Room, still existing in Brewer-street. There was a gleam of good fortune for her; but it soon faded away; and then for nine wretched years this clever, but most wretched of women, struggled frantically for bare existence, among the most wretched of strollers, with whom she endured unmitigated misery. And yet Cibber's erring and hapless daughter contrived to reach London, where, in 1755, she published her remarkable autobiography, the details of which make the heart ache, in spite of the small sympathy of the reader for this half mad creature. On the profits of this book she was enabled to open, as *landlord*, a tavern at Islington; but, of course, ruin ensued; and in a hut, amid the cinder-heaps and worse refuse in the desolate fields, she found a refuge, and even wrote a novel, on a pair of bellows in her lap, by way of desk! Here she lived with a squalid handmaiden, a cat, dog, magpie, and monkey. Humbled, disconsolate, abandoned, she readily accepted from a publisher who visited her £10 for her manuscript. This was at the close of the year 1755, and I do not meet with her again till 1759, two years after her father's death, when she played Marplot in the 'Busy Body,' for her own benefit, at the Haymarket, with this advertisement:—'As I am entirely dependant on chance for a subsistence, and desirous of settling into business, I humbly hope the town will favour me on the occasion, which, added to the rest of their indulgences, will be ever gratefully acknowledged by their truly obliged and obedient servant, Charlotte Charke.' She died on the 6th of April, 1760."

She "is said to have once given imitations of her father on the stage; to have presented a pistol at, and robbed him on the highway, and to have smacked his face with a pair of soles out of her own basket."[2]

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1755, vol. xxv., pp. 455-458, 495-499, 537-539, will be found an interesting biographical account of Charlotte Charke, and particulars of her engagement at the New Wells, and her residence in Coldbath-fields.

Hannah Snell, the female soldier, whom we have mentioned at page 171, is biographically noticed in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1750, vol. xx., pages 283 and 291, at which latter page is given her portrait.

During the season of 1746, the amusements at the New Wells seem to have been of a most varied character, consisting of tumbling and rope-dancing by Miss Rayner, who appears to have been for several seasons the prima donna of the "Wells." An advertisement tells us, "She is to walk up a slanting rope one hundred feet long, from the bottom of the stage to the upper gallery, with two

[1] Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants*, vol. i., pp. 398, 486.

[2] *Ibid*, vol. ii., pp. 36-39.

lighted flambeaux in her hands; then follows singing and several dances, serious and comic, and for an interlude is to be introduced the wonderful Little Polander, who is allowed to be the greatest curiosity in the memory of man, being two foot ten inches high, aged sixty years, and in every way proportionable, and wears his beard after his own country's fashion. Also the tall Saxon woman, seven feet high, between whom and the Lilliputian Polander there is to be a country dance." Besides this, there were a new entertainment of music called Britannia Rediviva, and a piece in grotesque characters called the Fortunate Volunteer. The whole was "to conclude with an exact view of the Battle fought under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, and the cannonading of the walls of Culloden House, with the horse in pursuit of the rebels, and the compleate victory over them."

PAGE 172.

At pages 172-3, we have given a short account of the rise and progress of the CLERKENWELL NEWS, which, at the time when that part of this History was printed, was published three times a week—namely, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. Since April 2nd, 1864, a Saturday edition of the journal has also been issued, in consequence of the increasing demand for advertisement space in it. It is intended shortly to publish this newspaper five times, and ultimately six times a week. The City publishing office of the journal, No. 117, Fleet-street, was opened in February, 1865.

PAGE 176.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, *temp.* Mary, 1547-1580, is a letter dated from St. John's, August 9th, 1575, from Henry Sekeford to Burghley. "Wants money for the two ship loads of herrings he has sent to supply the garrisons in Ireland." Enclosed was a letter dated from Rochelle, July 26th, 1575, from William Loune to Henry Sekeford, relative to the state of affairs in France. There is a letter from Thomas Seckforde to Archbishop Parker, in the correspondence of that prelate, published by the Parker Society.

Mr. Pascall says, in reference to Thomas Seckforde's gift to Clerkenwell parish:—"Amongst the various charities belonging to this parish, the Seckforde Charity is one entitled to particular interest, not only because the estate from which a great portion of its revenue is derived is in our parish, but because it is a question whether, as the estate increases in wealth, the allowance granted annually to the poor of this parish should not increase in a relative proportion to the sum first granted. In the 29th year of Elizabeth, by letters patent, Thomas Seckforde, Esq., founded an hospital at Woodbridge, Suffolk, for thirteen poor men, and he appointed governors with power to make statutes, &c. During his life, about the year 1587, he made certain statutes, and by the 35th section it is stated that the annual revenue of the said almshouses then amounted to £112 13s. 4d., out of which he gave the sum of £94 8s. 4d. for their support; and out of the remaining sum of £18 5s., he gave to the poor of Clerkenwell the sum of 40s annually. In the year 1768, the governors, by other ordinances they then made, increased the annual amount to the poor of this parish from £2 to £10 per annum. Now this increase, first on their part, and what has since occurred, strengthens my belief that the poor are entitled to an equitable proportion of the increased revenue; but, at all events, it appears worthy of attention. The estate belonging to this Hospital, out of which the £10 was paid, is situated in the parish of Clerkenwell, and well known as the Seckforde Estate. The increased payment to this parish, in 1768, is stated to have been made on the occasion of a large addition to the revenue by a grant of building leases. These leases have mostly expired and fresh ones have been granted, making great improvements on the estate, and justifying the hope that the poor of this parish will be benefitted in like proportion to the present rental, which now amounts to several thousands per annum."

In 1843, Mr. Pascall addressed the governors, Lord Langdale and Lord Chief Justice Tyndal, on the subject, soliciting an additional allowance to the poor of this parish on account of the increased rental of the estate, and after a correspondence passing over a period of six years, a communication was received from the solicitor to the governors, stating that "Their Lordships have ordered that, in consequence of the increase which has lately taken place in the Clerkenwell Estate, their receiver do for the future, pay annually, for the use of the poor of St. James, Clerkenwell, the sum of £20, in lieu of the sum of £10; and that the first payment of such increased allowance be made at Christmas next" (1849).

By a Chancery Scheme, dated 14th June, 1861, for the management of this charity, it is decreed that payments be made annually to the districts of Clerkenwell, in aid of the schools, as follows:—St. John, £15; St. Mark, £16 13s. 4d.; St. Philip, £13 6s. 8d.; St. James, Pentonville, £18 6s. 8d.; St. James, Clerkenwell, £36 13s. 4d.; in addition to the £20 for the poor.

In another part of his work on "Clerkenwell Charity Estates," 1851, Mr. Pascall says:—"By Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth, dated 23rd May, and in the 29th year of her reign, Thomas Seckforde, Esq., was enabled to found an hospital or almshouses for thirteen poor men, at Woodbridge, Suffolk; and her said Majesty, after incorporating as governors of such hospital the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas for the time being, and the Lord of the Manor of Seckforde Hall, Suffolk, if he should be the heir male of Thomas Seckforde, Esq., the father of the founder, and for default of such issue (which has happened), the Master of the Rolls for the time being, authorised the said Thomas Seckforde, the founder, during his life, and after his death the Governor for the time being, to make from time to time statutes and ordinances, as well concerning the election and government of the alms-people, and the stipends and pensions of the same, as the disposition of the goods, rents, and revenues appointed for the support of the said hospital. Shortly afterwards, on the 10th July, 1587, Thomas Seckforde, the founder, made various statutes and ordinances respecting the said hospital. On the 13th May, 1768, Sir Thomas Sewell, Master of the Rolls, and Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the then governors of the hospital, made other ordinances, by the 6th section of which they increased the annual payment to the poor of Clerkenwell," as before stated.

PAGE 177.

At a meeting of the Metropolitan Board of Works, held on January 22nd, 1864, the Building Act Committee brought up a report, upon which it was resolved,

"That the several houses and premises in the line of thoroughfare known by the name of St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell, be re-numbered; the odd numbers, commencing with 1 and ending with 27, being assigned to the houses on the western side, and the even numbers, commencing with 2 and ending with 32, to those on the eastern side; that such numbers do commence at the end nearest Clerkenwell-green; that the name St. James's-place, and any other name or names now in use in St. James's-walk, and the existing numbers be abolished; that the whole line of thoroughfare be called St. James's-walk."

PAGE 180.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1661-1662, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made of a petition in 1662 (?) of Samuel Smith, "for the keepership of the New Prison, Clerkenwell, Dodson, the present keeper, being unworthy of his trust. Lost £700 in 1658, and was kept sixteen weeks prisoner, for refusing to betray Capt. Rob. Manley, who had engaged in a design for His Majesty, in which he joined." Annexed is a certificate of Capt. Manley, and two others, in favour of the petitioner. These documents are described as "Beautiful specimens of penmanship."

PAGE 181.

At this page mention is made of "A list of some of the Grand Blasphemers and Blasphemies, which was given into the Committee for Religion; very fit to be taken notice of upon the occasion of the day of Public Fasting and Humiliation," 1654. In this list we find the following:—John Robins said that he was God Almighty; was committed to the New Prison, at Clerkenwell, 1651. Richard King said his wife was with child of him that should be the saviour of all those that shall be saved; was committed to the New Prison, 1651. Joshua Garment, clapping with his hands and filliping his fingers, said that was preaching the gospel; committed to the New Prison, 1651. Elizabeth Haygood, being uncivil and playing the fool, said that was preaching the gospel, which was foolishness; she was committed to the New Prison, 1651. Joan Robins said she was with child, and the child in her womb was the Lord Jesus Christ; she was committed to the New Prison.

At page 181 mention is made of the fact that Richard Baxter was confined in the New Prison, Clerkenwell. Among the many houses demolished in April and May, 1864, for the purposes of the Metropolitan Meat and Poultry Market and Metropolitan Railway extension, was that in which once resided, and where died, this eminent Nonconformist minister, on December 8th, 1691. The dwelling stood for many years, and although it was frequently repaired the larger portion of it remained until 1864, on the eastern side of Charterhouse-lane, near to the Charterhouse. "Born in 1615, this fearless and talented minister must, during his lengthened life, have met with strange scenes and vicissitudes. He was one year old when Shakspeare died, ten when Charles I. became King of England; in his prime when Cromwell was victorious at Marston Moor, and no doubt knew of the beheading of that monarch, on the 30th of January, 1649. He lived through the plague of London, saw the great fire of 1666, witnessed the 'setting up' of the penny postage by a private tradesman of the city of London, and was no doubt acquainted with the fact of the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act in England. In his time lived Sir Isaac Newton, whose 'Principles of Natural Philosophy' were first published in 1683, and in which the true theory of planetary motions was first explained, in reference to the principles of gravitation. He was the contemporary of John Milton, Jeremy Taylor, Isaac Barrow, and John Bunyan, and in the year of his death 'the war of the revolution' terminated in the surrender of Limerick. It is most probable that in the building which stood upon the site now being unbared, Richard Baxter wrote his well-known work, 'The Saint's Everlasting Rest,' as well as others of a Nonconformist character, so plentifully distributed during the great revolution."

PAGE 182.

A writer, on December 16th, 1737, has recorded:—"There are in Clerkenwell Bridewell one hundred and twenty-five persons that were convicted for retailing spirituous liquors in less quantities than two gallons, and we hear that those who lie on beds pay 3s. 6d. per week, or are turned to the common side and lie on boards."

We read in the "Gentlemen's Magazine," 1751, p. 375, under date August 2nd, as follows:—

"At Chelmsford Assizes, John Swan and Eliz. Jeffries were severally indicted for the murder of Joseph Jeffries, but after several learned arguments of counsel on both sides, the tryal was put off till next assizes, as a material witness for the king was sworn to be out of the way. The counsel for Mrs. Jeffries then moved that she might be admitted to bail, but this the Court overruled on account of the heinousness of the offence. During these motions the prisoner Elizabeth Jeffries was indulged to sit in a chair, as she had fainted away at the beginning on hearing her indictment read; but on her return from court the populace behaved very rudely to her. One circumstance relating to this affair is, that on the 19th of last June, John Swan, the servant, called at the Bell, in Whitechapel, and there bred a quarrel with one Thomas Mathews, a sailor, whom he met on the road. This gave occasion to search them both, and on Swan was found a pair of pistols, with some powder, and a pair of earrings in a little shagreen case; and on the account he gave to Sir Samuel Gower, before whom he was carry'd,

of these things, not being satisfactory, both he and his antagonist were committed to the House of Correction at Clerkenwell; but on the morning after the commitment Miss Jeffries apply'd to Sir Samuel, own'd the pistols to be her uncle's, and the earrings to be her own; the former, she said, he was carrying by his master's orders to be clean'd; the latter, by her's, to Mr. Bentley, a butcher, as a security for some money she had borrow'd of him without her uncle's knowledge; on which representation the prisoners were discharged; and she begg'd the affair might be kept private, as the disclosure of it to her uncle might be her ruin."

At page 182, we have mentioned a pamphlet which was published in 1757, upon the subject of abuses that then existed in Clerkenwell Bridewell. In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1757, vol. xxvii., pp. 268-9, A. B., a correspondent, writes—"I have lately read a pamphlet called 'Reasons for the Reformation of Clerkenwell Bridewell.' These reasons are such as struck me with horror, at the same time that they moved me to pity, for they exhibit such a scene of wickedness and misery as perhaps is no where to be found, and I am induced to solicit a place in your Magazine for this letter, merely that the enormity may be more generally known, as a means of making the reformation more probable. Clerkenwell Bridewell, though originally intended only to punish idleness by labour, has, by the interest of the keeper, been made the receptacle of felons, and is thus become the seminary of wickedness in all its branches." In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1759, vol. xxix., is an article upon the abuses in the management of Clerkenwell Bridewell.

In a newspaper of 1776, reference is made to the sagacity of a dog at Clerkenwell Bridewell, in visiting all the public offices of justice at stated hours. He was acquainted with the regular return of Sunday, on which day he never presumed to stir outside the gates of the prison.

PAGE 184.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxiii., part 2, pages 438-440, is an account of Mr. Neild's visit to the New Prison, Clerkenwell.

PAGE 185.

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1810, vol. lxxx., part 2, page 280, that on Thursday, September 6th, "A meeting of the magistrates of Middlesex, with the directors of the bank, took place at the New Prison, Clerkenwell, to investigate the escape of Roberts and Smith, on Tuesday morning. The former was to undergo a final examination on the charge of forgery on the Bank of England, on Wednesday; and the latter is a known thief, who was imprisoned for six months, and who also stood indicted for a burglary. Roberts, who has lately represented himself as a bill broker, is the same who, two years since, obtained considerable sums of money in the North of England, by representing himself to be Earl Percy. Harper (alias Smith), broke through the wall into an adjoining cell, which was unlocked, and, instead of escaping into the outer yard, unlocked two iron gates, which led to the interior of the prison, and liberated Roberts, a supposed stranger to him. These gates were found open, and three others which led to the outer yard. Notwithstanding there is a watchman placed within the prison, in the outer yard, and another without, the two prisoners escaped over the wall, by ascending a new lodge in the prison, not yet finished, and let themselves down by a rope. Mr. Aris, the gaol-keeper, locked up the prisoners that night, which he was not accustomed to do. From the testimony of a youth of the name of Macar, who stated some conversation which he had overheard betwixt Daniel Aris and Robert Roberts, with other circumstances of corroboration, tending to implicate Daniel Aris, the son, with having been privy and aiding in the escape of the prisoners, he was committed to prison. Mr. Aris, sen., and another son, who officiated as turnkey, have since been dismissed; and Mr. Newport, of the Clerkenwell gaol, in the mean time, appointed to the government of the prison."

PAGE 188.

Upper and Lower Smith-streets, Northampton-square, were planned and built about the year 1802-3, on part of the Northampton estate, and so named in compliment to the wife of Charles Compton, Marquis of Northampton, the grandmother of the present earl, who was the daughter of Joshua Smith, Esq., of Earl-Stoke Park, Wilts.

PAGE 189.

The Tavern referred to in the following advertisement, in the "Daily Post," of May 18th, 1737, was in Warner-street:—

"For York, Newcastle, or Edinburgh.—A good coach and six able horses will set out from the Red Lion, Cold Bath-fields, near Gray's Inn-lane, on Friday next, the 20th inst. N.B.—By-coaches may be had at the place above."

We may infer that Red Lion-yard on the western side of this thoroughfare was the Inn Yard, and contained the necessary coach-houses and stabling.

PAGE 191.

In the Roxburge Collection is a ballad entitled "A Mad Kind of Wooing; or, a Dialogue between Will, the Simple, and Nan, the Subtle, with their loving agreement, to the tune of the New Dance at the Red Bull Playhouse." It is in black letter, printed for the assigns of T. Tymcocke, whose patent for printing of paper and parchment on one side was granted in 1620, and assigned in the same year.[1]

PAGE 193.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1660-1661, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made of a mandate dated from Whitehall, August 20th, 1660, from the King to Sir William Wyle, Recorder of London, Sir Rich. Browne, Alderman, and other Justices of the Peace. "Is informed that companies assemble at the Red Bull Playhouse, St. John-street; at the Cockpit, Drury-lane; and at another in Salisbury-court, and perform profane and obscene plays, &c. Orders their rigorous suppression under heavy penalties."

PAGE 195.

In "Advice from Parnassus," February 16th, 1680, there is the burlesque petition to Apollo for the remission of the punishment of some literary aspirant, the writer of a farce, performed with such success, that the players or comedians at the Red Bull were in great hazard; for, instead of a plaudit, a dreadful shower of brickbats, staves, turnip-tops, and rotten eggs fell upon their heads from the hands of boys, butchers, and milkwomen of their audience.

Apropos of the Red Bull Theatre, we may mention that Richard Perkins and John Summer, two celebrated actors before the Restoration, were buried in the burial-ground belonging to the Church of St. James, Clerkenwell.

[1] Printed in Evans's *Old Ballads*, 1810, p. 312.

PAGE 196.

At this page mention is made of the poetical will of Ned Ward, the poet. The following is a copy thereof:—

I' th' name of God, the king of kings,
Whose glory fills the mighty space,
Creator of all worldly things,
And giver of both time and place.
To him I do resign my breath,
And that immortal soul he gave me,
Sincerely hoping, after death,
The merits of his son will save me.
Oh! bury not my peaceful corpse
In Cripplegate, where discord dwells,
And wrangling parties jangle worse
Than alley-scolds, or Sunday's bells.
To good St. Paneras' holy ground,
I dedicate my lifeless clay,
'Till the last trumpet's joyful sound
Shall raise me to eternal day.

No costly funeral prepare;
'Twixt sun and sun, I only crave
A hearse and one black coach, to bear
My wife and children to my grave;
My goods and chattels, I desire,
May pay the honest debts I owe;
The rest (if any) I require
May to my wife and children go.
My blessing unto each I give,
Let that suffice instead of wealth;
May grace attend them whilst they live,
And virtue long preserve their health.
My wife I do appoint the sole
Executrix of this my will,
And set my hand unto the scrole,
In hopes the same she will fulfil.

Made under a dangerous illness, and signed this 24th of June, 1731. EDW. WARD.

PAGE 197.

Interesting information relative to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem can be obtained from the following, which give references to numerous other works treating of the same subject:—"Notes and Queries," 1st series, vols. viii., ix., x., xi., and xii.; 2nd series, vols. i., ii., iii., vi., and x.; "Archæological Journal," vol. x., pp. 141, 326; vol. xv., p. 154; vol. xviii., p. 35; Sutherland's "History of the Knights of Malta;" Gough's "Camden;" Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, *temp.* Henry VIII., 1509 to 1514; Calendar of State Papers, *temp.* Henry VIII., vol. iv., part v., p. 587; vol. vi., part v., p. 331; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, *temp.* Mary, 1547-1580.

PAGE 201.

In the State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. i., is given a copy of "Instructions yoven by the Kinges Highnes unto his trustie Counsailour Thomas Crumwell, to be declared, on his behalf, to his Lerned Counsaill, and indelayedlie to be put in execucyon, this Terme of Saynt Michaell, in the 23ti yere of his most victoryous reigne." In these Instructions is the following:—"Item, that fynall assurauncs be made, devysed, and concluded for suche exchaunges, as the Kynges Highnes hathe made with divers persons, as the Abbot of Westminster, . . . the Lorde of Saynt Johns, . . . and courtes to be kept, and possession, with attournement of the tenauntes, taken to the Kynges use, in all the landes exchaunged."

PAGE 203.

At this page are mentioned some attempts which were made to re-establish the Langue of England. The reader is referred to a lengthened correspondence in "Notes and Queries" on this subject, and as to the present state of the language. This correspondence commenced on January 3rd, 1863. *Vide*

"Notes and Queries," third series, vol. iii., pp. 8, 39, 76, 201, 229, 252, 270, 278, 289, 291, 309, 327, 331, 334, 342, 411, 413, and 450; third series, vol. iv., pp. 92, 190, and 212.

PAGE 211.

In reference to the water supply of the Priory, we find the following in Pat. 10, Eliz. p. 12:—"By and upon which close called St. Mary's-close, and in and upon the said highway leading from St. Johnes-street to Clerkenwell, on the north part of our said house of St. Johne's, newly erected and builded by us, one house or other receipt containing in length 14 feet, and in breadth 14 feet, wherein are placed and set certain cesternes, basyns, and other vessels or devices serving the said waters, watercourses, and springs to our house of St. Johnes."

PAGE 212.

Garnarius, or Garnerius, of Naples, was the first prior at the time of the foundation of the sister-house of Buckland, County Somerset, *temp.* Henry II., the prioress of which house retained her situation sixty years. He was prior of the hospital in the time of Richard de Balneis, Bishop of London, who died 1162, and also when Richard Fitz-Neal held the see, between the years 1189 and 1198.

Richard de Turk, or Turke, was prior in the time of the said prioress; and in his time Walter, the son of Robert, gave the advowson of Wodeham Walter, county of Essex, to the brothers of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

Ralph, or Radolphus de Dyna, was prior in the time of the said prioress.

Alan, or Alanus, prior, was raised to the bishoprick of Bangor, 16th April, 1195; and died the 19th March in the following year.

Gilbert de Vere was prior in the time of the said prioress, A.D. 1195. He gave the sisters of the House of Buckland 100s. per annum out of the manor of Reynham; which gift was confirmed by the said Bishop of Bangor. This villa, with its appurtenances, Gilbert gave to the brothers of this hospital, to whom he bequeathed his body.

Hugh de Alneto was prior in the time of the said prioress.

Robert the Treasurer was prior in the time of the said prioress.[1]

PAGE 213.

A whole length portrait of Sir Thomas Docwra appears in Segar's "Honours."

PAGE 214.

Of Sir Thomas Tresham, father of the gunpowder plot conspirator, some few notices may be got from Bridge's "Northamptonshire," vol. ii., pages 324 and 374; Fuller's "Worthies," article "Northamptonshire"; Leland's "Itinerary," vol. vi., page 38; "Beauties of England and Wales," vol. xi., page 169; and "Gentleman's Magazine," 1808, p. 680. See also a little book by Mr. Bell, of Barnwell, Northampton, on the family of Tresham, entitled "The Ruins of Liveden; with historical notices of the family of Tresham, and its connection with the Gunpowder Plot." In the Visitation Book of the county of Northampton, a pedigree of Tresham was entered in 1618. Sir Thomas Tresham, of Newton, in that county, knight, was the son of Maurice Tresham, by Maria,

[1] NEWCOURT'S *Repertorium*, vol. i., p. 668.

daughter of Edmund Odingsells, of Ichington, in the county of Warwick; and married Anne, daughter of Bartholomew Tate, of Delapre, near Northampton, Esquire; by whom he had issue Henry Tresham, his son and heir apparent (who married Abigail, daughter of Cecil Cave, of Stanford, Esquire); Thomas Tresham, of Newton, his second son, who married Elizabeth, daughter of — Dickinson, of Manchester; and several daughters.

PAGE 215.

On St. John's day, the 24th June, 1858, a solemn investiture of thirty-nine Knights of the Order of St. John of the Hospital of Jerusalem took place in the palace at Berlin. The Prince of Prussia presided, and the ceremony was attended by the Princes Charles, Albert, George, and Adalbert of Prussia, and by Prince Augustus of Wurtemburg. After the usual procession to the chapel of the palace, in which, in addition to the Princes, all the dignitaries of the Order figured, and after the celebration of divine service, the Prince, covering himself, made the new Knights approach, and asked, "What is your desire?" They answered, "We desire the honour of being received as Knights in the Bailliwick of Brandenburg of the knightly Order of St. John of the Hospital of Jerusalem." The Prince then said, "You shall be received, if you will obey the ordinances of our community, and conduct yourselves as becomes brother Knights who love honour." The new Knights were then led before the altar, and knelt, and the Prince of Prussia, touching each of them three times on the shoulder with a sword, said, "It is better to be a Knight than a squire." His Royal Highness then, amidst the clang of cymbals and trumpets, gave each the acolade, after which the Prince invested him with the chain and mantle of the Order, which were handed to him by pages. The vow of the Order was then read by the Secretary, and each Knight promised to observe it. The Prince afterwards said to each, "I wish you happiness, and the salvation and blessing of God." A sermon was afterwards preached, and a *Te Deum* sung, which terminated the ceremony. Among the new Knights were M. Von Bismark-Schœnhausen, Prussian Plenipotentiary in the Germanic Diet; M. Von Westphalen, Minister of the Interior; and Baron Pronay, Chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria.

The Prussian Knights of St. John, like the English ones, are of the reformed religion. The following is the vow which was administered to the Protestant Knights admitted at Sonneberg in 1763, by the Grand Bailli of Brandenburg, His Royal Highness Prince Ferdinand of Prussia:—"I swear to be faithful and obedient to the Order; to do everything in my power to contribute to its glory, prosperity, and utility; to combat everything prejudicial to its well-being; never to act contrary to its dignity; but to conduct myself as a true Knight—that is to say, as a good Christian and a man of honour."

On the 24th of June, 1858, the Magisterial Chapter of the Langue of Italy, which was presided over by his Excellency the Bailli Philip Count de Colloredo, Lieutenant of the Magistry, was celebrated by a very grand festival. At eight o'clock a.m., the Lieutenant Master and the Knights resident in Rome went in state from the palace of the Order to the Church of the Lucchesi which was made over to them until their own was finished. There a guard of honour of the Papal Carbineers was waiting to receive the Lieutenant Master with the honours due to a sovereign prince. The Knights were ranged during divine service, which was performed by the Grand Prior of Rome, on two high benches, covered with red damask, and sat face to face. After the general communion, a breakfast followed in the house attached to the church, and which was occupied by the Prior and conventual chaplains of the Order. During the service two of the Papal carbineers remained at the door of the sanctuary on guard, where the throne of the Lieutenant Master was placed. At the dinner there were about forty guests, including several cardinals, the Austrian and other ambassadors, the French General de Goyon, &c. Two days before the festival the Marquis Cotoner, a Spanish Knight of St. John, and representative of two former Grand Masters, and the Commander Watts, commissioner for the Langue of England to the Priories in Southern Europe, had the compliment paid to them of being received into the Italian Langue as Knights of Devotion, and both were present and

took part in the festival. The then Grand Prior of Rome was one of the illustrious family of Ferretti, two members of which were Grand Priors of England during the dormancy of the Order in the United Kingdom. The title of "*Unice Noster Protector*" was peculiar to the Kings of England for many hundred years; and we read, "In that dazzling orient where the Order began, the English were our pride, and they were always treated with a peculiarity of esteem, as splendid examples of what mankind produces of most generous, most noble." Almost all the Norman princes and nobles in the first eras of the Order were aggregated to it, without being regularly professed knights; and as *Pro utilitate hominum* is the true and primitive scope of the institution, all its eight branches will on that principle hold by the stem of the Sovereign Order, and seek to do their best that all the nations of Europe may combine to say of it—*Esto perpetua.*

PAGE 216.

In the "Archæologia," vol. xx., pp. 181, note, 190, note, are some particulars of the hospital of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell.

PAGE 217.

Stow says that there were buried in the Priory Church of St. John of Jerusalem brethren and knights of the Order of St. John, as follows:—John Botell, William Bageeove, Richard Barrow, John Vanelay, Thomas Launeelen, John Mallory, William Turney, William Hulles, Hils, or Hayles; John Weston, Redington, William Longstrother, John Longstrother, William Tong, and John Wakeline. Others who were buried here were:—Thomas Thornburgh, gentleman; William West, gentleman; John Fulling, and Adam Gill, esquires; Sir John Mortimor, and Dame Eleanor, his wife; Nicholas Silvarston, William Plompton, esquire; Margaret Tong and Isabel Tong, Walter Bellingham, *alias* Ireland, King of Arms, of Ireland; Thomas Bedle, gentleman; Katherine, daughter of William Plompton, esquire; Richard Turpin, gentleman; Joan, wife to Alexander Dikes; John Bottle and Richard Bottle, esquires; Rowland Dareie, Richard Sutton, gentleman; Richard Bottil, gentleman; Sir W. Harpenden, knight; Robert Kingston, esquire, and Margery, his wife; John Rock, Richard Cednor, gentleman; Simon Mallory, Robert Longstrother, Ralph Asteley, William Marshall, Robert Savage, Robert Gondall, esquires; Margery, the wife of the latter; William Bapthorpe, Baron of the Exchequer, 1442.[1]

The year 1381 was one of dire calamity to the Knights Hospitallers, who had incurred the displeasure of the populace. The rebels under Wat Tyler rose against the youthful power of Richard II. They directed their fury against the houses and possessions of the Knights of St. John, their rancour having been greatly excited by the haughty conduct of Sir Robert Hales, the Prior, and Lord Treasurer of England, who, when the people under the conduct of Wat Tyler assembled on Blackheath, and sought a conference with the king, counselled their punishment. When their demands were told the king there were some that thought he should go to them and know what their meaning was; but Simon de Sudbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales "spake earnestly against that advice, and would not by any means that the king should go to such sort of bare-legged ribalds, but rather they wished that he should take some order to abate the pride of such vile rascals." The rebels of Essex had previously displayed their animosity to this Prior, who, "having a goodly and delectable manor in Essex, wherein was ordained victuals and other necessaries for the use of a chapter general and a great abundance of fair stuff—of wines, arras, clothes, and other provisions for the knights brethren—the commons entered this manor, ate up all the victuals, and provision of wine three tun, and spoiled the manor and the ground with great damage." This

[1] *Stow*, Thoms's ed., p. 162.

riotous mob, emboldened by their successes, conceived acts of greater mischief. On Thursday, the 13th of June, the feast of Corpus Christi, the "commons" divided themselves into three bodies; those that were in the City, the "commons of Kent," broke up the Fleet, and let the prisoners go where they would. From thence they went to the Temple to destroy it, and pulled down the houses, took off the tiles of the other buildings left, went to the church, took out all the books and remembrances that were in the hutches of the prentices of the law, carried them into the high street, and there burnt them. "This house," says Stow, "they spoiled for wrath they bare the Lord Prior of St. John's, to whom it belonged." Their vengeance was not satiated, for after the destruction of the Savoy the rebels, says Froissart, "went straight to the fayre hospytalle of the Rodes, called saynt Johans, and there they brent house, hospytall, mynster, and all; then they went fro strete to strete, and slew all the flemmynges that they could fynde in churche or in any other place; there was none respyted fro dethe."[1] The fire, so incontinently kindled, they caused to burn for the space of seven days after, and not suffering any to quench it. These conflagrations filled the minds of the peaceful citizens with terror, and the king was dismayed when he saw from a distance the city illumined by the devouring flames. Stow says, "The king, being in a turret of the Tower, and seeing the mannours of Savoy, the Priory of St. John's Hospital, and other houses on fire, demanded of his counsell what was best to be done in that extremitie; but none could counsaile in that case."[2] Whilst the rebels of Kent were making this havoc in the metropolis, so that "in this disorder London looked like a city taken by storm," the commons of Essex, twenty thousand strong, led on by one Jack Straw, "tooke in hand to ruinate" the Lord Prior's country seat at his manor of Highbury, which they did effectually, pulling down by main force all those parts of the building which the fire could not consume. The Tower was successfully assaulted by another body of the rioters, and several of the nobility who had fled hither for refuge came to an untimely end. "Sir Robert Hales, a most valiant knight, Lord of St. John's, and treasurer of England;" Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury; and others, were dragged out, and beheaded on Tower-hill. Such a strong antipathy had the riotous "commons to the Hospitallers," that Jack Straw, in a subsequent confession, speaking of the intentions of his partisans, says, with bitter emphasis, "Specially weo would have destroyed the Knights of St. John." In the "Chronicle of London," p. 73, we read:—"This yere was the rising of the co'es of Essex and of Kent for a talaye ordeyned that every man and women between the ago of lx. and xvj. yere schulde paye to the kyng xijd.; the which commons brenden the chirche and the houses of Saynt Jones at Clerkenwelle."

A bird's-eye view of St. John's Priory, Clerkenwell, restored, with its boundary walls, St. John's Gate, and the church, having its nave, aisles, transepts, tower, chancel, and chapels, complete, may be seen in W. Newton's "London in the Olden Time, with a Pictorial Map of London *temp.* Henry VIII.," folio, 1855.

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"The xx day of September (1558) was bered my lade Cisele Mansfield at Clarkenwell, with a harold of armes, and browth (brought) unto the blake fryer's in Smythfeld, the which was sant Barthelmuw; with iiij baners of santes, and ij dosen torchys, and ij grett whytt branchys, and iiij gylt candylstykes, and armes on them, and many clarkes syngyng, and mony morners; and my lade Peter cheyff morner, and odur lades and gentyll women, and knyghtes and gentyll men, and her servandes bore my lade, and bare the torchys all in blake cottes, and bered afore the he (high) auter (altar) at the hed of old pryar Boltun; and the chyrche and the qwer (choir) and the raylles hangg'd with blake and armes; and the frers (friars) song durge (dirge) after ther song, and bered her after ther fasyon without clarkes or prestes; and after to the plasse to drynke; and the morow iij masses song, ij pryke songe masses; and after to Clerkenwell to dener to her plasse; and ther was a godly sermon as ever was hard to lyf welle of the father of the howse dyd pryche."

[1] *Froissart*, by Lord Berners, ed. 1812, vol. i., p. 615.

[2] Stow's *Annals*, ed. 1605, p. 456.

Machyn records in his diary as follows :—

"The xij day of April (1559) was brought from Clerkenwell unto Blake-frer's in Smythfeld, with ij haroldes of armes, Master Clarenshux and Master Somerset, Ser Richard Monsfeld, Knyght, with two gret whyt branchys, ... ij dosen torchys, and iiij gylt candyll stykes, and iiij grett tapurs, and the plasse and the frer's hunge with blake and armes ; and xxiiij prestes and clarkes, (prayers) all Laten, and durge wher he ded (died) and wher he was bered ; and ther was a standard and penon of armes, and a cott of armur and elmett, target and sword, and ther were iiij baners of santtes (saints), and xviij men morners in blake gownes, and xx in blake cottes ; and after to the plasse (his house in Clerkenwell) to drynke ; and the morow masses in all the chyrches, and then after ys standard, cotte, elmet, target (and sword) offered up ; and after all done to the plasse to dener ; and a vij dosen skochyons of armes to be bered."

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At this page are engravings of the Seals of St. John's Priory.

In the "Archæological Journal," vol. xvi., p. 357, mention is made of a meeting of the institute held on May 6th, 1859, at which Mr. Ready, of Lowestoft, exhibited fac similies in gutta percha, of the seal and counterseal of the Prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England, taken from a detached impression on green wax, then lately obtained in Shropshire. The seal, of circular form, measured about an inch and five-eighths in diameter. The device was a human head, with a flowing beard ; on the dexter side was a star, on the sinister, a crescent. Legend—† S' Prioris Hospital' Jerl' in Ang'. The head, seen in full face, and of fine character, represented the head of St. John the Baptist. The counterseal was oval, measuring about half an inch by five eighths, and bearing a small head in profile to the left, probably representing the prior. He wore a peculiar flat cap. This seal had no legend. These curious examples were in fair preservation.

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In the year 1290, Joanna of Acre, third daughter of Edward I., after her marriage with Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, came to reside with her husband in the rural vicinage of Clerkenwell. In Miss Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England," vol. ii., p. 440, we read, that "Joanna of Acre, in her eighteenth year, renowned for her beauty and high spirit, was married with great pomp at the monastery of St. John's, Clerkenwell, to Gilbert, the red Earl of Gloucester." This statement respecting the place of Joanna's nuptials is opposed to that given by Miss Green in her "Lives of the Princesses of England," vol. ii., p. 330, wherein it is affirmed that the marriage of the Princess Joanna took place on Sunday, the 30th day of April, 1290, when she was in her nineteenth year ; and that "it was privately celebrated at Westminster Abbey by the King's chaplain." The authorities referred to by Miss Green in support of this statement are Chron. Brute. Lamb MS., No. 99, f. 39 ; Chron. Barthol. Norw. Cott. MS., Nero. c.v., f. 205. Miss Strickland would seem to rest her statements on her own *ipsi dixit*, as no authority is given by her.

Previous to Joanna leaving her parental home, the King went to an enormous expense in the purchase of plate, jewels, and other costly articles of furniture for her. The list in which they are enumerated is headed thus :—"To Joanna, Countess of Gloucester, going from the Tower of London to Clerkenwell, now for the first time to the *hospice* of her husband, as the King's gift of her apparatus." Among them were one hundred silver dishes, and as many salt cellars ; four wine, and as many water vases ; two small dishes for spice, and two for fruit ; sixty silver spoons, &c. ; a large number of bowls of silver, and one of pure gold, which alone cost £18 15s. For her chapel she had also a flagon, a censer, an alms dish, made, as was then customary, in the form of a ship ; and two golden phials for wine. Part of her plate was made of the white silver of Ghent, three hundred marks

of which had been delivered to the keeper of the wardrobe for that purpose.[1] Anxious that his daughter should take her leave of her friends at Court in a manner suitable to her rank and fortunes, the King presented her with forty-six golden cups, twenty golden clasps, and twenty zones of silk, wrought and trapped with silver, to give away to whomsoever she pleased. She had four beds provided for herself, her ladies, and maids; a canopy and cushions for her chariot and her room; napkins, towels, and three hundred and forty-six ells of cloth uncut; also one chariot and a long charette, or cart, each drawn by five horses, with suitable equipments. The packing of all these goods and chattels was the next consideration, and one of no small importance. A variety of amusing notices occur of the hampers and coffers, and baskets and bags, the horses and sumpters, required to convey them safely from the Tower to Clerkenwell. One sumpter horse carried her chapel apparatus, another her bed, a third her jewels, a fourth her chamber furniture, a fifth her candles, a sixth her pantry stores and table linen, and a seventh her kitchen furniture. The removal was made early in August. Robert Bareback, clerk of the chapel to the King's daughters, left the other Princesses, and attaching himself exclusively to Joanna, accompanied her to her new home. The short distance between Clerkenwell and London enabled Joanna to maintain a frequent intercourse with her own family. In her new abode, she and her husband gave a splendid feast to her sister Margaret, recently married to John of Brabant, not inferior in gorgeous magnificence to that with which the King himself had honoured the bride on the previous day. The King honoured the banquet by his presence, as may be inferred from a little incident that befel one of his attendants—Geoffrey, the King's aquarius,[2]—whose office was to bring him water for his ablutions in a costly basin, which, by some very easily to be imagined occurrence, was missing at the feast; in consequence whereof he was deprived of office, but Edward with his own money paid him in advance, or over and above his wages the sum of sixty shillings, to make good his loss.

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In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, *temp.* Mary, 1547-1580, mention is made of a letter dated from St. John's, April 24th, 1547, from the Princess Mary to the Duchess of Somerset; in favour of Richard Wood and George Bryckhouse: the latter desiring to be one of the Knights of Windsor.

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In the "Archæological Journal," vol. xv., p. 161, is an interesting communication upon Serjeants' rings, and the history of the custom of presenting the same.

The permanent office of Master of the Revels for the superintendence of all dramatic performances was created in the year 1546, and Sir Thomas Cawarden was appointed to it with an annual salary of £10. John Bernard was made a Clerk of the Revels, with an allowance of 8d. per day and livery. This Clerk of the Revels had assigned to him Egypt and Fleshhall, with a garden which had belonged to the dissolved monastery of the Charterhouse.

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In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610, *temp.* James I., mention is made of a lease dated August 6th, 1603, to William Stirrill, of the late priory of St. John of Jerusalem. In

[1] *Rot. Claus,* 18 Edwd. I., m. 8; *Wardrobe Book,* 18 Edward I., ff. 49, b. 50; Green's *Lives of the Princesses,* II., p. 335.

[2] Aquarius regis Eodem die (sc 16 Julii) Galfrido Aquario regis de presitito super vadiis suis per manus, proprias, quos (sc solidos) cepit ad emendum quoddam lavacrum, quod perdidit ad festum Comitis Gloucestrianea. LX. s.—*Lib. Hosp.* 18 *Edwd. I.*

the same Calendar we find a grant dated February 19th, 1608, to Edward Barkham, of the office of rent collector of St. John of Jerusalem, and county of Middlesex, for life. In the same Calendar we also find a grant dated May 6th, 1607, to Martin Freeman, of the site or lordship of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in England. And in the same Calendar mention is made of a grant to Sir Roger Wilbraham, of the gate-house of St. John's House, for life, subject to the proviso of an increase of rent.[1]

Amongst the records of the time of James I., we find under date March, 1617, an entry as follows:—"To George Weale, Clerk of His Majesty's works, the sum of £24, by way of reward for his travel, charges, and expenses with his horse and man, in drawing of plots of sundry of His Majesty's houses, castles, and forts, to wit, Whitehall, Greenwich, Bridewell, St. John's, in London, &c., eighty days at 6s. each day."

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In the British Museum are the following:—"A Bill for making Provision for the Rector of St. John, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, and his successors," 13 George I., not passed, 5 pp. small folio (press mark 357, b.10—46); and also "A Bill for providing a Maintenance for the Minister of the Church of St. John, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex," 4 George II., not passed, 7 pp. small folio (press mark 356, m. 2—72).

At pages 229-230 of this History mention is made of Dr. John Langhorne, Rector of St. John's Church. The following is the epitaph on his wife in the chancel of Blagdon Church, Somerset:—

"To the memory of Anne the wife of John Langhorne, D.D., late rector of this parish, who died May 5, 1768 aged 32.[2] With Sappho's taste, with Arria's tender heart, Lucretia's honour, and Cecilia's art:

That such a woman died surprize can't give,
'Tis only strange that such an one should live."

A correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxiii., part I., page 320, says, "This lady was daughter of Robert Craeroft,[3] of Halloughton, co. Linc., Esq., to whose sons Dr. Langhorne, the well-known translator of Plutarch, and author of several poems, &c., had been tutor, and died in 1779."

In the garden of John Scott, at Amwell, in an alcove, were the following lines by Dr. Langhorne:—

To scenes where Taste and Genius dwell,
Unwillingly we bid farewell:
For these, of more than mortal birth,
Strangers and sojourners on earth,
Have far from every vulgar road
At Amwell fix'd their fair abode. JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

And in the same garden, in another Temple, under the words *Mihi et Amicis*, were these lines:—

Thy friends have access to a noble part,
They share the open temple of thy heart!
O may no sighs from that calm region borne,
Thy grove's soft echoes change to sounds forlorn,
To please by art, by nature's charms to please,
The first great object is a mind at ease. JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

[1] *Vide* page 248.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lviii., p. 217.

[3] *Query*, Crauford, *vide* page 230.

In the summer of the year 1773, Dr. Langhorne resided some time at Weston-super-Mare, for the benefit of the sea air; and the equally celebrated Mrs. Hannah More resided at Uphill for the same salutary purpose. The doctor meeting the female bard one day upon the sea-shore, he wrote with the end of his stick upon the sand the following impromptu:—

Along the shore
Walk'd Hannah More;
Waves let this record last;—
Sooner shall ye,
Proud earth and sea,
Than what she writes, be past.

The lady returned the compliment by scratching underneath, with her whip, and the same facility of genius:—

Some firmer basis, polish'd Langhorne, choose
To write the dictates of thy charming muse;
Her strains in solid characters rehearse;
And be thy tablet lasting as thy verse.

Langhorne, highly pleased with this effusion, praised her wit, and copied the lines, which he presented to her at a house near the sea, whither they adjourned, and she afterwards wrote under as follows:—

Langhorne, whose sweetly varying muse has power
To raise the pensive, crown the social hour;
Whose very trifling has the charm to please,
With native wit and unaffected ease;
How soon, obedient to thy forming hand,
The letters grew upon the flexile sand:
Should some lost traveller the scene explore,
And trace thy verses on the dreary shore,
What sudden joy would feast his eager eyes,
How from his eyes would burst the glad surprise!
Methinks I hear, or seem to hear him say,
This letter'd shore hath smooth'd my toilsome way;
Hannah! he adds, though honest truth may pain,
Yet here I see an emblem of the twain,
As these frail characters which each imprest
Upon the yielding sands' soft watery breast;
Which, when some few short hours they shall have stood,
Shall soon be swept by yon impetuous flood.
Presumptuous maid! so shall expire thy name,
Thou wretched, feeble, candidate for fame;
But Langhorne's fate in yon firm rock[1] I read,
Which rears above the cloud its towering head;
Long as that rock shall rear its head on high,
And lift its bold front to the azure sky;
Long as these adamantine hills survive,
So long, harmonious Langhorne, shalt thou live,
While envy's wave shall lash and vainly roar,
And only fix thy solid base the more.

A tale by Dr. Langhorne, entitled "Solyman and Almena," was published in 1762. It is similar in style to Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas." We are indebted to Dr. Langhorne for the first collected edition of Collins's Poems. The doctor's plaintive story of "Owen of Carron" received the approbation of Wordsworth.[2]

A very neat mural monument, in honour of the Rev. Richard Harrison, who was rector of St. John's Church, Clerkenwell, from the year 1788 to 1793, was erected, about the year 1796, in Brompton Chapel, near Knightsbridge.[3] It was executed by Westmacott, of Mount-street; and bore this inscription:—"Sacred to the Memory of the Rev. Richard Harrison, minister of this chapel from its opening in 1769, rector of St. John's, Clerkenwell, and evening preacher at the Magdalen Hospital. He departed this life 23d Dec., 1793, aged 57 years. His labours were abundant: his praise is in the gospel: his reward is with the Most High!"

A correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1797, vol. lxvii., part I., page 127, writing to the editor, Mr. Urban, from Chelsea, on February 10th, in that year, says:—"I was, a few days since, very agreeably surprised, on calling upon a lady, to find the following piece, large, framed and glazed, hung up in her drawing room. It was elegantly worked on a white tissue ground, with black

[1] Brean Down, a high hill running into the Bristol Channel, and which forms the northern boundary of Berrow Bay, and the southern of Uphill Bay.

[2] *Vide* the *Life of Dr. Langhorne*, prefixed to an edition of his poems, published by C. Cooke in 1798. *Vide* also the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1828, vol. xcviii., part I., page 388. For a query upon Dr. Langhorne's relation to the Langhornes of Bedfordshire, *vide* the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. viii., new series, part II., page 2.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1797, vol. lxvii., part I., page 10.

silk. The representation was a funereal urn, well designed, overspread with a weeping willow; and at the base, as if near a streamlet, were aquatic plants and reeds in a withering state. On the front was placed the narrative part of the inscription; beneath the base, the striking character of the deceased; closed by the elegiac lines, whose impression I hope never to forget. You knew the man, Mr. Urban; and with me, I am persuaded, feel for the loss of a friend, an instructor, and an amiable pattern."

"An Elegy on the much lamented Death of the Rev. Mr. Harrison; who died on Monday, Dec. 23, 1793, aged 57.

"After preaching twice the day before (Sunday), in the morning at Charlotte-street Chapel, Pimlico, and in the evening at St. John's, Clerkenwell, which was his last sermon; Mr. Harrison was struck with an apoplectick fit the following morning, and expired about noon, after testifying his confidence in God, through the merits of Christ his Redeemer.

"A more able or zealous minister of the Word seldom filled the pulpit; a more worthy, humane, and upright man, never adorned the Christian character in his private walks.

"Watch ye, therefore; for ye know not when the Master of the House cometh; at even, or at midnight, or at the cock crowing, or in the morning."—Mark xiii. ver. 35.

ELEGY.

Go, happy Spirit! share the rest
 Appointed for the saints of God,
Who, through their Saviour's love are blest,
 Their garments wash'd in his pure blood.
Behold, the generous Spirit's fled,
 To yonder bright celestial sphere;
The soul survives the body dead;
 Ye mourners then restrain the tear.
But yet, methinks I hear a voice;
 The plaintive accents melt the heart;
The poor man cries, "Shall I rejoice?
 "Who, now, their comforts will impart?
"Now our best Friend to Heav'n is gone,
 "Alas! who will his place supply?
"Who, now, will hear the wretch's groans,
 "Or plead the cause of misery?"
But hark! from Heav'n a voice descends:
 "Dry up your tears, ye humble poor;
"For God himself his promise sends,
 "Whose Word is Truth, and promise sure!"
Happy the man, whose steady faith
 In God is plac'd for ev'ry care;
Whose righteous soul preserves his path,
 And shuns the Tempter's fatal snare.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxviii, part II., page 658, is a reference to the character of the Rev. R. Harrison, which is much praised. In the same work, vol. lxxi., part II., page 647, are the following:—

"Tributary Lines, by a Lady, to the Memory of the late Rev. Richard Harrison, of Brompton, Middlesex, who died December 23, 1793, aged 57.

The form august, the piercing eye,
That beam'd benevolence divine;
Pure Ciceronian eloquence,
Immortal Harrison, were thine!
What numbers throng'd the sacred fane!
What awful silence fill'd the space!
Thy voice celestial harmony,
Thy action elegance and grace.
The zeal that glow'd within thy breast,
True Heavenly wisdom did inspire:
Thy audience *felt* the truth *they heard;*
Their bosoms caught the holy fire.
From thee the penitent drew hope;
Th' impenitent were taught to fear;
Bold infidelity appall'd,
Could scarce conceal conviction's tear.
Throughout the tenour of thy life
Humility conspicuous shone;
And, blended with true dignity,
The Christian graces were thy own.
Oh! friend to all the human race!
Th' harmonious cadence of thy voice
The widow's tears hath often dried,
And made the orphan's heart rejoice.
Oh! more than father, friend, and guide!
Long shall we mourn our loss severe!
And still in secret breathe a sigh,
And o'er thy reliques drop a tear.
For, Memory faithful, still recalls
The sacred truths thou didst impart;
Which, pointing out the path to bliss,
Stand deeply graven on my heart.
Bless'd shade! though rapt in perfect bliss,
Accept a tributary sigh;
Thy precepts taught us how to live;
Thy pattern shew'd us how to die.

H——s.

In a work, entitled "Friendly Visits from the Muse; or, the Consolations of Solitude," by a Lady, 8vo., pp. 150, Dutton, 1810, are "Tributary Lines to the Memory of the late Rev. Richard Harrison, of Brompton, Middlesex."

The Rev. Dr. Hughes, the present rector of St. John's Church, was ordained a deacon in 1823, and a priest in 1824; he took the degree of D.D. in 1847. He graduated at St. Peter's College, Cambridge. He is the author of "Discourses on the Female Characters of Holy Writ," three volumes, 1845-6-7. He was lecturer of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, in 1836.

In St. John's Churchyard a stone was set up early in the present century, in memory of Mrs. Newman, of No. 63, Cowcross-street, St. Sepulchre; it bore this inscription:—

Pain was my portion,
Physic was my food,
Groans was my devotion,
Drugs did me no good;
Christ was my physician,
Knew what way was best,
To ease me of my pain,
He took my soul to rest.

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At this page mention is made of Simon Stubley, the organist of St. John's, Clerkenwell, and of verses set to music by him. The "Gentleman's Magazine," May, 1744, vol. xiv., p. 273; October, 1746, vol. xvi., p. 550; 1749, vol. xix., pp. 36, 274, and 564; 1753, vol. xxv., pp. 191 and 288, contains music composed by Mr. Stubley. The pieces, and the words to which they are set, are light.

At pages 231 and 251, mention is made of David Henry, who succeeded Edward Cave as the proprietor of the "Gentleman's Magazine," and who married Cave's sister. In this Magazine for 1792, vol. lxii., part I., page 578, we find the following obituary notice of Mr. Henry:—June 5th, "At Lewisham, in his 82d year, David Henry, Esq., who for more than half a century has taken an active part in the management of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' in which the most painful portion of our labour is the frequent occasions that occur of lamenting the loss of those whom we more particularly esteem. In this class we may truly rank our late very worthy associate; who was born in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, Dec. 26, 1710; 'of a family,' to use his own expressive words in a letter which death prevented his finishing, 'more respected for their good sense and superior education than for their riches; as at every neighbouring meeting of the gentlemen they were among the foremost. I left both country and friends,' he adds, 'before the age of 14; and may be truly said never to have seen either since, if by friends are meant assistants.' Mr. H. was literally the artificer of his own fortune. His inclinations having fixed him in the profession of a printer, and a concurrence of circumstances placing him within the notice of Mr. Edward Cave, the elder, a universal encourager of merit, he favoured our young printer with his protection, and in 1736 Mr. Henry became related to his patron, by marrying his sister, Miss Mary C. About this period he lived in habits of intimacy with the celebrated Dr. Franklin and the late Mr. Strahan, who, like himself, were both at that time journeymen printers. Soon after his marriage, Mr. H. commenced business at Reading, where he established a provincial newspaper for the use of that town and of Winchester, where he had likewise a printing office. In 1754, we first find his name used in our title pages as a partner at St. John's Gate, where he continued to reside many years with great reputation; and he possessed the freehold property of the Gate, and its appurtenances, at the time of his death. Having been about nine years a widower, and having also lost one only daughter, he, in 1762, married the widow of Mr. Newell, formerly master of the Jerusalem Tavern; and by this lady, who survives him, has left one son, David Henry, Esq., who has been some years a lieutenant in the East India Company's service, on the Bengal establishment; and one daughter ———. The literary labours of Mr. Henry would reflect much credit on his memory, if an accurate list of them could be obtained; but his modest merit ever disclaimed the just praise which talents and modesty like his

deserved. The only printed volume, that we recollect, which bears his name, was an admirable compilation (whilst he lived at Reading) under the patronage of Dr. Bolton, Dean of Carlisle, intituled, 'Twenty Discourses on the most Important Subjects, carefully abridged from the Works of the late Archbishop Tillotson, and adapted to the meanest capacities, with a View to their being dispersed by those who are charitably inclined;' of which a second edition was published in 1763, and a fourth in 1779. 'The motive,' says Mr. H., 'that I had to abridge these most valuable compositions was, that I might spread them, that I might make them the more easily purchased, and thereby the more generally read. Few of my readers are likely to acknowledge the pains I have taken. Praise indeed, of any kind, is not to be expected from a work of this nature. The most it has to hope is, that it may escape censure. If I have furnished any occasion for a just one, I have this to say in my excuse, that no care was wanting in me to avoid it.' Those useful and popular publications, which describe the curiosities in Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Church, and the Tower of London, were originally compiled by Mr. Henry, and have been improved by him through many successive impressions. One of the principal amusements of his life was the study of agriculture, which he understood from practice as well as theory. During his residence at Reading the management of his newspaper occasioned him many long journeys, in all which he treasured up great stores of useful information; and on his quitting St. John's Gate he occupied a considerable farm at Beckenham in Kent. The result of these observations he gave to the publick in 1772, under the title of 'The Complete English Farmer; or, a Practical System of Husbandry; in which is comprised a General View of the whole Art of Husbandry.' But from this he withheld his name; as he did also from 'An Historical Account of all the Voyages Round the World, performed by English Navigators,' in four volumes, 8vo., 1774, of which the first and second were compiled by Mr. H.; the third and fourth by another hand; to which, in 1775, Mr. H. added a fifth, containing Capt. Cooke's voyage in the Resolution; and, in 1786, a sixth, containing the last voyage of Capt. Cooke; introduced by an admirable summary of all the voyages, undertaken for *discovery only*, in both the southern and northern hemispheres, and in the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Of the more immediate productions of his pen in our Miscellany, the enumeration would be endless; but we may be allowed to suggest, that in every line he wrote is demonstrated a rectitude of heart, and a soundness of understanding, particularly in the general politicks of every quarter of the globe, that will not easily be surpassed; and that his death, though at a ripe old age, is truly lamented by all who had the happiness of his acquaintance. By himself it was foreseen with a confidence which the *mens conscia recti* alone could inspire. With a look of inexpressible benevolence, not many hours before his departure, he squeezed the hand which now records his loss, declaring his entire resignation to the divine pleasure. 'My death warrant,' he said, 'is signed; and I have no dread of dissolution. Why should we fear?' Then, calmly reclining back his head, he placidly repeated, 'I will lie down, and die.' His remains, attended by a small party of select friends, were placed, on the 13th, in the vicar's vault under the church of Lewisham."

In the second part of the same volume, page 671, we read that "Mr. Henry was born at a place called Fovron, about sixteen miles from Aberdeen. As his father lived in a genteel style, and was at great pains to instruct his children, young H. was put to the college of Aberdeen, but left it, and went to London, in his fourteenth year, much to his father's regret, being a favourite son, and it was the old man's wish that he should be a clergyman. Several of his relations, desirous also to try their fortune, went to America, where they acquired considerable property; and in Virginia, where several of them are settled, their name is held in reverence. Patrick Henry, Esq., son of John H. (a first cousin of our printer), was the first governor of Virginia after the late memorable revolution, and next in fame there to the illustrious Washington."

At page 697 we read:—"Besides the small treatises about the Tower, St. Paul's, &c. Mr. H. was the author of a small book, in two volumes, 18mo, intituled 'The Tell-tale; or, Anecdotes, Stories,' &c. This small work . . . shews him to be a man of good abilities and good taste, with a mind well stored, and who, in all his writing, never forgot the instructive moral. He was also, in 1758 or 1759, the principal writer, editor, and proprietor of a monthly publication, intituled 'The

Grand Magazine of Magazines.' At this period 'The Gentleman's Magazine' was in very high repute, and a large number sold, more than any other monthly publication. This success drew forth many competitors. Mr. H., to guard his old favourite work, or to have a share of the prevailing humour for magazines, came out with a work which was to outstrip them all, which he called 'The Grand Magazine of Magazines,' printed for Kinnersley, St. Paul's-churchyard; in which, according to the old phrase, there was 'more in quantity, and greater variety, than in any other magazine now published:' which was really the case here; for this magazine had five or six plates in each number, while none of the others had more than three. There was also more printing for the money by three or four half-sheets. From the very nature of such a warfare of magazines as this, it could neither last long, nor be very profitable. But, if any person benefited by it . . . it was . . . Mr. H., for he carried it on about twelve or fourteen months without much loss, silenced all his contemporaries, then dropped it, and stuck to his old favourite, 'The Gentleman's.'"

PAGE 232.

James Basire, the engraver, was born in London in 1740; little is known of the circumstances of his life. He engraved the following plates:—Captain Cook, after Hodges; J. Basire, sc., 1777. Lady Stanhope, as the Fair Penitent; after B. Wilson, 1772. Lord Camden; after Reynolds. Orestes and Pylades before Iphigenia; after West. The Field of the Golden Cloth, or the Interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I.; after the picture at Windsor, engraved in 1774; the largest print that had then been engraved on one plate, about twenty-seven inches by forty-seven inches.[1] In "Literary Anecdotes" is an account of James Basire, and accompanying it is a spirited portrait of him engraved by his son.

The following obituary notice of James Basire, son of the above, appears in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1822, vol. xcii., part I., page 474:—

"May 13th, at Chigwell Wells, aged 52, Mr. James Basire, engraver to the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. His grandfather, Mr. Isaac Basire, and his father, Mr. James Basire, were of the same profession. The latter was particularly eminent; and a good portrait and memoir of him are given in Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes.' The ingenuity and integrity of the elder James were inherited by the late Mr. Basire, who was his eldest son by his second wife (still living, at a great age), and was born Nov. 12, 1769. Of the late Mr. Basire's works, it may be sufficient to notice his splendid engravings for the Society of Antiquaries, particularly the English Cathedrals, after the drawings of Mr. John Carter, F.S.A. For several years he has been the person principally entrusted with the engravings of the numerous plates illustrative of the various Parliamentary records and reports. His unaffected diffidence was not his least merit, and he was deservedly a great favourite with all who knew his talents, particularly with that eminent antiquary the late Richard Gough, Esq., who bequeathed to him a legacy of £500. He married May 1, 1795, Mary Cox, by whom he had several children; of whom the eldest, a third James Basire, is his father's successor in business, and has given several proofs of superior excellence in the arts of drawing and engraving. Ill health had compelled him of late years to leave much of the laborious part of his business to his son, and to retire into the country."

PAGE 215.

In Boswell's "Life of Johnson" (National Illustrated Library, 1851, page 282), is a drawing of Johnson's chair, drawn by Miss Reynolds, daughter of Sir Joshua Reynolds. This chair was in the doctor's chambers, not at St. John's Gate.

PAGE 248.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610, *temp.* James I., mention is made of a grant dated November 22nd, 1604, to Sir Roger Wilbraham, of the gate-house of St. John's House, for life, subject to the proviso of an increase of rent.

[1] Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, 1817.

In "Notes and Queries," 2nd s., xii., p. 70, was the following query by Messrs. C. H. and Thompson Cooper, of Cambridge:—"Sir Roger Wilbraham, surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and sometime Solicitor-General of Ireland, who died 19th July, 1616, and is buried at Hadley, in Middlesex, left three daughters. Elizabeth, the second, married Sir Thomas Wilbraham, of Woodhey, in Cheshire, Knight and Baronet. We desire information touching the other daughters and their mother." At page 138 of the same volume is the following communication by Messrs. Cooper:—"Our query has produced most friendly letters from Dr. Ormerod, the venerable historian of Cheshire, and the Rev. Delves Broughton. The latter gentleman has furnished us with a copy of the inscription on Sir Roger Wilbraham's monument at Hadley, part only of which is given in Le Neve's 'Monumenta Anglicana.' From these communications we derive the following information respecting Sir Roger Wilbraham:—

"1. He was born in or about 1554, being second son of Richard Wilbraham, of Nantwich, Esq., by his wife Eliza, daughter of Thomas Maisterson, Esq., of the same place. 2. By Privy seal, dated 11 Feb., 1585-6, he was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland, his patent for the office being dated Dublin, 19 April following. 3. He was sworn one of the masters of requests in ordinary in 1600. 4. His patent as Solicitor-General of Ireland was revoked in 1603. 5. He married Mary, daughter of Edward Baber, Serjeant-at-Law. 6. His *eldest* daughter Mary was the first wife of Sir Thomas Pelham (Collins and others following him call her the third daughter). 7. His youngest daughter Catherine was the first wife of Sir Henry Delves, Knt. (afterwards Bart.), to whom she was married at Wyburnbury, Cheshire, 21 May, 1620, being buried there 28th (or 23rd) August, 1630. 8. His widow became the second wife of Sir Thomas Delves, Bart., and was buried at Wyburnbury, 6 Jan., 1644-5."

Sir Roger Wilbraham was of Christ's College, Cambridge, but he took no degree. In "Notes and Queries," 3rd s., iv., p. 380, is a communication by Mr. T. Hughes, of Chester:—

"Sir Roger Wilbraham, of Bridgmore, was born in or about 1553, as he was in his fiftieth year when his portrait, still existing at Delamere House, in this county, was painted in 1602. He was admitted of Gray's Inn in 1586. The following memorandum, under his father's hand, gives the date of his appointment as Irish Solicitor-General:—'That Roger Wilbraham, my son, being appointed her Matie's Solycitor-General for the realme of Ireland, the viijth of Februarie, 1585, did take his journey towards the same realme from Namptwiche the iij. of March, 1585, and in the xxviijth year of the reigne of our most gracious ladye Queene Elizabeth, whom I beseeche God longe to p'serve in helth, welth, joy and felycitie, and prosper and blesse hym in this her Matie's servyce. Amen.' The same authority goes on to say:—'Upon the ascension of or Lorde, being the firste day of Maye, 1600, and in the xiijth year of her Matie, it pleased her grace to bestow upon my son Roger Wilbraham the offyce to be one of the Maysters of Requestes. God p'serve her highness, and give him grace for to serve hym and her Matie, to God his glory and her lykyng. Amen. My sayd son was maryede in Januarie last past before the date heroff, in a° 1599. Marie Wilbraham, daughter of my sayd son Roger Wilbraham, was borne at Sainte John's in Smythfylde, the seventh day of October, 1600, a° Reginæ Elizabeth xiij.' A pedigree of Randle Holmes names his daughter Katherine as the wife of Sir Thomas Delves, but this is manifestly an error. Sir Thomas married the *mother*, and Sir Henry (his son) the *daughter*, as is clearly set forth in the pedigree still extant in the College of Arms. The date of Sir Roger's death is variously stated, the Messrs Cooper giving it as July 19, 1616. The portrait already referred to has inscribed thereon, 'Obiit. xii. Julii. 1610;' but there exists at Delamere House a MS. note by Mr. Thomas Wilbraham (nephew of Sir Roger), to the effect that 'Sir Roger Wilbraham, my uncle, one of the Masters of Requests, and Surveyor of the Court of Wards, died the *last* of July, 1616.' The Messrs. Cooper will know better than I do whether Sir Roger published any legal or other works; but, I may add, that there is at Delamere a MS. volume of his, apparently written with much care, consisting of an abridgment of 'Dyer,' and other like matters."

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1829, vol. xcix., part 1, page 569, is an account of the death, in February, 1829, of Roger Wilbraham, who descended from Richard Wilbraham, who died Common Sergeant of London in 1601, and whose brother, Sir Roger, resided at St. John's-gate, as before mentioned, in the same rooms in which, at a subsequent period, the "Gentleman's Magazine" was first produced. The Wilbraham pedigree appears in Ormerod's "Cheshire," vol. ii., page 65.

PAGE 249.

At pages 249, 250, and 252, mention is made of Richard Savage's visits to St. John's-gate. This author was born on January 10th, 1697-98. His mother is alleged to have been the Countess of

Macclesfield, the wife of Charles Gerard, second Earl of Macclesfield.[1] It is said that she had during her pregnancy made a public avowal of her infidelity to her husband, who, in consequence, obtained an Act of Parliament, by which their marriage was annulled, and the offspring rendered illegitimate. She afterwards married Colonel Brett. Lord Rivers, who was declared by Lady Macclesfield, it is said, to be the father of her son, so far recognised him as to become his godfather, and to allow him to be called by his name, but he afterwards abandoned him to the care of his mother. The countess disowned the unhappy child, leaving him to pass his infancy and boyhood under the precarious protection of strangers; and had it not been for the charitable intervention of her mother, Lady Mason, the destiny of Savage would probably have been as obscure as the most unnatural parent could have wished. By the kindness of this lady he was sent to a small grammar-school, near St. Alban's, and afterwards placed by his mother with a shoemaker in London. Soon after this, by the accidental discovery of some papers, he became acquainted with the circumstances of his birth, which had been studiously concealed from him; and he made many efforts to obtain an interview with his alleged mother, who, however, resolutely refused to see him. While very young, Savage commenced his career as an author by taking part in the Bangorian controversy, on which he wrote an unsuccessful poem, afterwards suppressed by himself. At the age of eighteen he published a comedy, called "Woman's a Riddle," and two years afterwards another, "Love in a Veil," both borrowed from the Spanish. Though these were failures, he thereby obtained the notice of Sir Richard Steele, and Wilks, an actor.

Dr. Doran says that Bullock produced a comedy, which he was accused of stealing from a manuscript by Savage, "Woman's a Riddle." "It is a long, coarse farce, in which the most decent incident is the hanging of Sir Amorous Vainwit, from a balcony, as he is trying to escape in woman's clothes, which are caught by a hook, and beneath which a footman stands with a flambeau. We learn, too, from this comedy, that young ladies carried snuff-boxes in those days."[2] Dr. Doran, writing of the year 1717-18, says:—"Not twenty years had elapsed since this luckless and heartless young vagabond was born, in Fox-court, Gray's Inn-lane, his unknown mother, but not that light lady, the Countess of Macclesfield, wearing a mask. Savage had passed from a shoemaker's shop to the streets, had written a poem on the Bangorian controversy, had adapted a play translated from the Spanish, by the wife of Mr. Baron Price, and which Bullock re-adapted and produced at Drury Lane before Savage could get his own accepted. "Love in a Veil" seems to have been founded on an incident in the Spanish comedy; but, however this may be, it failed to obtain the public approval. The author, however, did not altogether fail; generous Wilks patronised the boy, and Steele, befriending a lad of parts, designed to give him £1,000, which he had not got, with the hand of a natural daughter, whom the young and wayward poet did not get."[3] Savage became better known as an author by his tragedy of "Sir Thomas Overbury," in which he himself acted, very indifferently, the part of Sir Thomas Overbury, in the summer season of 1722-23, at Drury Lane theatre; and the profits of this play, and of a subscription raised for him at the time, produced a sum which appeared considerable to one so necessitous. Writing of the period when Savage's play was produced, Dr. Doran says:—"At this time the hapless young man was not widely known, except to those friends on whose charity he lived while he abused it. Favoured by Wilks, and patronised by Theophilus Cibber, the ragged, rakish fellow, slunk at nights into the theatre, and by days lounged where he could, composing his tragedy on scraps of paper. In producing it, ever-ready Aaron Hill assisted him; and his profits, amounting to about £200, gave him a temporary appearance of respectability. Savage is said to have been deeply ashamed of having turned actor; but it seems to me that he was only ashamed of having failed. He had neither voice, figure, nor any other qualification for such a profession. The tragedy lived but three days. There is something adroit in the conduct of the plot, and evidence of correctness of conjecture as to the truth of the relations between Overbury and Lady Somerset, but there was no vitality therewith; and the poet gained no lasting fame by the effort."[4] In the year 1727, Savage's irregular habits of life led him into one of the tavern broils then very common, in

[1] As to Richard Savage's parentage, *vide Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xiii., new series, part I., page 596.
[2] Doran's *Their Majesties' Servants*, vol. i., p. 322. [3] *Ibid*, vol. i.. p, 323. [4] *Ibid*, vol. i., p. 349.

which he unfortunately killed a man, and was tried and condemned to death. The circumstances of the affair, and the doubtful character of the witnesses who appeared against him, becoming generally known after his sentence, intercession was made for him with the Queen of George II. by the Countess of Hertford, and the Royal pardon was granted to him, in spite of the efforts of his alleged mother, who on this occasion, it is said, spread a report that he had once attempted her own life.

The notoriety of this event was succeeded by an extraordinary reaction of public opinion in his favour; he was courted by all ranks, the fashions of the day were ruled by his opinions, and he was enabled to maintain an appearance in society above his station by means of an annuity of £200 a year obtained from his so-called mother's relations, under the threat that he would expose her cruelty by lampoons if she refused to support him. At this time he published his longest poem, the "Wanderer," which was much admired at the time.

Prosperity made more apparent that fickleness of character which led him into extravagance and alienated his friends from him. His fair prospects were soon for ever clouded by a quarrel with his patron, Lord Tyrconnel, who accused him of ingratitude, and banished him from his house. His acquaintance in consequence generally deserted him, and he sank into obscure poverty as suddenly as he had emerged from it. The remainder of his life was passed in discreditable efforts to regain his position in society by alternately flattering and satirising all from whom he had anything to hope or fear. In despair of ever conciliating his reputed mother, he published "The Bastard," the severity of which drew down upon her much public indignation, though it does not seem to have re-awakened sympathy in favour of the author. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the situation of poet-laureate, Savage received from the Queen a pension of £50 a year as a reward for a poem in honour of her birthday, which his gratitude renewed annually from this time till her death, when the royal bounty was withdrawn from him. Having made no provision for such a contingency, he was obliged, from his necessities, to leave London in the year 1739, retiring first to Bristol and then to Swansea, where he lived for about a year, receiving an allowance raised by subscription among his friends. In January 1742-43, on his return to Bristol, he was arrested for a debt of £8, and sent to prison in that city, where he died, on the 31st of July, 1743. Dr. Doran says that Mrs. Oldfield, the illustrious comedy actress, gave fifty guineas annually "to that most contemptibly helpless personage, Savage."

The name of Savage has become better known than his merits deserve, from the singularity of his early misfortunes, and still more from the elaborate life of him which Johnson, the companion of his distresses, has inserted in his "Lives of the Poets." This memoir is interesting not only as a most faithful picture of the adventurous career of Savage and of the manners of his age, but because it exhibits very strikingly the chief excellences and defects of the author as a biographer and a critic. The writings of Savage are in unison with his character. The carelessness and want of system in his graver compositions, the frivolity in the choice and treatment of lighter subjects, his unchastened style, feeble in its vehemence, illustrate the strength of feeling and passion, the infirmity of purpose, the thoughtless improvidence, and want of settled principles of conduct, which made the actions of Savage as inconsistent as his fortune was chequered. In his "Wanderer," he declaims without the moral dignity of a didactic writer, his versification is harsh, his descriptions are tedious, and the whole poem is ill-arranged and thronged with confused imagery. Savage made enemies as readily as friends, and he testified his resentment by satires full of coarse personal invective. From this general censure of the works of Savage, "The Bastard" is in a great measure to be excepted. Strong natural feelings, goaded by a sense of undeserved wrongs, gave to this poem a concentrated energy of expression, a refinement of sarcasm, and an exalted tone of thought, of which there are only faint traces in his other writings.[1]

PAGE 250.

Walter Harte, who is mentioned at this page, was educated at Marlborough School and Oxford. The dates of his birth and academic life are uncertain; he seems to have been born about 1700, and

[1] *English Cyclopædia*, Biography

to have graduated as M.A. of St. Mary Hall on the 21st of January, 1730, according to the "Catalogue of Oxford Graduates." At an early age he became acquainted with Pope, whose style he imitated; and in return the great poet corrected his admirer's verses. With this advantage, Harte published "Poems on Several Occasions," 1727; "Essay on Satire," 1730; "Essay on Reason," 1735, to which Pope is said to have contributed very considerably; "Essay on Painting," date unmentioned; "The Amaranth," 1767, his last work. As a poet, however, he is not distinguished from other once successful but now forgotten imitators; but he has made a valuable addition to our literature in his "History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus," 2 vols. 4to., 1759; re-published in 8vo., corrected and improved, in 1763. An affected, harsh, and pedantic style has done much to throw discredit and neglect on this laborious and able work. It was translated into German, with preface, notes, and corrections, by J. Gottl. Böhme. Harte left unfinished, in manuscript, a "History of the Thirty Years' War." The account of his life is soon told. He took orders, acquired reputation as a preacher, was appointed principal of St. Mary Hall, and through the interest of Lord Chesterfield, whose son's tutor he had been, canon of Windsor. He died at Bath in 1774.[1]

At pages 250 and 252 mention is made of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, her works, and her visits to St. John's-gate. This talented lady was the daughter of Dr. Nicholas Carter, an eminent Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar, one of the six preachers in Canterbury Cathedral, and perpetual curate of Deal, in Kent, for more than fifty-six years, where he died in October, 1774.[2] His daughter Elizabeth was born there December 16th or 17th, 1717. Her mother, a Dorsetshire heiress of the name of Swayne, was supposed to have shortened her life by repining over the loss of her fortune, which had been invested in the South Sea Stock. Elizabeth was educated by her father, who made no distinction between her and her brothers. Though slow at first, she afterwards made rapid progress in the learned languages, to which she added Italian, German, Spanish, and French. She acquired the last in the house of a Protestant refugee minister, and the three former by her own exertions. Her proficiency in these studies did not lead her to neglect needlework, music, or the other accomplishments common to her sex. Miss Carter's earliest productions appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine," under the signature of "Eliza." In 1738 she published some poems in a very thin quarto volume, which were succeeded in the year following by a translation of some strictures by Crousaz, on Pope's "Essay on Man." In the same year she translated from the Italian of Algarotti "An Explanation of Newton's Philosophy, for the use of Ladies, in Six Dialogues on Light and Colours." These publications appearing before their author was twenty-two gave her immediate celebrity, and brought her into correspondence with most of the learned of that day. Among others may be mentioned Bishop Butler, the author of the "Analogy;" Dr. Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, and Archbishop Secker; Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Burke. In the midst of her literary occupations she undertook the task of entirely educating her youngest brother for the university, and performed it so as to merit the encomium of his examiners upon his admission. During her intervals of leisure she translated Epictetus from the original Greek for the amusement of her friend Miss Talbot (a relation of Lord Chancellor Talbot), to whom the sheets were sent as they were finished, and shown to Archbishop Secker, who took an interest in the progress of the work. In compliance with the wishes of her friends, she sent her translation to the press, and on its publication the literary journals at home and abroad were full of her praise. Dr. Johnson availed himself of her pen for a paper (No. 44) for the "Rambler." Of her learning he thought so highly as to say, when speaking of an eminent scholar, that "he understood Greek better than any one whom he had ever known except Elizabeth Carter." This learned lady was never married. She lived to the age of eighty-nine, having died in February, 1806, at her lodgings in Clarges-street, London, leaving behind her a character adorned by finer qualities than even those of a highly cultivated understanding.[3] Shortly after her death her nephew, the Rev. Montague Pennington, vicar of Northborne, in Kent, published "Memoirs of her Life," with a new edition of her poems, &c., in quarto. Her biographer says, "Hers, indeed,

[1] *English Cyclopædia*, Biography. For further particulars relative to Walter Harte, *vide Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxix., part II., pages 827, 1018, 1178; vol. lxx., part I., pages 31, 304, 408; part II., pages 737, 812.

[2] Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*, Kent, vol. viii., p. 1020.

[3] *English Cyclopædia*, Biography.

were not merely the ordinary attainments of a female writer, nor even of a second-rate scholar of the more learned sex; but her learning was sound, deep, and critical; her knowledge general, and her taste pure and classical. All that she understood, she understood thoroughly; and what she had once known she never forgot. Her acquaintance with both dead and living languages was such as is seldom met with in one person; perhaps no scholar of the present age knew so many, and so well, the late Sir William Jones only excepted. Like that eminent linguist, too, she particularly delighted in Greek, and was more completely mistress of that language than she was of any other. Hebrew and Latin she understood well; and Arabic enough to read it tolerably, and to add, in a manuscript dictionary of her own in that difficult language, many different meanings of words and their combinations. Of the modern tongues she was acquainted with French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Portuguese. Her knowledge of ancient and modern history was equally exact and extensive; of the sciences, astronomy was her favourite study, and in that she had made a very considerable progress." Brayley says, "Her poems are much celebrated, and deservedly so: some of them display as beautiful examples of fine composition, elegant taste, and propriety of moral sentiment, as can possibly be paralleled. Her humility and benevolence were equal to her learning; and in her breast, if it be allowable to give a summary of her character in a single phrase, the Christian virtues were enshrined."

Dr. Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, wrote the following letter to Elizabeth Carter, on the promotion of her nephew:—

"January 4, 1798.

"Madam,—Although you and I have long been very good friends, I do not think I ever had the gallantry to present you with a new year's gift. I now wish to mend my manners in this respect; and as we are both of us a little past our prime, it would not suit either of us to wait very long for anything. I will, therefore, enter upon a new course (as all penitents ought to do) without delay; and I will, in one respect at least, begin the year well, by desiring you to accept, as a new year's gift, the living of Thorley, in Hertfordshire, for your nephew, Mr. Pennington. In offering you this benefice, I have more than one source of gratification. I have the satisfaction, in the first place, of giving competence and comfort to a worthy young man, whose exemplary conduct, and attention to his parochial duties, are highly spoken of by his parishioners. And I have also the great pleasure of testifying my regard for a most excellent lady, whom I have long known and revereneed; whose talents, learning, and piety, are an honour to her sex, and to the age in which she lives; and who is the oldest and most intimate surviving friend of my revered patron and benefactor, Archbishop Seeker. Were he now living, he would not, I think, be displeased with this mark of my attention to one whom I know he highly esteemed and loved.—I am, madam, &c.,

"Beilby London."

An obituary notice of Elizabeth Carter will be found in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1806, vol. lxxvi., part I., p. 190.

John Hawkesworth, LL.D., who is mentioned at page 250, was a successful writer of the last century. The date of his birth (1715 or 1719) and the occupations of his early life are variously stated. He was bred to some mechanical occupation, and therefore deserves the more credit for his talent and industry in supplying the defects of a rude and illiterate education. He was originally "a hired clerk to one Harwood, an attorney, in Grocer's-alley, in the Poultry."[1] His first appearance was as a contributor to the "Gentleman's Magazine," in which he succeeded Dr. Johnson as compiler of the Parliamentary debates in 1744. In 1752, encouraged by the success of the "Rambler," he undertook, assisted by Johnson, Warton, and one or two others, a series of essays, called the "Adventurer." They extended to the number of one hundred and forty (seventy of which are ascribed to Hawkesworth himself), were received with great approbation, and contributed much to the increase of his reputation and friends. Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, was so much pleased with the work, that he procured a degree in civil law for the conductor, on December 4th, 1756. In 1761 he published an edition of Swift, with a life prefixed, to the merits of which Dr. Johnson has borne handsome testimony in his "Lives of the Poets." On the return of Captain Cook from his first voyage of discovery in the South Seas, it being thought desirable to entrust the task of compiling an account of

[1] Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, p. 221.

the voyage to a literary man rather than to one of the travellers, Dr. Hawkesworth's reputation as an able writer obtained for him the commission. He completed the task in three vols. 4to., 1773, illustrated with maps and plates at the expense of Government, including the prior voyages of discovery of Byron, and of Wallace and Carteret, and received for recompense the liberal sum of £6,000. The work, however, did not give satisfaction: the warmth of his descriptions of manners, in some respects, was thought to verge upon immorality; and exceptions were taken to some religious speculations, which were at any rate very much out of place. The chagrin occasioned by these censures is said to have shortened the author's life, but as he died in November of the same year the statement is probably incorrect; the effect of criticism on a practised author is seldom so rapid and deadly. The accounts of Cook's subsequent voyages were written by Cook himself, and gained more in simplicity and correctness than they lost in literary elegance. Dr. Hawkesworth translated "Telemachus," and wrote "Almoran and Hamet," an eastern romance, which was much admired. He was a regular contributor to the "Gentleman's Magazine." He was a great imitator of the style of Johnson, but he wanted depth and range of thought to support his weighty words.[1] Dr. Hawkesworth resided for a long time at Bromley, in Kent, from which place he on the 14th of December, 1748, dated a letter to a young lady on leaving school, which letter has been published; and is elegant in style and noteworthy for its advice. In Bromley Church is a monument to the doctor's memory. His portrait, engraved by J. Hall, is prefixed to the "Adventurer," 12mo., and another was published, representing the doctor in the act of writing, from a painting by J. Reynolds, engraved by J. Watson.

At page 250 mention is made of Jedediah Buxton, the great mental calculator. To our account of him we may add the following:—He multiplied a sum of 39 places of figures into itself, and even conversed whilst performing it. His memory was so great, that he could leave off and resume the operation at the distant period of a week, or even several months. He said that he was *drunk* once with reckoning by memory from May 17th until June 16th; and then recovered after sleeping soundly for seven hours. The question which occupied him so intensely was the reduction of a cube of upwards of two hundred millions of miles into barley-corns, and then into hairs' breadths of an inch in length. He kept an account of all the beer which he had drunk for forty years, which was equal to five thousand one hundred and sixteen pints. Of these two thousand one hundred and thirty were drunk at the Duke of Kingston's, and only ten at his own house. There was a painting of Buxton at Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire.[2]

PAGE 254.

At this page mention is made of Moses Browne, a contributor to the "Gentleman's Magazine." In Brayley's "Beauties of England and Wales," Kent, vol. viii., page 516, under his description of Morden College, Blackheath, we read:—"The Rev. Moses Browne, author of 'Piscatory Eclogues,' 'All-Bedevilled,' and other pieces, was a chaplain to this College, and was buried here, at the age of eighty-two,[3] in September, 1787." We have now before us a small work by this author, containing two hundred pages, and entitled, "Sunday Thoughts. Adapted to the various intervals of the Christian Sabbath, and its different exercises, duties, and employments. In four parts. I. The morning's meditating walk. II. The public closet and family duties. III. Evening employment on the subsequent closing duties. IV. The night-watches, with occasional night-songs. The fourth part entirely new, now first published, and fully compleats the subject. With some principal passages introduced of the author's early life. By the Rev. Moses Browne, Chaplain of Morden College, Blackheath, and Vicar of Olney, Bucks. The fourth edition, with his last corrections and improvements. Hic cæstus artemque repono. Virg. London: Printed only for the author, and

[1] *English Cyclopædia*, Biography. [2] *Mirror*, vol. xviii., p. 295.
[3] This should be eighty-four, for Browne was born in 1703.

sold at his house, No. 6, Grange-court, Carey-street, Lincoln's Inn. And may be had of J. Buckland, Paternoster-row; C. Dilly, Poultry; Mathews, Strand; and J. Walter, Charing Cross. MDCCLXXXI. Price 2s. 6d., in cover; bound, 3s." This work was "dedicated to her grace Frances, (late) Dutchess Dowager of Somerset." At the end of it is this advertisement:—

"The following books, of the same author, are also sold at his house (No. 6) Grange Court. A translation (at the recommendation and earnest desire of the late Rev. and Eminent James Hervey, M.A.), on the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ. As a right, easy, and happy way of coming to a true, constant strength and establishment in the Christian life. By the Rev. J. L. Zimmerman, Professor of Divinity in the University of Hall, in Saxony. With an extract of the celebrated Professor Franck on the subject. To which is added, in two parts (by way of illustration, practical direction, and use), experiences and evidences of a very valuable Divine deceased. (Left collected by himself.) The third edition, sewed in covers, 2s. 6d. Likewise, a few remaining copies of Piscatory Eclogues. A new attempt to introduce a more pleasing variety and mixture of subjects and characters into Pastoral. On the plan of its primitive rules and manners. Suited to the entertainments of retirement, and the lovers of nature in rural scenes. With an essay in defence of this undertaking. The third edition, corrected, and very much improved. Price, sewed, 2s.; bound, 2s. 6d."

The "Piscatory Eclogues" were published at the suggestion of Dr. Johnson. Browne was for some time curate of the Rev. James Hervey, author of "Meditations." In 1723, Browne published a tragedy, entitled "Polidus," the scene of which was laid in Cyprus. The lover of Polidus, "the banished general," and Rosetta, daughter to Orlont, chief favourite to the King, form the groundwork of the plot. The tragedy had appended to it the farce of "All Bedevil'd; or, the House in a Hurry."

PAGE 259.

Anthony Middleton, a clergyman and missioner in England, was seized at a house in Clerkenwell, May 3rd, 1590, and was brought to his trial at the same time with Edward Jones, a gentleman of the same character. His indictment was for receiving orders and remaining in England. He owned the charge, and said only in his defence, that the law being directly against the law of God, he did not look upon himself obliged to observe it. He was executed at Clerkenwell, June, 1599.[1]

PAGE 268.

A mezzotinto portrait of Christopher Pinchbeck, by Faber, from a painting by Wood, was published. It represents Pinchbeck with an open watch in his hand. His portrait was also published in his shop bill, oval, folio.

PAGE 269.

Thomas Bewick, justly called the reviver of wood engraving, who is mentioned at this page, was born at Cherryburn, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1753. He evinced from his infancy an ability to draw, and was accordingly, at the usual age, apprenticed to Ralph Beilby, an engraver of Newcastle, who had some reputation in that town. Dr. (then Mr.) Hutton consulted Beilby upon the best method of engraving the diagrams to his treatise on mensuration. The engraver strongly recommended that they should be cut in wood, for various reasons, and by Thomas Bewick. Accordingly, in 1770, the work appeared, with complete success; and was followed by several other mathematical works.

Bewick now attempted works of much higher pretensions. He designed a set of illustrations to Gay's Fables; and for one of the cuts, the "Old Hound," he obtained, in 1775, a premium for the

[1] Dodd, vol. ii., p. 113.

best wood engraving offered by the Society of Arts. The work was published in 1779. In 1784 Mr. Saint published a set of "Select Fables," with cuts by Bewick. After these works he commenced, in partnership with his old master, Mr. Beilby, to prepare a "General History of Quadrupeds," which was completed in 1790, went through several editions, and obtained Bewick a great reputation. The designs in this work are by Bewick and his brother John, who was his pupil; and they are all executed with great natural truth, and in a free correct manner. The cuts themselves are superior to anything that was ever done in the same style before, and are inferior only to the best cuts of the present day in mechanical execution and clearness of line. As works of art they still have the advantage. His history of quadrupeds was followed, in 1795, by Goldsmith's "Traveller," and "Deserted Village," Parnell's "Hermit," and Somerville's "Chase." The "Chase" was the last work in which Thomas was assisted by his brother; all the cuts were executed by Thomas, but the designs were by John. John Bewick died of consumption in 1795, aged thirty-five. In 1797 Thomas published the first volume of his "History of British Birds," which is his best serial work: the second volume was published in 1804. This is also the last work he undertook in partnership with Mr. Beilby. They dissolved partnership during its progress.

Bewick had a numerous school, and was latterly much occupied in teaching; and in his last works was greatly assisted by his pupils, of whom Harvey and Clennel have since particularly distinguished themselves in the same line of art.

The most considerable of Bewick's latest works is "The Fables of Æsop and others." He prepared some vignettes for a work on "British Fishes;" but they were not published. His very last work was a cut of an old horse, for the head of a paper against cruelty to animals. He died in 1828, aged seventy-five. His masterpiece is considered to be a large cut of a bull of the ancient Caledonian breed, from Chillingham-park; a proof of this cut on vellum has been sold for twenty guineas. Bewick's services and merits are fully discussed in "The History of Wood Engraving, with Illustrations," by J. Jackson.[1]

The following works, illustrated by Thomas Bewick, were published in Clerkenwell:—About 1780, 12mo., "Mirth without Mischief," containing "The Twelve Days of Christmas," "The Play of the Gaping Wide-mouthed Wadling Frog," "Love and Hatred," "The Art of Talking with the Fingers," and "Nimble Ned's Alphabet and Figures," illustrated by one hundred and twenty-six woodcuts. This work is extremely rare. The frontispiece is a tree of letters:—

Here lads and lasses all repair,
And gather of this fruit so fair,
And those who gather most will find,
'Twill make them wise and feed the mind,
And save them from the birch behind.

In 1804, 18mo., Mrs. Pilkington's "Mirror for the Female Sex, Historical Beauties for Young Ladies," ornamented with thirty engravings on wood. The vignettes in this work are very interesting. In 1807, 8vo., "The Beauties of History; or, Pictures of Virtue and Vice," ornamented with upwards of thirty engravings on wood. In 1789, Hodgson, of Clerkenwell, published (boards) the first edition of "Emblems of Mortality," with cuts by John Bewick. This work is very rare. It contains fifty cuts, representing Death seizing all ranks and conditions of men.

PAGE 269.

At this page mention is made of Dr. Thomas Birch, the historical and biographical writer. To the information there, and in the following pages given, we add the following:—In his twenty-fourth year, being qualified to take orders, he was ordained in the Established Church without having

[1] *English Cyclopædia*, Biography.

attended either of the universities, a circumstance at that time much less frequent than at present. He owed all his advancement in the Church to the patronage of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, to whom he had been recommended early in life, and who never afterwards lost sight of him. In 1752, he became one of the secretaries of the Royal Society. In 1753, the University of Aberdeen conferred upon him the distinction of Doctor in Divinity; and he received a similar honour on March 9th, in the same year, from Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Birch was most active and indefatigable in his literary pursuits. Distinguished by unwearied industry, rather than by acuteness and discrimination, he accumulated in the course of his life a vast mass of materials of great value to those who possess a superior understanding without the doctor's spirit of laborious research. The first work of importance in which he was engaged was the "General Dictionary, Historical and Critical." It consisted of ten volumes in folio, and included a new translation of Bayle, besides a vast quantity of new matter. The first volume appeared in 1734, and the last in 1741. In 1742 he published "Thurloe's State Papers," in seven volumes, folio. He published "Lives of Archbishop Tillotson and the Hon. Robert Boyle," in a separate form, and edited new editions of their works; also a new edition of Milton's prose works, and the miscellaneous works of Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1744 he commenced a series of biographical memoirs of illustrious persons of Great Britain, for a work published in folio, by Mr. Hawbraken and Mr. Vertue, two artists. Each memoir was accompanied by an engraving of the individual to whom it related. The work was published in numbers; the first volume was completed in 1747, and the second in 1752. In the list of his historical works are—"An Inquiry into the share which King Charles I. had in the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan;" "A View of the Negociations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, from 1592 to 1617, from original documents." The same volume contained a "Relation of the State of France, with the character of Henry IV." In 1753, he published "Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from 1581 to her death;" in 1760, a "Life of Henry Prince of Wales, eldest son of King James I." His last biographical work was "Letters, Speeches, Charges, and Advices of Lord Chancellor Bacon." A sermon, which was preached before the College of Physicians, in 1747, appears to be the only one of his discourses which has been printed. Besides his multifarious labours for the press, he transcribed a great number of volumes in the Lambeth Library. He found time, in addition, for an extensive correspondence, and for the enjoyments of society. He died on January 9th, 1766, not January 5th, 1760, as stated, in error, at page 271.

PAGE 270.

At this page is an engraving of St. John's-gate. This plate represents the gate as restored.[1]

PAGE 271.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for June, 1825, vol. xcv., part II., page 547, are "Lines written on a visit to the deserted Mansion of Compton Wynyate, Warwickshire, a beautiful specimen of the architectural style prevalent in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and for many years the residence of the noble family from which it derives its name, but which, for the last sixty years, has been untenanted, and gradually sinking to decay."

At page 271, *ante*, mention is made of the Compton family. The property of Lady Compton's father, Sir John Spencer, is stated variously from £300,000 to £800,000. Lysons, in his "Environs of London," informs us that a plot was actually laid for carrying off the wealthy merchant from his house at Canonbury, by a pirate of Dunkirk, in the hope of obtaining a large ransom.

Lady Compton's letter to William Lord Compton, her husband, of which we have given a copy at

[1] *Vide* page 217.

page 271, is cited in Bishop Goodman's "Court of King James I.," edited by John S. Brewer, M.A., 1839, vol. ii., p. 127; and is given with important variations in Knight's "London," vol. i., p. 324. Gifford gives an extract in Massinger's "City Madam," act ii., wherein the daughters of Sir John Frugal make somewhat similar stipulations from their suitors. When speaking of this letter as "a modest and consolatory one," Gifford adds, "it is yet extant." The editor of a work entitled "Relics of Literature" (1823), gives it at length with the reference, "Harleian MSS. 7003."

PAGE 279.

Three engraved portraits of Thomas Britton have been published:—1. In Hawkins's "History of Music;" painter, J. Wollaston; engraver, C. Grignion. 2. Mezzotinto; artist, T. Johnson. 3. Mezzotinto, with eight English verses; painter, Wollaston; engraver, Simon. In one taken from Wollaston, Britton is represented tuning a harpsichord, a violin hanging on the side of the room, and shelves of books before him. The sale catalogue of Britton's library consists of forty closely-printed pages in quarto, and entitled "The Library of Mr. Thomas Britton, Small-Coalman: being a Curious Collection of Books in Divinity, History, Physick, and Chimistry, in all volumes; also, an extraordinary Collection of Manuscripts in Latin and English, will be sold by auction, at Tom's Coffee House, adjoyning to Ludgate, on Thursday, the 1st of November (1715), by John Bullord."

In "Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou," published by the Camden Society, 1863, page 63, we find a letter from the king to James Lord Berkeley. The letter is prefaced by the following:—

"This letter is addressed to James Lord Berkeley, nephew and heir to Thomas 12th Baron Berkeley,[1] who died in 1416, leaving an only daughter and heir, Elizabeth, who married Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. As next heir male to the last Baron, James Lord Berkeley claimed Berkeley Castle, but was dispossessed by the Earl of Warwick and his wife, who, although Lord James was found to be the rightful inheritor, still kept possession of the castle against him, nor did they give it up until commanded to do so by King Henry the Fifth.[2] After the death of the king, Lord Warwick again laid siege to Berkeley Castle, and, although, by the interposition of the Bishop of Worcester and sundry gentlemen of the county, he raised the siege, many lives were lost. Through the intervention of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, matters were arranged, and James Baron Berkeley was summoned to Parliament, and continued to be summoned until 1 Edw. IV., 1461. His life appears to have been very far from a quiet one, and he was involved in continual suits, contentions, and quarrels with the three daughters of the Earl of Warwick. Of these, Margaret, the eldest, wife of John Talbot, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, was the most violent. She surprised Berkeley Castle, carried off Lord James and his four sons to Bristol, where she kept them in prison for eleven weeks until they bound themselves to pay £12,280. Notwithstanding these and other exactions, Lord James was not righted. His wife was imprisoned by Lord Shrewsbury, at Gloucester, until her death, in 1452, and two of his sons were forcibly sent abroad, where one (James) died in battle, and the other (Thomas) was taken prisoner. Lady Shrewsbury was able to keep Lord James for two years out of Berkeley Castle, 'and out of the lands and lordships thereto belonging, in the meantime making great spoil and waste upon them.' The whole story is detailed in Dugdale's 'Baronage,' (vol. i., pp. 361-363), and I have abridged it, in order to give the reader an idea of the state of society in England in the 15th century. Lord Warwick died in 1439; Lord Shrewsbury in 1453. I cannot affix a date to the letter; but, powerful as both these noblemen were at the court of Henry VI., it is not too much to suppose that it may have been obtained by one of them as a further means of inflicting injury on Lord Berkeley. This nobleman, who, though much sinned against, was not wholly sinless,[3] died in November, 1463, and is buried under a tomb of alabaster, in a chapel on the south side of the high altar, in the parish church of Berkeley, which chapel he built. (Dugd. Bar. i., 364.)"

[1] Twelfth Baron by tenure, fifth Baron by writ.—Nicolas. *Vide Acts of Privy Council*, vol. ii., p. 286.

[3] On being served with a subpœna to appear in chancery, he not only beat one David Woodburne, the process-server, "but will he nill he inforced the said David to eat the subpœna, wax and parchment."—Smythe's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, in Fosbroke's *Berkeley MSS.*, p. 152. It would have been more tolerable, perhaps, if this nobleman had acted as another contemnor of the Court of Chancery, one Henry Parramore, did, about one hundred and fifty years later. It is recorded of him that he compelled one Pyers Thomas to eat the label of a writ, and "then sent for drinke for him, which he cawsed him to drinke, with cromes of bread in the same." See "Aberforthe *v.* Hall," 25 May, 1598. Reg. Lib. B., 1597., fo. 829.

The following is a copy of the letter referred to :—

"By the Kinge.

"Right trusty and welbelovyd,—We late yow wite that, unto oure greet displesir, we have late understande of the greet attemptats that certain yor servants, and suche other as be drawyng unto yow, have late made, and cesse not yet to make, as hit is saide ; which, if they be not hastily seen unto and remedied, been likely to turne to greet inconvenients and manslaughter, that God defende ; wherfore we, consideringe the premisses, charge yow straitly upon your liegeance that ye commande youre servants, and suche other as be drawyng unto yow, to cesse, and that ye see also that no thing be attempted, which might turne to the breche of oure paix, as ye wol answere unto us, at yor peril. And furthermore we charge yow that, immediate after the receyving of these oure letters, ye comme unto oure presence, as ye wol eschewe our displesir. Yeven at Westmr., the laste day of Feverr., etc.

"To the Lorde Berkeley."

The following letter was written by Lady Berkeley to her husband, while absent from him in London :—

"To my right worshipful and reverend Lord and Husband be these delivered.

"Right Worshipful and Reverend Lord and Husband,—I recommend me to you, with all my whole hart, desiring alwayes to hear of your good welfare, the which God mayntayne and encrease ever to your worship ; and it please you to hear how I fare, Sir, squall and squall. Thomas, Roger, and Jacket have asked surety of peace of mee, for their intent was to bringe me into the Towre ; but, I trust in God, to-morrowe they shall go in bayle unto the next term, and soe to goe home, and then to come agayne ; and, Sur, I trust to God and you will not treat with them, but keep your own in the most manlyest wyse ; yee shall have the land for ones, and was ware of Venables, of Alderly, of Thomas Mull, and all your false counsaill. Keep well your place. The Earl of Shroesbury lyeth right nigh by you, and shapeth all the wyles that he can to distresse you and yours, for he will not meddle with you openly no maner wise, but to be with great falsdome, that he can bringe about to beguile you, or else he causeth that yee have to fewe peopull about you ; then will he set on you ; for he sayeth I will never come to the king agayne till he have done you an ill turne. Sur, your matter speedeth, and right well, save my costeth great good. For the reverence of God, send money, or else I must lay my horse to pledge, and come home on my fete. Keep well all about you till I come home, and trete not without mee, and then all things shall be well, with the grace of Almighty God, who have you in his keeping. Written at London, the Wednesday next afore Whit-Sunday.

"Your Wife, the Lady of Berkeley."[1]

PAGE 281.

Early in the year 1864, the Metropolitan Board of Works ordered Goswell-street and Goswell-road to be named Goswell-road throughout, and thereby abolished the name of Goswell-street.

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1800, under date Friday, January 24th :—"A fire broke out in a lodging-house in Goswell-street ; and an ostler's wife carrying her two children under her arm, was obliged to drop them in getting out of the window, and they both perished. Other persons with difficulty escaped."

In the same work for 1801, under date January 11th, we find a singular accident recorded :—

"This morning, between two and three, the inhabitants of Goswell-place were much alarmed by a dreadful explosion, which occasioned several persons to start from their beds greatly terrified. Upon enquiring into the cause, it appeared to have proceeded from Mr. Eldridge's brass foundery, situated at the bottom of the place, whose men had been employed all night in melting down old pieces of ordnance, in one of which was a charge of powder and ball. When heated it exploded, and the ball went through the gates of the premises, right over Mr. Holmes's garden ground, Goswell-street-road, and entered a house in Brackley-street, near Bridgewater-gardens, a distance of about half a mile, without doing any material damage. The shock was so great from the explosion, as to shatter the back windows of two or three adjacent houses ; the ball was an 18-pounder."

Malcolm, by way of an illustrative contrast, has given in his "Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London," a view of two old houses, which had been erected in or before the reign of

[1] Fosbroke, *Berkeley Manuscripts*, p. 153.

Elizabeth, and were standing in Goswell-street in the year 1807. Next adjoining was a dwelling-house which had been built in the year 1800, and this juxta-position shows the difference in London architecture in about two hundred and fifty years, or, as Malcolm calls it, "ancient inconvenience contrasted with modern convenience." The style of the old houses was the projecting one; that is, one storey hanging over another. They had small casemated windows, or holes in the wall, and an anti-perpendicularity, which would stagger the prim propriety of architecture of these times. The three storeys of the new house were equal in height to the four storeys of the old buildings. The rooms in the latter must have been inconveniently low, and they remind us of a passage in Sir William Davenant's picture of ancient London, wherein he says, "The roofs (ceilings) of your houses are so low that I presume your ancestors were very mannerly, and stood bare to their wives, for I cannot discern how they could wear their high-crowned hats." Malcolm's conclusion to the letterpress accompanying his print is, "Heaven be praised, old London was burnt. Good reader, turn to the views, in order to see what it has been; observe those hovels convulsed; imagine the chambers within them, and wonder why the plague, the leprosy, and the sweating-sickness raged. Turn then to the print (also) illustrative of our present dwellings, and be happy." Malcolm's print has been copied in the "Mirror," 1833, vol xxii., p. 248.

In the year 1829, was published, by I. Chidley, of No. 151, Goswell-street, "The Elegant Letter Writer; or, a Selection of Epistles, on the most familiar, interesting, and instructive subjects which English literature affords," quarto, pp. 172, price 3s.

PAGE 282.

At this page we have given particulars of some tokens which were issued by tradesmen residing in Goswell-street. The following is a corrected list of such coins:—

Obverse, John Berry at ye in—a trumpet. *Reverse*, Goswell street. 1666.—His halfpeny.

Obverse, at the Botchers Armes—the Butchers' Arms. *Reverse*, in Goswell streete—M. A. C.

Obverse, Michael Cope—His halfpeny. *Reverse*, in Goswell streete—the Butchers' Arms. M. M. C.

Obverse, At ye Whit Lyon in—a lion rampant. *Reverse*, Gooswell street—R. A. F.

PAGE 283.

In the "Stamford Mercury," August 12th, 1728, is the following curious announcement:—"This evening Old Nan, who begged about the streets of London, was buried from her habitation at Mount Mill, near Islington, at Cripplegate Church, by the Company at Exeter Change, about £500 in specie being found in her trunk after her death."

PAGE 289.

A portrait of the racehorse, Eclipse, which is mentioned at this page, together with an account of it, are given in Hone's "Every Day Book," vol. iii., p. 619.

PAGE 293.

"The London Adviser and Guide," &c., by Dr. Trusler, which is mentioned at this page, was "printed for the author, No. 14, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell, and sold by all booksellers," 1786.

For a biographical notice of John Trusler, *vide* the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1820, vol. xc., part II., pages 89 and 120; and the same Magazine, 1854, vol. xli., N. S., p. 114.

In 1806 was published the first part, 4to., two hundred pages, of "The Memoirs of the Life of the

Rev. Dr. Trusler, with his opinions and remarks through a long life, on men and manners, written by himself," printed and published by John Browne, George-street, Bath. This work is full of curious anecdotes of his time. The first part only was published. James Crossley, of Manchester, in a communication to "Notes and Queries," 1st Series, vol. ii., p. 110, says:—"I have the continuation in the Doctor's autograph, which is exceedingly interesting and curious, and full of anecdotes of his contemporaries. It is closely written, in two octavo volumes, and comprises five hundred and fifty-four pages, and appears to have been fully revised for publication. Why it never appeared I do not know. He was a very curious and ingenious man, and wrote upon everything, from farriery to carving. With life in all its varieties he was perfectly acquainted, and had personally known almost every eminent man of his day. He had experienced every variety of fortune, but seems to have died in very reduced circumstances." At the end of his published memoirs he advertised a proposed dictionary, to be called "Sententiæ Variorum." This work was published under the following title:—"Detached Philosophic Thoughts of near three hundred of the best writers, ancient and modern, on Man, Life, Death, and Immortality, systematically arranged under the authors' names," two volumes, 12mo, 1810.

Amongst the many places which disappeared in the changes about Clerkenwell, were Bottle-of-Hay-yard, on the west side of St. John-street, a little south of Corporation-lane; and White Horse-yard, on the west side of St. John-street, a little north of Aylesbury-street.

On the west side of St. John-street, between Hayward's-place and Sekforde-street, stand the extensive premises used as the distillery of Messrs. J. and W. Nicholson and Company. The frontage occupies the space of about eight ordinary houses. The premises were erected in the year 1828, as we learn from an inscription on the top of them. Mr. John Blyth was the architect, and Messrs. Webb were the builders. At page 553 we give an engraving representing the interior of the distillery. In Henry Mayhew's "Shops and Companies of London," 1865, No. I., pp. 40 and 41, is a short account of the establishment. The head of this firm is mentioned at page 578 *ante*.

PAGE 297.

At this page we stated that the Hicks baronetcy became extinct on the death of Sir William Hicks, a few years since. This is an error. Sir William Hicks was born in 1754, and married, first, in 1785, Judith, third daughter and coheir of Edward Whitcombe, Esq., of Orleton, by whom he had no surviving issue; and secondly, in 1793, Anne Rachel (who died April 13th, 1839), eldest daughter of Thomas Lobb Chute, Esq., of The Vine, by whom he had an only daughter, Anne Rachel, married in 1816, to Sir Lambert Cromie, Bart. Dying without male issue, October 23rd, 1834, Sir William Hicks was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Sir Michael Hicks, M.P., who was born October 25th, 1809; and married a daughter of William Beach, Esq., of Keevil, in Wiltshire; from whom he took the name of Beach. He also married, August 14th, 1832, Harriet Vittoria, second daughter of the late John Stratton, Esq., of Farthinghoe Lodge, in Northamptonshire; and had surviving issue, Michael Edward Hicks Beach, the present baronet, another son, and six daughters. Sir Michael, who was of Williamstrip Park, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire, died November 22nd, 1854. Sir Michael Edward Hicks Beach, the present baronet, of Beverston, Gloucestershire, was born October 23rd, 1837; and succeeded as ninth baronet on the decease of his father.

PAGE 300.

At Campden House, Kensington, Nicholas Lechmere, the eminent lawyer, was residing when he was created a peer. Swift, in his ballad of "Duke and no Duke," says:—

> Back in the dark, by Brompton Park,
> He turned up thro' the Gore,
> So slunk to Campden House so high,
> All in his coach and four.

PAGE 302.

In "An account of the Poisoning of E. Curll" (Pope's Works, by Roscoe, v., 339), we read:—"Dear Mr. Pemberton, I beg you to beware of the indictment at Hicks's Hall, for publishing Rochester's bawdy poems; that copy will otherwise be my best legacy to my dear wife and helpless child."

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1743, vol. xiii., page 495, that on 2nd September in that year, "about one hundred and fifty debtors from the several prisons in the county of Middlesex were clear'd at Hicks's Hall pursuant to the late act of parliament for the relief of insolvent debtors." And by the same Magazine, 1745, vol. xv., p. 497, we learn that on 12th September, in that year, "at the sessions at Hicks's Hall, Thomas Hargrove was try'd on an indictment for theft-boot, in returning seventeen guineas and a half to one John Ditcher, in part of twenty-five guineas, of which the said Ditcher had been robb'd, in order to prevent a prosecution, and after many arguments of counsel on both sides, was found guilty of the indictments, but his counsel, on a point of law arising, mov'd the court in arrest of judgment." Theft bote is compounding a felony. Theft bote est emenda furti capta, sine consideratione curiæ domini regis.[1]

PAGE 303.

At this page we have referred to the trial at Hicks's Hall of Count Charles John Coningsmark, or Koningsmarck, or Konigsmark, for complicity in the murder of Mr. Thynne. Thomas Thynne, a young gentleman of large estate, was murdered in Pall-mall through the instigation of the Count. Mrs. Thynne was the innocent cause thereof, and "the occasion was this:—The lady's mother being extremely tender of her, and not thinking her of sufficient years for consummation, caused it to be articled with the bridegroom, not to bed his lady till a year after his nuptials, in which time it was thought proper to divert her by showing her foreign parts. There Count Coningsmark fell desperately in love with her, and conceiving no other means of gratifying his passion, than by the death of her husband, he dispatch'd his own gentleman to England to accomplish it; which accordingly he did, by shooting him in his chariot; but the lady, who abhorred the deed, frustrated the Count's audacious hopes" by ultimately marrying on May 16th, 1682, the Duke of Somerset. The Count was in England when Mr. Thynne was murdered; he arrived in January, 1681 or 1682; the fact was committed February the 12th; and on the 28th of the same month he was, together with Christ. Vratz, Capt. John Stern, Lieut.; and Char. Geo. Borosky, foreigners, tried for his life, before the Lord Chief Justice Pemberton; but by the corruption of the judge and jury was acquitted; the three others were condemned and executed. The Count, after a long series of amours in the courts abroad, attended with various success, was at length cut to pieces in the palace of Herenhausen in the year 1686, in the presence of the Elector, who surprised him in private with his consort, the Princess of Zell. At the time of his death the Count was sixty-seven years of age. Three portraits of him were published:—1. 4to., engraved by L. Coffin, from a painting by M. Dahl; 2. Mezzotinto, by J. Smith, from the same painter; 3. Large folio, by R. White, 1682.

PAGE 306.

At this and the following page we have referred to the Cross Keys Inn, St. John-street. Taylor's "Carriers' Cosmographie," 1637, says, "The Carrier of Daintree doth lodge every Friday night at the Cross Keys in St. John's-street."

[1] 3 Inst. 131.

PAGE 308.

Boyne in his "Tokens" gives the following list of such coins issued by tradesmen in St. John-street during the seventeenth century:—

Obverse, CHRISTOPHER ALLEN AT—two sugar loaves. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHN STREET, 1664—C. E. A.

Obverse, IOB BARNWELL IN 1658—a dragon. *Reverse*, S. IOHNS STREETE—I. E. B.

Obverse, THOMAS BENNETT 1668—a rose and crown. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHNS STREET—HIS HALFE PENNY.

Obverse, FRANCIS CHICKSE. 1665—a tree. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHN STREET—F. F. C.

Obverse, IOHN DODSON, HIS HALFE PENNY (in four lines). *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHN STREET. 1667. (In four lines.)

Obverse, ISACK ELLISTON AT YE 3—three trees. *Reverse*, ELMES IN ST. IOHN STREET—I. H. E.

Obverse, ROGER FINCH AT THE—a fleur-de-lys. *Reverse*, In St. Iohn street. 1659. R. E. F.

Obverse, THOMAS GALE AT THE—a crowned female bust. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHN STREET. 1666. A chandler. T. G.

Obverse, IOHN GARNER—a globe. *Reverse*, IN S. IOHN STREET—a globe.

Obverse, IOHN GAZELY AT YE—a cock. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHN STREET—a sugar loaf. J. E. G.

Obverse, IONATHAN GRAST IN ST.—J. E. G. *Reverse*, IOHN STREET, CHEESE—MONGER. 57.

Obverse, ALICE GROVE IN ST.—a still. *Reverse*, IOHN STREET.—1659. A. G.

Obverse, ROGER HART AT THE—crowned bust of Queen Elizabeth. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHN STREETE. R. E. H.

Obverse, WILLIAM HILL AT THE POPES—bust of a pope. *Reverse*, HEAD IN ST. IOHN STREETE—HIS HALFE PENNY. 1666.

Obverse, EDMVND MANNING AT YE—a tobacco roll. His ½. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHNS STREETE. 71—a sugar loaf.

Obverse, EDWARD MIDWINTER AT THE—bust of Charles II. *Reverse*, TAVERN IN ST. IOHN STREET—HIS HALF PENY.

Obverse, THOMAS PRESTWOOD—The Salters' Arms. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHN STREET. 1688—HIS HALFE PENY.

Obverse, IOHN RADBVRNE GROCER AT YE—a man-at-arms. *Reverse*, SOLDIER IN ST. IOHN STREET—HIS HALFE PENY. 1668.

Obverse, AT THE OLFA TREE—an olive tree. *Reverse*, IN SINGON STREETE. E. A. S.

Obverse, THOMAS SAYLE AT YE WHITE BEARE—a bear chained. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHNS STREET—SALTER—HIS HALFE PENNY. T. S. S.

Obverse, GEORGE SCAVINGTON—a stick of candles. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHN STREET. G. E. S.

Obverse, IOHN SHORE AT THE CROOKED—a crooked billet. *Reverse*, BILLET IN ST. IOHN STREETE—HIS HALFE PENNY.

Obverse, IAM. SMITH SOPEBOYLER—a horse and groom. *Reverse*, IN ST. IOHN STREET. J. M. S.

Obverse, IOHN TIMBERLAKE—a musket rest? *Reverse*, IN . . . OHNS STREET. J. E. T.

Obverse, THO. WATTS AT THE BLEW—an anchor. *Reverse*, ANCHOR IN ST. IOHN STREET—HIS HALF PENY.

Hatton says that in his day (1708) there were in London three houses bearing the sign of the Three Cups, one of which houses was on the east side of St. John-street, near Hicks's Hall.

PAGE 309.

The following token was issued by a tradesman in St. John's-court:—*Obverse*, AT THE BELL IN—a bell. *Reverse*, S. IOHN COVRT. 1666. R. C.

We read in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. xxxiv., page 95, that on February 14th, 1764, "About ten o'clock at night, Mrs. Robertson's schoolhouse in St. John's-court, Cow-lane, suddenly

fell down, by which Mrs. Robertson and two other women and a child were kill'd. Had this happened in the day forty children must have been buried in the ruins." We read also in the same Magazine, volume lv., page 317, that on April 11th, 1785, early in the morning, a fire broke out at the Coach and Horses, St. John's-square, by which, in less than an hour, the house was reduced to ashes. The adjoining buildings on both sides were almost miraculously preserved, they being separated from the tavern only by narrow passages, and being chiefly constructed of timber.

At a meeting of the Archæological Institute, held March 7th, 1856, the Rev. T. Hugo exhibited some portions of ancient stained glass, which had then lately been found in St. John's-square.

PAGE 311.

At this page mention is made of Dudley, the third Lord North,[1] from the family name of whom a portion of St. John's-square, Clerkenwell, was named North's-court. This nobleman has the reputation of being the discoverer of Tunbridge Wells, in Kent. The story is as follows:—"The gay, dissipated, young Dudley, Lord North," was one of the favourites of Prince Henry, the son of James I., in whose court he was distinguished for his mental and personal endowments, and, what made him a still greater object of admiration in those times, for his numerous gallantries. In his twenty-fourth year, the effect of these was felt in an impaired constitution, and every symptom of consumption, when his physicians advised him to retire into the country to regain his health. Accordingly in the year 1606 he went to Eridge House, which is situated two miles from Tunbridge Wells, and which was at that time a mere hunting seat of Lord Abergavenny. The retired position of this place soon wearied the young nobleman, who, after a short stay, set out on his return to London. His road lay through a wood in which were springs, and when he came to them he found the surface of the water shining with mineralic scum. He examined and tasted the water, and was convinced that it was chalybeate. He took some of it to London, where he had it analysed by physicians, who were of his lordship's opinion respecting it, and went down to examine the sources of it. In the summer of the following year Lord North returned to Eridge to unite the virtues of the water with the purity of the air in order to restore his health, which he enjoyed, it is said, until the year 1666, when he died on January 16th, at the advanced age of eighty-five. Brayley, in his "Beauties of England and Wales," says, "The authenticity of this story, which is founded on the 'History of Tunbridge Wells,' by T. B. Burr, may well be doubted, as Lord North says nothing of it in his own work, intituled, 'The Forest of Varieties,' though he mentions Epsom Wells." Whatever truth or fiction there may be in this story it is certain that soon after the time which is given as the date of its incident Tunbridge Wells rose into fashion, and after the first quarter of the seventeenth century, they became the resort of the aristocracy. In the burial register of St. Paul's, Covent-garden, is the following entry:—"1691-2. January 2, Sr Dudley North in the church. (In a different hand.) Removed to be buried at Glenham, in Suffolk, by the Bishop of London's fiat, September ye 4th, 1715." The removal to Glenham is confirmed by Roger North in his "Life of Sir Dudley North."

PAGE 313.

At this page we have referred to Sir William Fenwicke; and at page 46 his son John is mentioned. An engraving of Sir John Fenwicke, Bart., who died in 1697, was published in 1696, at which time he was aged fifty-two years. The engraving was by R. White, from a painting by W. Wissing.

PAGE 314.

At this page, *et seq.*, we have described the clock manufactory of Messrs. J. Smith and Sons. Mr. J. Launcelot Smith, the head of this firm, died at middle age, at his residence, in Baron-street,

[1] For a short biographical account of this nobleman, *vide Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. viii., N.S., part II., page 588.

Pentonville, in the month of October, 1864. He was an active member of Silver-street Chapel, and a gentleman much respected by his fellow parishioners.

Apropos of our account of clock-making, &c., in Clerkenwell, at page 314, *et seq.*, we may mention that Charles Robert Leslie, R.A., the celebrated painter, was the son of a clockmaker, in this parish. The Leslies belonged originally to Scotland, and from that country an ancestor of Mr. Leslie emigrated shortly after 1745, and settled in Maryland, and his children likewise established themselves in America. Mr. Leslie's father commenced business early in life in Philadelphia, and is said to have been a man of considerable attainments and ingenuity, and a friend of Benjamin Franklin, and other eminent Americans. Mr. Leslie, who had married an American lady, and had already had one or two children, removed in 1792 to London; and there, in October, 1794, his son, Charles Robert, was born. In 1800, Mr. Leslie, sen., returned with his family to Philadelphia. Young Leslie, after receiving the usual school education, was apprenticed to a bookseller, but eventually was released from that occupation, and became an artist. In 1813 he proceeded to London, and entered as a student into the Royal Academy. His "Anne Page and Master Slender" was exhibited at the British Institution in 1820. In the same year his "Roger de Coverley going to church" appeared at the Royal Academy exhibition. In 1821 Mr. Leslie was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy; and R.A. in 1826. In 1833 he accepted the post of drawing-master to the United States Military Academy; but this office he shortly afterwards resigned, and he returned to England. In 1847, he was elected Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy, which office he held until 1851, when he resigned it. Mr. Leslie wrote "Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, R.A.," 4to., 1843 (subsequently reprinted in 8vo., without the engravings); and "A Handbook for Young Painters," 12mo., 1855. The Sheepshanks' Gallery is very rich in the works of Mr. Leslie; and the Vernon Gallery also has some of his paintings:—"Uncle Toby and the Widow" (painted in 1831), and "Sancho Panza and the Duchess" (1849). The works of this artist are chiefly illustrations of the great humorous writers.[1]

PAGE 319.

In the "Mirror," 1837, vol. xxix., page 336, are views of Bishop Burnet's House, in St. John's-square, and of his monument in St. James's Church, Clerkenwell; and also an account, entitled "Memorials of Bishop Burnet."

The Bishop's grave-stone was cut by "Mr. Stanton, a stone-cutter, next door to St. Andrew's Church, in Holborn."[2]

PAGE 328.

The following further particulars of the biography of Dr. Joseph Towers, who resided in St. John's-square, will no doubt interest our readers:—He may be regarded as one of the many illustrious men who have been associated with Clerkenwell, for he distinguished himself in the annals of patriotism, in the republic of letters, and in the pulpit of the dissenters. We have seen that he was not intended for a divine, but, like his precursor and friend, Dr. Franklin, was brought up as a printer. Early in life he became much attached to the principles of liberty, both in church and state. In 1778 he was nominated morning preacher at Newington-green Chapel. On November 4th, in that year, being the completion of a century from the revolution, that event was celebrated with great solemnity; and Dr. Towers, at the request of a committee, delivered a *civic* sermon on the occasion, which was afterwards printed at the request of the stewards. He was balloted into the Society for Constitutional Information in 1782. In 1792 was founded "The Society of the Friends of the People, associated for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform." Upon its establishment

[1] For further particulars of Mr. Leslie's works, *vide English Cyclopædia*, Biog., vol. iii., p. 89.
[2] *Le Neve*, MS., in British Museum, fol. 108.

Dr. Towers was voted a member. His principal works were:—1. In 1763, "A Review of the Genuine Doctrines of Christianity," &c. 8vo. 2. In 1764, an anonymous "Enquiry into the Question whether Juries are, or are not, Judges of Law as well as of Fact; with a particular Reference to the Case of Libels." In this Dr. Towers took the constitutional and affirmative side of the question, not only in respect to libels, but in all other cases. 3. The first seven volumes of "British Biography," the first volume of which was published in 1786. 4. Between fifty and sixty articles in a new edition of the "Biographia Britannica," with the letter T annexed. 5. In 1773, "An Examination into Sir J. Dalrymple's Scandalous Attack on the Memory of Sydney and Russel." 6. In 1774, "A Letter to Dr. Johnson, occasioned by his recent Political Publications."[1] 7. In 1786, "An Essay on the Life and Writings of Dr. Johnson." 8. In 1788, "Memoirs of the Life and Reign of Frederick III., King of Prussia," of which work a second edition was published.[2] 9. "Observations on Mr. Hume's History of England." 10. An Oration delivered at the London Tavern, on November 4th, 1788, on the occasion of the commemoration of the Revolution, and the completion of a century from that event.

The various publications of Dr. Towers, the boldness of his principles, his unabated zeal, and the side he had taken during the American contest, all tended to make him conspicuous. He died a widower in 1799. His son was librarian of Dr. Williams's library, in Redcross-street.[3]

PAGE 329.

At this page, mention is made of Dr. Adam Clarke, LL.D. We supplement our short account of the reverend gentleman with the following:—

Adam Clarke was one of the most esteemed of the early ministers among the Wesleyan Methodists. He was born in 1762. His parents resided in the north of Ireland. They appear to have been persons of respectable character; and by his mother, who was a native of Scotland, he seems to have become early imbued with a deep sense of the value of high devotional sentiment in union with religious knowledge. Of education, properly scholastic or systematic, he appears to have received little or none, and the want of it gave a character, and that not a favourable one, to the learning which, by his own unwearied exertions, he afterwards acquired.

As soon as his mind began to develop its peculiarities, it appeared that Adam Clarke was extremely eager after knowledge, and possessed within himself resources which would enable him to overcome very formidable obstacles. Placed with a linen manufacturer, who lived in the neighbourhood of his father, to learn the trade, he soon found that he was in a situation which afforded no means of gratifying his desire for knowledge. He determined to change the mode of life which had been marked out for him, and he returned to his home. Methodism had been introduced into the part of Ireland in which he resided. His father and mother belonged to that society; and a Mr. Breedon, one of Mr. Wesley's earliest ministers, was a friend and the religious instructor of the family, and to him, at this period of his life, he seems to have owed much. The religious meetings and classes of the new sect afforded to the preachers a ready opportunity of becoming acquainted with the character and mental capacity of the young men connected with the society, and such as were suited to the work, and were willing to devote themselves to the ministry, were gladly received. The union of considerable natural powers with no mean attainments, considering the great disadvantages under which he lay, and of the love of study, with a mind eminently devotional, pointed out young Clarke to the Methodist preachers who frequented his father's house, as one who might be very useful in the ministry among the people with whom his family had formed their

[1] Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. ii., pp., 200-202.

[2] Dr. Towers is vindicated as to his Life of Frederick III. in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1790, vol. lx., part I., page 414; *vide* also same work, vol. lxix., part I., pages 528, 529; and part II., page 923.

[3] *British Public Characters of* 1798, p. 402.

religious connection. Their impression that this was the course of life pointed out for him, was communicated to the great father and director of Methodism. The result was that Clarke removed to England, and was admitted into the school which Wesley had founded at Kingswood, near Bristol. He now gave himself up wholly to the acquisition of such knowledge as might be useful in his calling. Besides what formed the kind of instruction which was imparted to the students at Kingswood, he undertook to teach himself other things; and it was while here that he began the study of the Hebrew language, which was the commencement of that course of Oriental study in which he afterwards spent much time, and made considerable progress.

The time soon came when he was to leave this school, and enter on the duties of an itinerant or travelling preacher. He was accustomed to relate with pride and pleasure that he received his commission to go forth from the mouth of Mr. Wesley himself. There was a peculiar and touching affectionateness in the old man's benediction. The circuit, as it is called, to which he was appointed, was a tract of country near Bradford, in Wiltshire. Thus, in 1782, he became a Methodist preacher, and so continued to the time of his death. In the first twenty years he resided in various parts of the kingdom. Afterwards he lived, for the most part, in or about London; and for eight years, namely, from 1815 to 1823, he lived at a place called Millbrook, in Lancashire, where some friends had purchased for him a house and small estate.

In his ministerial character he was singularly acceptable and useful. His preaching attracted crowds. He advanced in influence and reputation in the body of Christians to which he belonged; and for many of the latter years of his life he was regarded as one of the chief lights and brightest ornaments of that religious community.

If this, however, had been his only claim to distinction, the name of Dr. Clarke would not have appeared in the many works in which, since his death, mention has been made of him. We have already intimated that he was eminently desirous of knowledge of very various kinds, and, while leading the laborious life of a travelling preacher, he found time for a great variety of discursive reading, as well as for much steady application to his philological studies, especially those of Oriental literature. He first gave public evidence of those studies in the year 1802, when he published, in six volumes, his book entitled "A Bibliographical Dictionary." This work gave him at once a literary reputation, and though it is not a work of much original research, it was at the time of its publication undoubtedly a very convenient book of information, well arranged, concerning books and authors, to which no other easy access was presented. The book had an extensive circulation, and has been more than once reprinted.

This work placed Clarke high in reputation among his brethren and the members of his connection, though at first some were ready to doubt the value of this kind of book learning. He gained also by it a certain reputation among the bibliographical and philological inquirers of his time. About this period of his life his acquirements in biblical knowledge and in Oriental literature began likewise to be taken notice of. On his coming to reside permanently in London, the Bible Society brought him into connection with some of the dignitaries of the church. His connection with the Surrey Institution introduced him to several persons of literary pursuits, and gave at the same time easy access to books. He was admitted a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. The University of St. Andrew's conferred on him the degree of M.A., and afterwards of LL.D. Some time after he became a member of the Royal Irish Academy. Clarke and his writings undoubtedly did much to remove the feeling of contempt with which many of the cultivated classes were apt to regard Methodism and its followers. The most extraordinary circumstance in his literary history remains however to be mentioned. The Board of Commissioners on the Public Records selected Dr. Clarke as a proper person to superintend the publication of the new edition of Rymer's "Fœdera," with the preparation of which they were charged. This was a great and difficult undertaking; for it was not the mere reprinting the work of Rymer, but a large mass of new materials were to be found and to be incorporated with the old. Some eminent antiquarian scholars had shrunk from the task. What particularly pointed out Dr. Clarke as a suitable person for this undertaking is not known, as it was evident that his studies

had previously lain in a direction very different from that which pointed to such a work as the "Fœdera," and he himself acknowledged that he came to the task with very little acquaintance with the nature of it. He however laboured at it with much assiduity for several years. It is needless to say that archæology gained little by his editorial labours, whatever theology may have lost. His name appeared in the title of both parts of the first volume, and in the first part of the second volume, which was published in 1818, and from that time Dr. Clarke relinquished his share in the undertaking.

From the time when he settled in London he was constantly in communication with the press. Of some works he was only the editor; others he abridged; and he prepared some original works, among which are particularly to be named, a "Supplement" to his "Bibliographical Dictionary," "Memoirs of the Family of Wesley," and a work for the assistance of biblical students. He was also a frequent contributor to the periodical literature of his day. His, as much perhaps as ever any man's, was at this period a life of incessant literary exertion.

But there was one great literary undertaking on which, above all, his mind was intent. This was an edition of the Holy Scriptures in the English version, illustrated, with a commentary and critical notes, into which he proposed to throw the results of his own biblical studies, together with much that he might collect from preceding commentaries. It was to form a kind of Family Bible, and yet to be at the same time a book which the biblical scholar might consult with advantage—a union which has been several times attempted. The first volume appeared in 1810, and excited no small attention on account of the novelty of some opinions expressed in it respecting the tempter of our first parents. From this period he pursued this work as the main business of his life, till he had completed it, which he did in 1826, when appeared the eighth and last volume.

We have not attempted to give an estimate of the literary value of Dr. Clarke's publications, or even to enumerate them all. As literary works they have their full meed of fame. It would be absurd to place his scholarship on a level with that of the really great scholars who have adorned our country; and many of the works which he undertook were such as required the union of the greatest attainable scholarship with a carefully trained judgment and sound taste. It is, perhaps, one of the most observable circumstances about Dr. Clarke, that his mind never seems to have acquired that refinement which scholarship, when it is genuine, never fails to give, or that superiority to vulgar prejudices and to the affectation of display which is, we believe, the usual accompaniment of high attainments. There is in Dr. Clarke a remarkable affectation of bringing forward the Oriental learning he is understood to have possessed. He cannot keep it out of the introduction to the "Fœdera." It appears still more strangely in his "Lives of the Wesley Family," where he labours after an Arabic etymon of the surname of Wesley, a word really formed according to one of the commonest analogies of our own language. In the same work he gives encouragement to the most vulgar and childish of the popular superstitions. But while we make these remarks, we wish it to be understood that we regard Dr. Clarke as a person on whom it is impossible to look but with very great respect. He was in every sense of the word a good man, and his life presents an instructive lesson of rewards and honours attending useful labours and consistent virtuous action.

While he resided in Lancashire, the two Buddhist priests whom Sir Alexander Johnston brought from Ceylon for instruction in Christianity were placed in his family; he was the means of establishing a Methodist Mission in the Shetland Islands; and in 1831, a little before his death, he had the satisfaction of establishing schools in the province of Ulster, the part of Ireland in which he was born. He accumulated a good library, including many manuscripts, and had formed a small museum of natural curiosities. From 1823, when he left Lancashire, Dr. Clarke resided at Haydon Hall, in Middlesex, about seventeen miles from London. He died of cholera, on the 26th of August, 1832. His "Miscellaneous Works" have been published in thirteen vols., 12mo., London; and a "Life," by J. B. B. Clarke, in three vols., 8vo., 1833.[1]

[1] *English Cyclopædia*, Bio., vol. ii., pp. 262-3. *Quarterly Review*. *Mirror*, 1834, vol. xxiii., pp. 330, 345. *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. cii., part II., pp. 272-277; vol. ciii., part I., p. 352.

PAGE 330.

At this page mention is made of Mr. Deodatus Bye, of St. John's-square, publisher. We find the following obituary notice of this gentleman in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1826, vol. xcvi., part I., pages 181-2, under date February 12th :—

"In Camden-row, Peckham, aged nearly eighty-two, Mr. Deodatus Bye, formerly an eminent printer in St. John's-square, Clerkenwell. He was, with only one exception, the oldest member of the Company of Stationers, of which he had been a liveryman sixty years. Though possessing no inconsiderable talents, he was one of the most unassuming of human beings, but at the same time one of the most kind-hearted. Content with a very moderate income, he long since retired from the fatigues of business to the tranquil retreat where he calmly breathed his last. Though more than eight of his latter years were embittered by repeated attacks of paralysis, which deprived him of the use of his right side, and confined him wholly to his bed-chamber, he bore his sufferings with that manly fortitude and that patient resignation to the divine will, which his constant study of the Holy Scriptures had enabled him to sustain. Whilst in business his principal employment was the printing of the religious tracts of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He was editor of the last edition of Cruden's 'Concordance,' in which he carefully examined every text by the original in the Bible. He also printed the 'Diversions of Purley,' for Mr. Horne Tooke, with whom he was deservedly a great favourite, and who permitted him to substitute *blanks* for many names which the timid printer thought it prudent to suppress. Mr. Bye compiled the copious index to the octavo edition of Swift's works, published in 1803. That he was also sometimes a versifier may be seen by a few lines signed 'D. B.' in vol. lxxxvii. I., 445. With his habitual placidity of mind, after he had totally lost the use of his right hand he soon acquired the habit of writing very neatly with his left. In a letter of some length, dated March, 1820, he says, 'I have every reason to be thankful for the mercies I daily receive, although I have been confined to my house nearly three years. My Bible, my prayer-book, and your magazine are my constant companions ; by the former I humbly hope I receive divine instruction and consolation, and the latter lets me see as much of the busy and changeable world as I desire, and sometimes more. The last year was an eventful one indeed, and many great and good characters are recorded in your obituary to have left this world, I hope for a better ! Perhaps several of them were personally known to you, and were among the number of your friends, your bosom friends ; when that is the case it verifies the truth of that line of Young,

When such friends part, 'tis the survivor dies.

You will, I am sure, pardon the imperfections of this left-handed scrawl, which has taken me hours to execute, but I am much pleased now it is done, as it may perhaps be my farewell letter, but whether it be or not, it affords me an opportunity of saying that I remain, with the greatest sincerity and affection, your friend and humble servant, D. Bye ; ætat. 76, natus 1744.' That such was Deodatus Bye, testifies the friend who now laments his loss, after an intimate acquaintance of nearly seventy years."

At page 330 we have referred to Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington's printing office, St John's-square. At the latter end of the year 1864 Mr. William John Rivington, the son of Mr. William Rivington, was introduced as a third partner in the firm.

At No. 9, St. John's-square, was born William Pettit Griffith, the architect, antiquarian, and archæologist, who deserves the thanks and honours of the people of Clerkenwell, and also of all those who care for the preservation of the fast diminishing relics of the ancient metropolis. Mr. Griffith restored St. John's-gate,[1] around which clusters a bright halo of historical incidents. That work alone entitles him to distinguishment, but it was only one of the many labours of his industrious life, which have raised him to be a man of mark, and to rank as a Clerkenwell worthy. *In limine* we refer our readers to pages 53, 175, 178, 227, 228 N, 233, 239, 242, 243, 245 N, 246, 247, 248, 256, 268, 281, 309, 310, 319, 330, 454, 627, 638, and 639 *ante*, for some records of Mr. Griffith's works in this parish.

Mr. Griffith was the son of John William Griffith,[2] who was a resident in St. John's-square for half a century, and a subscriber to every charity in the parish during that time. The subject of our

[1] *Vide* pages 246, 247.

[2] *Vide* page 638.

notice was born on July 7th, 1815. He was brought up in the profession of an architect, in which he is now engaged.

Mr. Griffith contributed all the notes, &c., in Loudon's "Architectural Magazine," from the year 1834 to 1838, which are signed "Tyro," Wilmington-square; besides articles and designs in his own name. We thus find him engaging in public literary essays upon subjects incident to his profession at the early age of nineteen years. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1841; a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1847; Honorary Member of the Bedfordshire Architectural Society in 1847; Honorary Member of the Liverpool Architectural Society in 1849; and Honorary Member of the Surrey Architectural Society in 1856. In 1854 he obtained in a competition the silver medal of the Institute of Architects.

Mr. Griffith is the author of the following works:—"Grecian Architecture; Suggestions for Developing;" "Natural System of Architecture;" "Mediæval Architecture; ancient Gothic Churches;" and "Architectural Botany." In a paper which was read at the Royal Institute of British Architects, on June 14th, 1847, we find this passage:—"Mr. Griffith's 'Natural System of Architecture,' applied more particularly to the temples of Greece, beginning with the primary forms in geometry, and applying those forms within the circle to both plans and elevations, giving the true and just proportions whether upon the triangle, the square, or the pentagon, prove that the author has succeeded in developing a true and perfect principle."

In a paper, which was read at the Cambridge Architectural Society, March 3rd, 1848, by the Rev. Philip Freeman, M.A., late Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, the author said:—"The discovery I speak of has been given to the world by Mr. Griffith, in his work entitled, 'Ancient Gothic Churches.' It is a true, genuine, and unquestionable discovery; not a mere theory, but a discovered truth. It is the system, not of Des Cartes, but of Newton, I mean that as far as regards the buildings —and they are pretty numerous—to which he has applied his principle, it may be considered as perfectly certain that the architects of those buildings constructed them on the basis of the geometrical figures here applied to them."

In a paper, which was read at the anniversary meeting of the Ecclesiological, late Cambridge Camden Society, on June 2nd, 1853, by W. White, Esq., architect, that gentleman said:—"Mr. Griffith's theory is most valuable as a comprehensive method of proving the entirely harmonious system upon which mediæval churches were built."

In the "Ecclesiologist," vol. ix., pp. 29, 30, in reference to Mr. Griffith's "Mediæval Architecture," we read:—"It is obvious that if through these investigations we arrive at the modes by which mediæval architects really laid out their ground-plans, we shall have made no inconsiderable advance in the study of their designs—a real progress."

In the "Builder," August 21st, 1847, we read:—"Of all the inquirers into the depths of this question, Mr. W. P. Griffith, whose last work on the subject is now before us, appears to have carried out the application of the primary figures of existing buildings the most successfully."

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," May, 1854, we find the following:—"The main object of Mr. Griffith's professional works, which have already attained considerable circulation and approval, is to show that the true principles of architectural design are based upon natural forms; and that the early architects derived their proportions from the same source."

And "Notes and Queries," No. 232, says, in reference to "Architectural Botany:"—"A farther endeavour on the part of the author to direct attention to the laws by which vegetable productions were created and imitated by the early architects, and thereby to contribute to securing greater beauty and precision on the part of their successors to the decoration of churches."

Mr. Griffith read the following papers before the Societies undermentioned:—1845, Freemasons of the Church, "On the Ancient Baptismal Fonts in England."[1] 1846, the same Society, "On the

[1] *Proceedings of the Architectural College of the Freemasons of the Church*, part I., pp. 23, 25.

different kinds of Stone employed in the Erection and Architectural Embellishment of the Public and Private Edifices of Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Great Britain."[1] 1846, the same Society, "On the Hagioscope, or Squint, in the Ancient Parochial Country Churches of England."[2] 1852, the Royal Academy of Belgium, "On the Proportions of the Temple of Vesta, at Tivoli." 1852, the Bedfordshire Architectural Society, "Suggestions for a more perfect and beautiful period of Gothic Architecture." 1855, the Royal Institute of Bristol Architects, "On the Principles to be observed in Designing Mediæval Decorations and Ornaments, with reference to the sources of ornament offered by the Natural Kingdom." 1857, the Liverpool Architectural Society, "Proportion: its practical application to Architecture and the Fine Arts." 1860, the same Society, "Of the Resources of Design in the Natural Kingdom for Architectural Decorations." 1863, the same Society, "Of the Influence of Fashion in Architecture." 1854, the Surrey Archæological Society, "On the Ancient Baptismal Fonts of England." 1856, the same Society, "An Architectural Notice of Archbishop Whitgift's Hospital, Croydon." 1858, the same Society, "An Architectural Notice of the Nave of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark."

The Society of the Freemasons of the Church was founded on Advent-eve, 1842, by Alfred Bartholomew, F.S.A., architect. He died January 2nd or 3rd, 1845. Mr. Griffith was then appointed secretary of the society, and so acted for four years. Press of engagements compelled him to resign in September, 1848.[3] In a year afterwards the society ceased to exist. During Mr. Griffith's secretaryship many important papers were read before it, the reports of which, in the "Builder," were contributed by that gentleman. Mr. Griffith was Professor of Pointed Architecture to the College of the Freemasons of the Church. This society was founded for the proper development of architecture in its connection with the dependant arts. The institution was governed by a body of noblemen and gentlemen, and twelve chaplains, and held during the year twelve chapter meetings, which occurred on the second Tuesday in every month.

Mr. Griffith designed and superintended the following works:—Ogle-mews Ragged Schools, for Sir R. W. Carden, 1862; Lamb and Flag Ragged Schools, 1861; the Goldsmiths' and Jewellers' Annuity Institution Asylum, South Hackney, 1853; House of Detention, Kingston-on-Thames; reparation of church tower, Kingston-on-Thames; new schools, Highgate, for Clerkenwell Guardians, 1858; restoration of St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, 1845-6; reparation of St. John's Church, Clerkenwell, 1845; rebuilding spire of St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, 1849; new font in St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, 1851; Vestry Hall, Clerkenwell, 1857; new corridor, Religious Tract Society, 1862; Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington's Printing Offices, St. John's-square; Grecian monument, Nunhead Cemetery; Grecian monument, Highgate Cemetery; Gothic monument, Highgate Cemetery; brass foundry, Allen-street, Clerkenwell; Cherry Tree Tavern, Clerkenwell; Crown and Sceptre Tavern, Holborn-hill; lodges and stabling, St. John's-wood; Royal Hospital for Incurables, West-hill, Putney-heath (the foundation-stone of which was laid May 11th, 1864),[4] &c.

Alfred Bartholomew, F.S.A., whom we have before named as the founder of the Society of the Freemasons of the Church, was born in Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.[5] He was the son of a respectable watch maker of this parish, by whom he was placed, about the year 1817, as a pupil to Mr. Good, the architect to the Church Commissioners. Alfred Bartholomew was architect to the Finsbury Savings Bank in Sekforde-street. He was the architect and surveyor of the Hornsey district. He died at Warwick House, Gray's Inn, in his forty-fourth year, on January 2nd or 3rd, 1845. He possessed great knowledge of the scientific part of his profession. He wrote a useful paper, called "Hints relative to the construction of Fireproof Buildings," and published a valuable compilation of documents for the execution of the detail of buildings, called, "Specifications for Practical

[1] *Proceedings of the Architectural College of the Freemasons of the Church*, part II., p. 36.
[2] *Ibid*, part II., p. 62.
[3] *Builder*, vol. vi., p. 485.
[4] An engraving and particulars of this hospital appear in the *Builder*, No. 1150, vol. xxiii., p. 118.
[5] In the *Builder*, vol. iii., p. 29, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1845, vol. xxiii., N.S., p. 320, is a biographical notice of him. He edited vol. ii. of the *Builder*.

Architecture," in the introductory part of which book there is contained much sound criticism on the debasement of architecture as a profession, contrasting modern empiricism with the profound geometrical and mathematical knowledge of the architects of former times, especially of the middle ages. He therein gave a sketch of a college to be founded for the "study and regulation" as well as for various other purposes connected with the science of architecture, part of which he attempted to carry out by forming the society called the Freemasons of the Church. He had been for some time the editor of the weekly newspaper called the "Builder." He was a younger brother of Mr. Valentine Bartholomew, a painter of fruit and flowers, whose works were much admired at the exhibitions of the old Society of Painters in Water Colours.

PART III.

St. John's-lane—Tradesmen's Tokens—Eagle-court—S. Fisher—Old Baptist's Head—Turnmill-street—Pie thatch—Tradesmen's Tokens—Improvements of Clerkenwell—Chick-lane—Tradesmen's Tokens—Cow-lane—Tradesmen's Tokens—Cow-cross—Tradesmen's Tokens—Coiners discovered—Black Boy-alley Gang—Improved Lodging Houses in Farringdon-road—Wilderness-row—Rev. G. Patrick—The Fleet River—Etymology of name—Antiquities found in and near the river—St. Mark's Church—Description of the building—Mylne Family Arms—Rev. Thomas Mortimer—William Webb—Stevens's Lecture upon Heads—Griffith Davies—Braham at Sadler's Wells Theatre—Fatal Accident at—Robert Mylne—Seal found in the New River—Scott, the Amwell Poet—Sir Thomas Owen—King's-cross—The Bowling-green House—Church of SS. Peter and Paul—Upper Rosoman-street—A Cunning Woman in Clerkenwell, in 1612—Cruelty of Bishop Bonner to a resident in Clerkenwell—Extracts from the State Papers—Halsted Family—Sykes Family—French Prophets in Clerkenwell—Antiquities discovered in Clerkenwell—Extracts from "Liber Custumarum"—Rev. Messrs. Kimbers—Gifts to Clerkenwell by Stephen Skydmore—William Pearson—Roger Bellow—Lady Elizabeth Kytson—Henry Garrett—Susannah Nieman—John Nieman—William Richards—William Robertson—Thomas Spencer—Sir George Fettiplace—Sarah Wild—Sarah Wetherall—Emanuel George Mitchell—John Waterworth—Jasper Yardley—Lady Elizabeth Bullock—Frederick Fawcett—James Leveson—Sir Erasmus Smith—Thomas Arnold—George French—James Sidegrave—George Licorish—Francis Snowsell—Anne Valence.

PAGE 331.

Boyne, in his "Tokens," states that the following one was issued by a tradesman of St. John's-lane in the seventeenth century:—*Obverse.* At the Bird-in-Hand—a figure holding a bird. *Reverse.* In S. John's-Lane. T.M.A.

Eagle-court, St. John's-lane, was formerly called Vinegar-yard.

At No. 9, St. John's-lane, S. Fisher carried on the business of a printer and publisher. We have before us a small book (pp. 50), entitled, "Agreeable Pastime for Leisure Moments: being a selection of Interesting Histories, Lives, Memoirs, Tales, and Adventures," &c.; "London: Printed in St. John's-lane, Clerkenwell, by S. Fisher." The imprint bears date 1803, and the engraved frontispiece was "published August 8th, 1804, by S. Fisher."

PAGE 334.

The arms on the chimney-piece in the Old Baptist's Head, in St. John's-lane, are described in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxiii., part II, page 425; and *vide*, also, page 642 in the same volume.

PAGE 338.

At this page *et seq.* we have referred to the ill-reputation of Turnbull otherwise Turnmill street; and on page 339 we have noticed Ben Jonson's reference to it in his "Bartholomew Fair," 1614. One of the characters in this play is "Dan Jordan Knockem, a horse-courser and a ranger of

Turnbull." Ursula says to him :—"You are one of those horse-leeches that gave out I was dead in Turnbull-street, of a surfeit of bottle-ale and tripes." Knockem answers: "No, 'twas better meat, Urse: cows' udders, cows' udders!"

At page 339 we have incidentally mentioned Pickhatch, or Pickthatch. This was a famous receptacle for prostitutes and pickpockets. It is generally supposed to have been in or abutting upon Turnmill-street, near Clerkenwell-green.[1]

In the "Merry Wives of Windsor," act ii., sc. 2, Falstaff says to Pistol, "Reason, you rogue, reason: think'st thou, I'll endanger my soul gratis? At a word, hang no more about me; I am no gibbet for you:—Go. A short knife and a throng:—to your manor of Pickthatch, go."

Ben Jonson, Epigram xii. (Lieutenant Shift), says:—

> Shift, here in town, not meanest among squires,
> That haunt Pict-hatch, Marsh Lambeth and Whitefriars,
> Keeps himself, with half a man, and defrays
> The charge of that state with this charm—God pays.

Again, Ben Jonson (Dram. Pers. before "Every Man out of his Humour") says:—"Shift, a thread-bare shark; one that never was a soldier, yet lives upon lendings. His profession is skeldring and odling, his bank Paul's, and his warehouse Pickhatch." And in the same author's "Every Man in his Humour,"[2] Knowell says:—

> From the Bordello it might come as well,
> The Spittle or Piet-hatch.

At Pickhatch Middleton has laid the scene of his "Black Book;" and here there is reason to believe, from what he states, Nash, the rude, railing satirist, died.[3] "I proceeded toward Pickhatch, intending to begin there first, which (as I may fitly name it) is the very skirts of all brothel-houses."[4]

In Mrs. Hutchinson's "Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson," ed. 1838, p. 132, we read:—"In the meantime, while they were ransacking his box and pockets (Sir John) Robinson fell a railing at the Colonel, giving him the base terms of Rebel and Murderer, and such language as none could have learnt, but such as had been conversant among the Civil Society of Pickt-hatch, Turnbull-street, and Billingsgate."

PAGE 342.

In correction of, and in addition to, the list of tokens issued by tradesmen of Turnmill-street, and enumerated at the above page, we add the following:—

Obverse, Iohn Atkinson in—Hercules with a club over his shoulder. *Reverse*, Tvrne mill streete—I. I. A.

Obverse, At the Black Spread Eagle—a spread eagle. *Reverse*, In Tvrn mill street—H. A. B.

Obverse, At Dagger Alley—a dagger. *Reverse*, In Tvrn mill street—H. H. B.

Obverse, George Bedford—a portcullis. *Reverse*, In Tvrn mill street—G. E. B.

Obverse, Simon Cooke in Tvrn—a cock. *Reverse*, Mill street. 1651—S. R. C.

Obverse, Thomas Cross, chandlr—two women scrubbing a negro. *Reverse*, In Tvrnmill street—T. G. C. Engraved in Boyne's "Tokens," plate 22, No. 9. The labour in vain.

Obverse, William Dinn at ye—C. R.—the King's head crowned. *Reverse*, In Tvrne mill street—W. R. D.

Obverse, Iames Fowkes. 1666.—His half peny. *Reverse*, In Tvrnmill street—I. A. F.

Obverse, At the Tvnn in Tvrn—a tun. *Reverse*, Mill Streete. 1652—I. E. Gant.

Obverse, At the laber in vane—two women washing a negro. *Reverse*, In Tvrn mill streete—T. I. L.

[1] Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, vol. i., p. 17; Dyce's *Middleton*, vol. v., p. 512. *Vide* also *Ben Jonson*, vol. iv., p. 522.
[2] Cunningham's *London*, vol. ii.
[3] Middleton's *Works*, vol. v., p. 513.

Obverse, CHRISTOPH. NVTTALL—a fleur-de-lys. *Reverse*, IN TVRNMILL STREE—C. M. N.

Obverse, IOHN PLANNER AT THE—two brewers carrying a barrel. *Reverse*, IN TVRNMILL STREET—HIS HALFE PENNY.

Obverse, IOHN VARNEY, MEALMAN—a pair of spectacles. *Reverse*, IN TVRNMILL STREETE—I. M. V.

PAGE 353.

Amongst the plans proposed for the improvement of Clerkenwell, was Mr. Footman's, which was projected early in the year 1859, and the arguments for which may be thus abstracted:—

Clerkenwell had become so surrounded, in consequence of the extension of the metropolis, that it occupied a central position in it. From its inadequate thoroughfares it was not merely deprived of the advantages which should arise to it from that central position, but the parish had thereby become crowded by a class of inhabitants whose means were insufficient for their proper maintenance, and the result was increased pauperism and heavy rates. It was generally apprehended that, in the formation of new thoroughfares, a large amount of rateable property would be destroyed; but by Mr. Footman's plan there was reason to believe that there would be an increase. By the proposed plan property rated at between £4,000 and £5,000, and yielding, upon an annual poor-rate of 3s. in the pound, nearly £700, would be destroyed; whilst that to be substituted would yield a £12,000 rating, and nearly £2,000 to the poor-rate, being an increase of more than £8,000 of rateable value, and upwards of £1,000 in annual receipts, derived solely from new property and business frontages. There would also be the enhanced value of Victoria-street, the greatly improved rating of Cow-cross, and a corresponding reduction in the local expense of maintaining the poor of Clerkenwell. A further benefit would be the creation of a vast source of employment, which again must have a beneficial influence in diminishing the poor-rate. Clerkenwell was at the head of one of the staple manufactures of the country, upon the prosperity of which the welfare of a great majority of its inhabitants depended, and for the display of which an opportunity would be afforded in the new thoroughfares. The cost of such improvements would be much lower than those carried out in other parts of the metropolis. In the district of New Cannon-street the property destroyed was of the value of £800,000, and the return £440,000. The property proposed to be removed was mostly dilapidated, comprising chiefly wretched courts and alleys of the lowest value, in lieu of which exceedingly valuable frontages would be created, and from the re-sales of which nearly the entire outlay might be recovered. Three new throughfares were proposed, viz:—

I. From the north-east corner of Lincoln's Inn-fields, forming a junction with Holborn at the narrow end of Chancery-lane, across Gray's Inn-lane, Fox and other courts, Leather-lane, Hatton-garden, across the vacant ground, through the courts of Cow-cross to St. John-street, forming a junction with Old-street, opening up a direct communication from the parks at the West-end to those at the East.

II. A thoroughfare branching out of the above along Charles-street, Hatton-garden, across the vacant ground, Sharp's-alley, Smithfield-bars, and the vacant space at the back of Smithfield, forming a junction with Barbican, and affording communication between Piccadilly, Oxford-street, Holborn to Whitechapel-road, greatly relieving the traffic of Cheapside.

III. From the end of Sekforde-street, across Clerkenwell-green, obliquely, through the back courts to Turnmill-street, across the vacant ground, forming a junction with Victoria-street, and the above new thoroughfares, opening up a communication between Clerkenwell, Blackfriars-bridge, Holborn, and Piccadilly.

The outlay upon the proposed plan was £733,330; the estimated return, £650,000; the actual cost of the plan being, however, only £80,000. The thoroughfares would cross the Fleet Valley at a convenient level, for which purpose the greater portion of Victoria-street would be raised from one to twelve feet. The plan would greatly aid the raising of Holborn-hill. No churches or other public buildings stood in the way of the proposed thoroughfares. Relief for its overcrowded streets was one of the most urgent of metropolitan wants. The proposed improvements would be exceedingly beneficial to the metropolis generally, and to Clerkenwell in particular. A railway would pass near it, and new markets would be constructed in its vicinity.

After much local discussion, the project was given up, and it has not been carried out.

At page 353, *et seq.*, we have given some particulars of Chick-lane. The following tokens were issued by tradesmen residing in this lane in the seventeenth century:—

Obverse, WILLIAM BRATTLE AT THE—three crowns on the royal oak. *Reverse*, ROYAL OAK, IN CHICK LANE—HIS HALFE PENNY. W. E. B.

Obverse, THOMAS COWLY, IN CHICK—the sun in rays. *Reverse*, LANE, HIS HALF-PENY. 1666—T.M.C. conjoined.

Obverse, Peter English, at the—a shoulder of mutton. *Reverse*, in Chick Lane. 1668. His Halfpeny—and the Baptist's head in a dish.

Obverse, Richard Hallet—the lion of St. Mark. *Reverse*, In Chik lane, 1659—R. A. H.

Obverse, Henry Knight, Brewer—a still and three other objects. *Reverse*, In Chick lane. 1669—His Halfpeny. H. E. K.

Obverse, Richard Lykey, at the—a pump, with a hand grasping the handle *Reverse*, Pump, in Chick lane—His Halfepenny. R. M. L.

Obverse, Alexander Sharp—A. I. S. *Reverse*, In Chicke lane—three pipes.

Obverse, At the Govlding—a lion rampant. *Reverse*, Lyon, in Chik lane—R. N. W.

Obverse, Robert West. 1667—the mercers' arms. *Reverse*, In Chicke lane—His Halfepenny. R. A. W.

We read in Ned Ward's "London Spy," part V. (*vide* also part XI.), as follows:—"We walk'd on till we came to the end of a little stinking lane, which my friend told me was Chick-lane; where measly pork and neck-of-beef stood out in wooden platters, adorned with carrots, and garnished with the leaves of marigolds."

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lv., page 152, we read, that on February 11th, 1785, a watchman gave information that he suspected some clandestine business was being carried on in a court in Chick-lane. In consequence of which, some peace officers went to search, and there found a press, dies, some gold, and other metals, with every implement for coining, and some counterfeit guineas, full weight, and executed so well that they could be distinguished only by being rather thicker in the middle and brighter than real ones.

PAGE 355.

At this page, *et seq.*, we have mentioned the Red Lion Tavern, latterly known as "the Old House in West-street." Cunningham, in his "London," vol. i., p. 196, says:—"The house overlooked the open descent of the Fleet, from Clerkenwell to Farringdon-street, and had long been infamous. A plank thrown across the sewer was often the means, it was said, of effecting an escape. When swelled with rain, the sewer of dirty waters roared and raged with all the dash and impatience of a mountain torrent."

PAGE 356.

At this page mention is made of Black Boy-alley, Chick-lane (West-street). A company of murderers, called the Black Boy-alley gang, were, so late as the reign of George II., the terror of the whole City. Hogarth, in one of his prints of the "Idle and Industrious Apprentice," has depicted one of the scenes of this gang; but even his faithful and clever pencil has failed to give a true picture of their diabolical deeds. The band occupied some miserable tenements in Black Boy-alley, where the uncautious were decoyed by depraved women, and when their victims had been gagged, that they should give no alarm, they were dragged to one of the dens, where the wretches of the gang robbed and murdered them, and threw their bodies into the Fleet ditch. To so alarming an extent had this gang carried their atrocities, that the Government lent its aid to the ordinary police; by means of which the principal members of the band were apprehended, and nineteen of them were executed at one time.

Cunningham, in his "London," vol. i., p. 196, says:—"Plate IX. of Hogarth's 'Industry and Idleness,' represents a scene in the Blood Bowl-house, in Chick-lane; a notorious haunt of prostitutes and thieves. The house was, I believe, the same as the Red Lion Tavern, and one of the rooms, in shape and general appearance, was the same as in Hogarth. The whole place, indeed was true to Hogarth's picture." We think that Mr. Cunningham is mistaken in assigning the artist's scene to the Red Lion Tavern; and are of opinion that it was laid in Black Boy-alley, as above stated.

At page 356 we have mentioned Cow-cross. We add the following notes thereon:—Stow, p. 161, says:—"On the left-hand side of St. John-street, lieth a lane called Cow-cross, of a cross some time standing there; which lane turneth down to another lane, called Turnmill-street, which stretcheth up to the west of Clerkenwell."

In "The First and Second Part of King Edward IV.," by T. Heywood, 4to., 1600, we read:—

Sir John Crosby, the Lord Mayor *(ruminating)*—

But soft, John Crosby! thou forget'st thyself,
And dost not mind thy birth and parentage;
Where thou wast born, and whence thou art derived.
I do not shame to say, the Hospital
Of London was my chiefest fost'ring place:
There I did learn that, near unto a cross,
Commonly called Cow Cross, near Islington,
An honest citizen did chance to find me:
A poor shoemaker by his trade he was;
And doubting of my christendom or no,
Call'd me according to the place he found me,
John Crosby, finding me so by a cross.

In reference to this extract, Cunningham says:—"The Hospital was of course Christ's Hospital, but the Crosby of Edward IV.'s reign could not very well have been educated (except in a play) in an hospital founded by Edward IV. Our fine old dramatists contemned anachronisms of this kind."[1]

We find in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, *temp.* Charles I., 1631-1633, under the date of 1631 (?), a petition of Edward Bedford to the council. About twenty-two years ago petitioner was impressed at Bristol in the Phœnix, Capt. Thomas Button, and in that service lost the sight of one eye, and was lamed in the hip. Went afterwards to the Bermudas, where "for six years he bore office as one of the overseers of the Lord Paget's tribe." On his return took an ancient victualling house at Cow-cross, where he keeps a cook's shop, and having a license from another house, thought he might victual therewith; but Justice Long has withdrawn his license. Prays for a license or a pension as a maimed sailor.

The following tokens were issued by tradesmen residing at Cow-cross in the seventeenth century:—

Obverse, The Dogg and Bare—a dog attacking a bear. *Reverse*, At Cow Cross, 1653—I. M. B.

Obverse, Francis Bray at Cow—three fleurs-de-lys. *Reverse*, Crosse—his halfe peny, 66—F. B., divided by an ornamented knot.

Obverse, William Cordwell—a kneeling figure surrounded by wild beasts. (Daniel in the lions' den.) *Reverse*, At Cow Cross—W. A. C.

Obverse, At the 3 Kings—H. M. G. *Reverse*, At Cowe Cross—three kings crowned.

Obverse, The 3 Doves—three doves, each holding a branch in beak. *Reverse*, At Cow Crose, 1650—T. M. G.

Obverse, John Golbarne at the—I. M. G. *Reverse*, World's End, Cow Cross—a globe on which are represented land and water, trees, &c., with clouds at the side.

Obverse, John Hammond—cheesmonger. *Reverse*, At Cow Cross, 1667—a pile of cheeses—I. H.

Obverse, Richard Haraben—Strand. *Reverse* . . . Olls, Cow Cros—1651.

Obverse, Phillip Hocker at the—two men about to kill a bull. *Reverse*, At Cow Cross—1664—P. M. H.

Obverse, At the Signe of the—a boot-last. *Reverse*, Last at Cowe Crosse—T. I. M.

Obverse, John Martine at ye Red—His halfe peny. *Reverse*, Cross at Cow Crose—a cross.

Obverse, The White Lion—a lion rampant. *Reverse*, At Cow Crosse—a large S.

Obverse, Iames Watkins at the—an arched crown. *Reverse*, Crown in Cow Crosse—I. I. W.

Obverse, John Wood at the—a sugar-loaf and crescent between two pistols. *Reverse*, At Cow Cross—I. G. W.

Obverse, John Wormwell—the Prince of Wales's feathers. *Reverse*, At Cow Crosse—I. S. W.

We learn from the Calendar of State Papers, 1666-1667, that at the time of the Great Fire,

[1] *London*, vol. i., p. 243.

September 2nd, 1666, a post was established in Cow-lane, September 3rd, at which the parochial constables and a hundred men with thirty foot soldiers, "under a good, careful officer and three gentlemen, are commanded to attend." Their duty was not specified, except in the gentlemen being empowered to give the munificent reward of one shilling to such as worked diligently; and in the notice that "five pounds in beef, bread and beer," was the allowance for each post, whose duty consisted in devouring the same.

The following tokens were issued by tradesmen residing in Cow-lane in the seventeenth century:—

Obverse, John Beard at the—a bull's head. *Reverse*, Bvll Head in Cow lane—I. L. B.

Obverse, John Collis in—a naked figure holding a staff. *Reverse*, Cow lane, 1657—I. A. C.

Obverse, James Hill at the—a bull's head. *Reverse*, In Cowe lane—I. M. H.

Observe, William Holms at the—a plough. *Reverse*, Plow in Cow lane—W. A. H.

Obverse, The 3 Cocks at—three cocks. *Reverse*, Cow lane end—R. I. S.

Obverse, William Stringfelow at—His Halfe peny. *Reverse*, Ye Byll Head in Cow lane—a bull's head couped.

Obverse, At the Plow—a plough. *Reverse*, In Cow lane—C. A. T.

Obverse, At the Red Cross—a cross. *Reverse*, In Cow lane, 58—T. A. T.

Obverse, The Shvger love—a sugar-loaf. *Reverse*, At Cowe lane end. 1652—W. M. T.

Obverse, Thomas Tarat in Boar's—the baker's arms. *Reverse*, Head covrt, Cow lane end—His halfe penny.

Obverse, John Thorowgood at Cow—a spur with its leathers. *Reverse*, Lane end in Smithfeild—His halfe penny—I. R. T.

Obverse, John Werren—a still. *Reverse*, In Cow lane—I. S. W.

PAGE 366.

At this page mention is made of the improved dwellings or lodging-houses for the labouring classes, which were to be erected on the City lands in Farringdon-road. The Improvement Committee of the Corporation of the City of London, having received authority from the Court of Common Council to draw upon the Chamber to the amount of £20,000 for the purpose of providing lodging-houses for the labouring poor, selected as a site for these dwellings a plot of ground at the corner of Farringdon-road, on the north side, adjoining Ray-street. In March, 1864, the committee advertised for tenders for the erection. Subsequently the buildings were raised, and they now present an imposing front in Farringdon-road. The dwellings will accommodate one hundred and sixty families. On the ground floors of the buildings next Ray-street and Farringdon-road are shops, which are separate from the dwellings. In February, 1865, some of these shops were offered to the public to be let by tender.

PAGE 372.

At this page mention is made of the Rev. G. Patrick, afternoon lecturer of Shoreditch, who resided in Wilderness-row. The following extract from Ellis's "History of Shoreditch," relates to this gentleman:—Upon the resignation of the lectureship of Shoreditch, by Dr. Grant, in the year 1796, "the floodgates of that rapid and destructive torrent, which must ever rush from a popular election to a pulpit in a parish so extensive, were opened; and on Tuesday, Feb. 23, the books containing the names, degrees, and colleges of the candidates being closed, a list was inserted in a letter to the vicar for his approbation, who returned an answer in the following words, having previously dashed his pen invertedly through the names of Rev. George Patrick, LL.B.; Rev. Cavalier Jouet; Rev. W. Jarvis Abdy, B.A.; Rev. Joseph Cuthbert, M.A.; Rev. — Buchanan, M.A.:—

S. Molton, Feb. 25, 1796. Sir, I received your letter to-day, inclosing a list of gentlemen as candidates for the vacant lectureship of my parish; also a proposition to have a joint lectureship. The latter I totally disapprove of; and, in pursuance of my predecessor Dr. Hotham's plan, have returned a list of six gentlemen (and who are equally alike to me), from which the gentlemen of the parish may make their choice. I am, Sir, your faithful humble servant, J. Blake. Rev. J. Cope Westcott, J. Joseph Ellis, W. Wilmot Kimpton, John Armstrong, John Robinson, Thomas Walker.' Every candidate thus excluded, Mr. Patrick excepted, resigned with becoming decency. The zealous espousers of Mr. Patrick, who refuse the communion of the church of England, yet claim a right of depriving its constant attendants of their most important privilege by endeavouring to impose upon them a partizan of their own, in thus acting have not only shown great impropriety of conduct, but have been, to use their own expression, 'deplorably' tumultuous. In opposition to the vicar's decision, these invaders of the church's happiness determined to stand the poll, which, if the churchwardens upon application would not take in compliance to their wish, they themselves in defiance to all order had purposed to receive. They (the churchwardens) for the purpose of preserving a decorum consonant to the feelings of those of the established church, consented, and on March 17 the poll commenced, finally closing on the 19th, when the numbers were as follows:—Mr. Patrick, 947; Mr. Ellis, 357; Mr. Westcott, 132; Mr. Armstrong, 45; Mr. Kimpton, 14; Mr. Walker, 1. Upon the churchwardens refusing to decide Mr. Patrick duly elected, a scene of confusion immediately ensued, actuated by the supporters of Mr. P., whose conduct must ever remain a standing mark of indecency and violence on the annals of their parish; for, scarcely to be credited, from their premeditated intentions, the upper warden providentially escaped with his life, although with the strictest propriety he had fulfilled his office. From this time the parishes were continually disturbed by the frequent distribution of handbills containing illiberal insinuations, until the 2d of April, when the vicar appointed the Rev. John Joseph Ellis, M.A., the first upon the list returned, to take the pulpit''[1]

PAGE 373.

The Flete Dike was described as a boundary in the year 951; and it is supposed that this stream was once the locality of the London Fen, *vide* "Archæologia," vol. xxvi., pp. 224, 231.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1855, vol. xliii., N.S., pp. 24-32, will be found an historical account of the River Fleet.

PAGE 375.

At this page we have given the etymology of the word Fleet as applied to the river of that name. In reference to this stream a correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," January, 1849, says:—"This water must have been of considerable magnitude, and, in ancient times, of great importance to the city. In all probability it was formed and enlarged from its original size, as a mere brook running into the Thames, and operated as a secure harbour for certain vessels used on that river. I have long supposed, and time has not occasioned me to alter the opinion, that this work of formation and enlargement was executed by the Britons prior to the Roman invasion, and that the Romans, deeming it an arm of the Thames, named it Fretum, the word in their language used for a water of that description and appearance, and that from this word the name of Fleet for the adjacent street, and for the name of the water in its obstructed and filled up state of Fleet Ditch, originated."

[1] Ellis's *Shoreditch*, pp. 47—49.

PAGE 377.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," May, 1743, page 273, we read, under date the 11th of that month, as follows:—"Several hundred weight of leaden pipes, of a large bore, were dug up in Fleet-street, which were laid anno. 1471, to convey water from the standard and cistern in the said place to a cistern at Fleet-bridge."[1]

PAGE 385.

At this page, *et. seq.*, we have referred to the filthy and obstructed state of the Fleet River. Ben Jonson tells us what the obstructions were in a poem entitled "The Famous Voyage," describing the hair-brained adventure of Sir Ralph Shelton and a Mr. Heyden, who undertook to row from Bridewell to Holborn, and, more extraordinary still, performed their voyage.[2]

All was to them the same; they were to pass,
And so they did, from Styx to Acheron,
The ever-boiling flood; whose banks upon,
Your Fleet-lane Furies and hot Cooks do dwell,
That with still-sealding steams make the place Hell;
The sinks run grease, and hair of meazled hogs,
The heads, houghs, entrails, and the hides of dogs:
For, to say truth, what seullion is so nasty
To put the skins and offals in a pasty?
Cats there lay divers.

Gay, in his "Trivia," says, in addition to that which we have quoted at page 386:—

If where Fleet-ditch with muddy current flows,
You chance to roam; where oyster-tubs in rows
Are ranged beside the posts; there stay thy haste,
And with the savoury dish indulge thy taste:
The damsel's knife the gaping shell commands,
While the salt liquor streams between her hands.

PAGE 389.

At a meeting of the Freemasons of the Church, held on September 8th, 1846, the secretary, W. P. Griffith, Esq., read a letter from E. B. Price, Esq., stating that a curious puzzle or water jug of brown ware, with slashes in the neck, was in his possession, and had been found on the banks of the Fleet Ditch. The same gentleman exhibited a leaden bull of Pope Gregory IX. (*temp.* King John), found in West-street, West Smithfield, near Fleet Ditch, October 30th, 1844.[3] On the occasion of the bursting of the Fleet Ditch[4] many wig-curlers or pipes were turned up. These articles constantly appear when old ground is broken in London. They are usually small earthenware sticks or rollers of baked pipe clay, and about five inches long.

At a meeting of the British Archæological Association, held February 10th, 1864, Mr. Gunston produced a Perpetual Almanac of lead, of the size of half-a-crown, found in the mud of the Fleet River. On one side was the calendar, contained in a square, divided into forty-five compartments, with a long space at the lower corner, with a maker's name—W. Foster. On the opposite side were directions arranged in twelve lines—"March 13, the first month; Ap., the second, etc., and Feb.,

[1] *Vide* also page 442.
[2] Cunningham's *London*, vol. i., p. 308.
[3] *Proceedings of the College of the Freemasons of the Church*, part II., page 57.
[4] *Vide* pp. 361-3.

the last. Observe what day of the week March enters upon: for all such dayes stand under every month for ever. The other week dayes follow in order." The matters on both sides of this piece were incuse, and it appeared to have been struck towards the close of the seventeenth century.[1] And at a meeting of the same Association, held April 27th, 1864, Mr. Gunston exhibited a basket-handled stiletto of the time of Henry VIII., which was found, in the year 1863, in the mud of the River Fleet.

PAGE 395.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1828, vol. xcviii., p. 78, we find the following notice of the consecration of St. Mark's Church, on the 1st of January, 1828:—

"The new church called St. Mark the Evangelist, Clerkenwell, situate in Myddelton-square, near the New River Head, was consecrated by the Lord Bishop of London. An appropriate anthem was sung by Pyne, and a most impressive sermon was delivered by his lordship. The church is one of those that have been erected wholly by His Majesty's Commissioners. It is of the Gothic order, and is capable of containing one thousand eight hundred persons. We understand that a district will be immediately assigned to it, and that the patronage will not (as in the present parish) belong to the parishioners, but will, under one of the clauses in the Church Acts, fall to the Bishop."

In the same Magazine, vol. xcix., part I., page 579, we find the following minute and over critical description of the building:—

"The architecture is appropriate; but the execution is marred by the excessive clumsiness, and the utter want of taste which characterise the structure. The ground plan is a parallelogram; a portion at the west end being separated from the rest, and containing the base of the lower and lateral lobbies; and the eastern end having a small chancel and vestries added to it. The usual distribution of the area into nave and aisles is not adhered to. The west front, the only passable portion, is shown in the engraving. In the centre is the tower, which is marked by extreme massiveness. The entrance is acutely pointed. The archivolt is enriched with numerous mouldings springing from slender columns attached to the jambs, the whole being a poor imitation of the style of the latter part of the thirteenth century. Above the arch a series of panelling is applied, to form a square frontispiece. Above this is an arched window made by mullions into three lights, divided into two stories by a transom, the head of the arch filled with perpendicular mullions, the whole being in the style of the sixteenth century. Two pilaster buttresses without splays rise from the ground to this portion of the design; they are panelled, and end in clumsy pinnacles. The next storey of the tower has the clock dial; and the upper, being the fourth storey, has a window composed of three lancet arches of equal height, in every aspect of the elevation; these windows are divided by slender frames of iron, having somewhat the appearance of mullions and tracery, into the compartments shown in the engraving; above these windows the elevation finishes with a cornice charged with flowers, and a parapet pierced with trevoils inclosed in triangular divisions. Above the pilaster buttresses others of a more slender character take their rise, and are continued to the parapet, above which they finish in crocketted pinnacles, only remarkable for their heaviness and dwarfish elevation. The lateral divisions of the church contain pointed windows, which have a framework of iron within them, a flimsy substitute for mullions and tracery. The returns of these divisions have low arched doorways, with lancet arches in blank above them, and are finished with a similar parapet to the tower, but not pierced. At the angles, and as a mark of distinction between the church and the lobbies, are buttresses crowned with pinnacles. The body of the church is made by buttresses into five divisions; and in height, by a string, into two storeys, the elevation being finished with a plain parapet. In each division are two windows, the lower being square, the heads bounded by weather cornices; they are divided by iron mullions into three compartments, the whole design being excessively mean, and probably taken from the nearest almshouse. The upper windows are similar to those already described in the west front of the vestibule, and which are shown in the engraving; and by way of evincing the most decided contempt for ancient authorities, the weather cornices are omitted. In lieu of a clerestory, an unsightly slated roof, in the meeting-house style, crowns the whole structure. The eastern front is likewise made into three divisions, and the projection of the central one for a chancel would lead the spectator to believe that the usual division into nave and aisles had been adhered to. The exterior face of the east window is very excellent; it is made by mullions into three lights; an elegant circle, and other tracery in the best style of the fourteenth century, occupy the head of

[1] *Journal British Archæological Association*, 1864, p. 198.

the arch, with which period the graceful sweep and the moulded archivolt perfectly correspond. A solitary window in the tower already noticed, is also of a correct design; how that and the present happen to have been placed among so many absurdities is unaccountable. The gable above the east window terminates in a pedestal, crowned with a large cross. At the angles of the design are buttresses and pinnacles, and small vestries are erected on each side of the chancel. From the description of the exterior, we fear our readers will not expect to find many beauties within; and they are not likely to experience what is usually termed an agreeable disappointment. The interior view is quite on a par with the exterior. The entrance in the west front leads into a porch, formed in the basement storey of the tower; it is groined with cross springers resting on corbel heads. The entrances in the flanks lead into lobbies, which contain the stairs to the galleries, and communicate laterally with the central porch; from these several vestibules are three entrances through pointed arches into the body of the church; and here a large area, not divided by pillars and arches, but showing only one room or hall in the meeting-house style, admirably accords with the pointed style of architecture, and evinces the great attention the architect has paid to our ancient churches; the walls are finished with a nondescript cornice, on which rests an horizontal ceiling of plaster, divided into huge lozenge-shaped compartments by ribs crossing each other diagonally, and ornamented at their junction with a flower. The ceiling and its decorations are perfectly original, and will form a lasting monument of the taste of the architect, and may chance to be admired when the works of Wykeham and Bray are forgotten. The most curious piece of workmanship in the church is the expedient which arises from the concealment of the head of the east window, which it will be recollected is described in its exterior face as arched, but which, in consequence of the introduction of the modern horizontal ceiling, is cut across at the top of the mullions. With the addition of some ornament a square-headed window is formed, of a design never met with in any ancient work; and what was elegant in its outer face, is in the inside converted into a perfect deformity. The spectators who gaze on the altered design, cannot imagine how a window can be square in one point of view, and arched in another, and go away lost in amazement at the ingenuity of the designer. A gallery of extraordinary dimensions crosses the western end; it is sustained upon twelve iron pillars in three rows. A continuation of the same gallery extends along the side walls to the east end, also sustained on iron columns, the design of which is the architect's own. The fronts are painted white, and are ornamented with arched compartments in relief. The altar-screen, situated below the eastern window, is bounded by a buttress at each side, ending in an angular cap or pinnacle, and the upright of the screen is finished with a battlement; the whole is oddly enough painted in imitation of Sienna marble, a material probably unknown to our ancestors, except in mosaic work. The decalogue, &c., are inscribed on panels in imitation of porphyry. In the centre of the cornice is placed the king's arms, carved and painted. A crucifix in such a situation would be deemed idolatrous, yet a zealous Church of England man feels no scruple in bowing before the royal arms and supporters, which to an unlettered savage would, in many churches, really appear to be the only objects of worship. The pulpit and reading desk are placed on opposite sides of the central aisle, at a short distance from the altar. The pulpit is octangular, and rests on a pillar; it is devoid of ornament. The reading desk is similar, but is lower than the pulpit. The organ is placed in the western gallery; the case is carved oak, representing three square towers with pinnacles; it greatly resembles that in the new church at Chelsea. On each side the instrument is a spacious gallery for the charity children. The east window is glazed in small panes of various gaudy colours, green, blue, purple, orange, and yellow, very much resembling a harlequin's jacket; three of the panes are plain glass; one is inscribed with the names of the minister and churchwardens of the mother parish in 1827; a second bears the arms of the See of London; and a third the following shield and inscription:—Arms: a cross moline pierced with a mullet, between three mullets, Azure. Crest: on a wreath, a warrior's head in profile, attired in an antique helmet, all proper. 'William Chadwell Mylne, architect, 1827.' All these subjects are very minute. In the head of the central compartment is painted the descending dove, and the initials 'I. H. S.' This window was the gift of Thomas Handley, Esq. The number of persons who may be accommodated in this church is one thousand nine hundred and fifteen, exclusive of fourteen sittings reserved to the New River Company, which corporation presented the site of the church. The whole cost to the commissioners was £16,000, and the further sum of £2,000 was voted by the parish. The church was consecrated January 1, 1828, by the Lord Bishop of London (Dr. Howley). The building has the advantage of an excellent situation, being placed in the midst of an ornamental plantation, forming the centre of Myddelton-square.

"E. I. C."

The arms lastly above described are those of Mylne; but the following is the correct blazon of the armorial bearings of this family:—Or, a cross moline quarterly, pierced Azure, between three mullets of the Second. Crest: on a wreath, Pallas's head couped at the shoulders Proper, vested about the neck Vert, on the head a helmet Azure, beaver turned up, on the top a plume of feathers Gules. Motto: Tam in arte quam marte.[1]

[1] *Vide* page 440.

PAGE 396.

At this page it is stated that the Rev. Thomas Mortimer died in his fifty-eighth year, in 1851, at Madeley. This is an error; he died in his fifty-sixth year, in 1850, at Broseley, and was buried at Madeley. The Editor is indebted to the reverend vicar of that place for the following copy of Mr. Mortimer's epitaph:—

"Here lies the Revd. Thomas Mortimer, B.D., who died at Broseley, Nov. 25th, 1850, aged 55 years. preached his first sermon at Madeley Church, 1818. For nearly 30 years he proclaimed the 'glorious Gospel' in London, and by the power of the spirit turned many sinners unto righteousness, especially at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where he was lecturer for 16 years. While so highly honoured by his God, he was deeply abased in his own eyes, and he desired these lines to be written on his tomb:—

'I am a poor sinner and nothing at all,
But Jesus Christ is my all in all.'"

Mr. Mortimer was the main cause of the building of St. Philip's Church, Granville-square,[1] which was erected in part to receive the overflowings of his congregation. Mr. Watson, the first minister of St. Philip's, had been Mr. Mortimer's curate at St. Mark's Church.

PAGE 398.

At this page mention is made of Thomas John Lloyd Baker, of Gloucestershire. The "Archæologia," vol. xix., pp. 161-175, contains an account by this gentleman of a chain of ancient fortresses extending through the south-western part of Gloucestershire, with two plates.

At No. 5, Green-terrace, New River Head, died, on 27th August, 1864, after an illness of seven days, and at the age of eighty-two years, William Webb, who had been many years the clerk of the parish of Clerkenwell, and who, from his long services in it and his probity of character, won the esteem and respect of his fellow parishioners.

PAGE 409.

The lecture upon heads, by George Alexander Stevens, which is mentioned at this page, was very popular at the time when it was delivered. It appears to have been given at the Haymarket Theatre during the years 1767-8-9.

The following short account of the life of Griffith Davies, the mathematician, who for some time resided in Clerkenwell, will no doubt interest our readers:—

In the year 1788 was born, in Llandwrog, in Carnarvonshire, our hero, the second child of a poor couple. Owen Davies, the father, rented a small holding, which he and his wife tilled. The produce of the land was not sufficient for their maintenance, but they had another resource in a neighbouring slate-quarry, where Owen wrought during every moment of time that he could spare from his little farm. At that day there were few means of instruction in that remote district, and Owen Davies, like most of his neighbours, could neither read nor write. Happily, however, his wife, who was a woman of strong common sense, had learned to read the Welsh language fluently, and she had no intention that her little son should grow up in ignorance of anything she could teach him. Encompassed by poverty and the cares of a rising family, she could do but little; but that little she did, and prepared young Griffith for the reception of better instruction when it might come in his way. A poor man who worked in the slate-quarry set on foot a Welsh Sunday-school, and here Griffith soon learned to read the Bible, and would have made further progress, but that his delicate health threw him back. When near seven years of age, a school for teaching English was opened in

[1] *Vide* page 573.

the next parish. The master took kindly notice of Griffith, and invited him to join his class. The offer was gladly accepted, and daily did the little fellow trudge on foot for two miles over a rugged country, carrying his dinner in his pocket, to receive his lessons. Before he was nine years old, however, his parents needed his assistance on the farm, and he was obliged to exchange the schoolroom for field-work. He continued at this labour until he was twelve years old, when an English school having opened in his own parish, his parents sent him there for a few months; but, on account of their poverty and the badness of the harvest, were compelled to withdraw him, and hire him out to a neighbour in the capacity of a farmer's boy, in which occupation he maintained himself.

At the age of fourteen he went to work in the slate-quarries, was bound apprentice, and in a short time began to save money from his wages. By the time he was seventeen, he found himself in a condition to purchase a little more instruction; and, accordingly, placed himself for three months in an English day-school at Carnarvon, and at this advanced age began for the first time to learn the numeration table. The study of figures aroused a new faculty within him; in three months he mastered the elements of arithmetic, and returned to the quarry, when his savings were all gone, with the consciousness of a newly-discovered power within him. All his spare moments were now spent in scratching, with an iron point, calculations upon the slates which he hewed from the rock, and in this way he acquired an expertness which was of immense use in after years.

He soon began to feel that the quarry was no longer his natural sphere, and, goaded by an eager thirst for knowledge, he resolved, at the age of nineteen, to start for England to improve himself in the language, which he well knew was the only medium for him of solid and substantial acquirements. With this view he sailed from Carnarvon in September, 1809, and arrived in London nine days after. He had been commissioned to carry a small present of pocket-money to a farmer's nephew who was at school in the Hackney-road, and when he went to fulfil that mission, happily encountered a fellow-countryman in the usher of the school. His compatriot advised him to follow his example, by seeking a situation as an usher. He acted on this counsel, and succeeded in obtaining an engagement. His mind seemed to recoil from every other study save that of arithmetic, and he removed from one situation after another in search of a master who could better help him forward in this branch of learning. At length he fell in with one Westbrook, in Westminster, a man of congenial tastes, who became a real friend, and assisted materially in carrying out his views. Westbrook, however, could not help him to employment, and, this failing, poor Griffith Davies was driven to seek for work in a menial capacity, as porter or messenger, but for a long time without success. But returning one evening heart-broken to his lodgings, he found there a letter from a schoolmaster in Sadler's Wells, appointing a meeting, which resulted next day in his engagement as arithmetical tutor, with a salary of twenty pounds a year, besides board and residence. It was in the beginning of 1810 that he entered on his duties, and he made such good use of his opportunity that before the summer of 1811 he had attained a competent knowledge of English grammar, and made such proficiency in mathematics as to be able to calculate the times of eclipses and illustrate their mode of occurrence.

On leaving Sadler's Wells, in 1811, Davies opened a small school on his own account in James-street, Old-street, turning his spare hours to profit by giving private lessons. At the same time he joined the Mathematical Society, and derived incalculable benefit from the society of its more intellectual members. In 1812, he hired a respectable house in Lizard-street, St. Luke's, whither most of his scholars followed him, and in November he married. The winter saw him struggling with difficulties. To eke out his resources, he read Welsh proofs for a printer; and at this period he commenced writing his "Key to Bonnycastle's Trigonometry." It was while he was writing this that his first child was born. The work, which was a key to the first edition of Bonnycastle's book, was hardly completed when a second edition made its appearance, so different from the first that Davies had to re-write almost the entire manuscript to make it of any use; and so poor was he, that he could not raise the money to buy the new edition, but had to part with a number of volumes he could ill spare to a bookseller in exchange for it. All difficulties were, however, at length surmounted, and his work passed through the press in the summer of 1814.

His appearance as an author had the effect of bringing him before the public and establishing his

character as a mathematician. Students of a wealthy class now sought him out, and among his private pupils came a gentleman connected with an assurance office, who had been recommended by the President of the Mathematical Society to Mr. Davies as a person likely to give him instruction in the theory of life assurance. Davies had no knowledge of the subject; but, setting his pupil to master the preliminary studies, he procured the necessary books for himself, and, concentrating the whole force of his mind on the business, was soon in a condition to afford all the assistance required. The pupil was so well satisfied, that he introduced others, and they again acted in like manner. Among those who studied under Mr. Davies was the unfortunate Sir John Franklin, who, after a long service at sea, came to study the higher branches of navigation, and whom he was accustomed to speak of as the most unassuming and gentlemanly man that he had ever met with.

Griffith Davies, in 1815, removed to Bartholomew-square, and in the following year to Cannon-street, where he opened a select school, chiefly for mathematics—having at the same time an honourable connection with the scholars of the Merchant Tailors' School. He now began to impart the principles of life assurance to gentlemen seeking appointments as actuaries to life offices. Being familiar with the whole science of the business, he was encouraged to apply for a similar appointment himself; and, on application, was readily furnished, without examination, with a certificate of qualification by the late Mr. Morgan, of the "Equitable."

At the close of 1819, Mr. Davies submitted to the Society of Arts a sun-dial of peculiar construction, engraved on slate by himself. A full description of this dial will be found in the "Transactions of the Society of Arts" for the year 1820, in the summer of which, Mr. Davies received, from the hands of the Duke of Sussex, the large silver medal of that society.

In 1821 he was invited to attend the meetings of the projectors of the Guardian Assurance Company, to give his advice and assistance, and to discuss and decide upon the nature of its constitution. He was further engaged to construct the requisite tables; and when the company was established, was appointed their consulting actuary. About the same period he became actuary to a company established by Sir George Stevens for the purchase of reversionary property, for whom also he prepared an elaborate set of tables. In the first report which he made to that company, he anticipated Dr. Farr in his discovery of the gradual diminution of mortality in this country—the recognition of which has, during the life of the present generation, so much tended to cheapen and popularise the practice of life assurance.

The Guardian Society met with unprecedented success, and, as a consequence, Mr. Davies was appointed permanent actuary—a post which he honourably filled for more than thirty years. In 1825-6 he published a small work on "Life Contingencies." His reputation was now firmly established, both at home and abroad, as well in America as on the Continent. In 1829 he was employed by the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company to investigate the state of the Bombay Military Fund, and from that year, up to 1851, he had constantly under his hands some portion or other of the fiscal affairs of India; besides being from time to time engaged for the Bank of England. In 1831 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. For many years he was an honoured member and a warm supporter of the Welsh Chapel, Jewin-street, Cripplegate, where the service is performed in the Welsh language, the doctrines held being very similar to those of the Established Church. For the last few years of his life he withdrew from the social circles of his friends, rarely leaving home, and then only to attend his office or his place of worship. The Bible had now become his almost exclusive study. We may add, that he was the benefactor of his family—that he supported them for many years, particularly his father, who lived to the age of ninety-three, and to within a year of his own death.

Mr. Davies was married twice. His first wife was an Englishwoman, who shared and alleviated his poverty, and lived to rejoice in his prosperity, dying in 1836, after having borne him three daughters, of whom the youngest only survived. His second wife, whom he married in 1841, was a widow lady, a native of Wales, by whom he had one son.

The winter of 1847, which brought death, in the guise of influenza, to so many London homes, laid Mr. Davies on a sick bed. The endemic, which fastened on his lungs, left a permanent disorder

behind it, from which he suffered for the remainder of his days. In February, 1853, a severe attack confined him for several weeks, though he rallied again. It was in the evening of the 5th December, 1854, after a conversation of several hours, which had excited him, that he was seized with a paralytic stroke, under which he gradually sank, and died on the 25th of the following March.

PAGE 423.

In reference to the appearance of Master Abrahams (afterwards Mr. John Braham) at Sadler's Wells Theatre, which fact is mentioned at this page, we add the following in continuation of Note 2 :—Braham's first appearance on the stage was at Covent Garden Theatre, April 21st, 1787, for the benefit of Mr. Leoni, an Italian singer of celebrity, who had instructed the young vocalist. The play was the "Duenna," and, according to the advertisement, "at the end of act 1, 'The Soldier Tired of War's Alarms,' by Master *Braham*, being his *first appearance* on any stage." And again, after the first act of the farce, he sang the favourite song of "Ma Chère Amie." At the opening of the Royalty Theatre, Wellclose-square, on June 20th, in the same year, "Between the acts of the play, 'The Soldier Tired of War's Alarms' was sung with great success by a little boy, Master *Abram*, the pupil of Leoni," according to "The Chronicle;" and another paper said, "Yesterday evening we were surprised by a Master *Abraham*, a young pupil of Mr. Leoni. He promises fair to attain perfection, possessing every requisite necessary to form a capital singer." In stating the foregoing, Edward F. Rimbault says ("Notes and Queries," Third Series, v., p. 445), "I quote from some collections formed by the late Mr. Fillinham. I have not seen the newspapers themselves, but have no reason to doubt the correctness of the information. Mr. Peter Cunningham, then, may be right in his assertion concerning the bill in which Braham is called Master Abrahams; but is he right in placing his notice of the event under Goodman's-fields Theatre? The theatre in which Garrick made his first appearance was in Ayliffe-street; and John Palmer's Theatre, called the Royalty Theatre, was erected in Well-street, in the same locality, but on an entirely different site."

PAGE 426.

Harry Carey's portrait is prefixed to his "Universal Century," 1737, 4to., mezzotinto, by Faber, from J. Worsdale's painting; and another is prefixed to his "Poems," 1729, 8vo., mezzotinto, by the same artists.

PAGE 428.

At this page mention is made of a fatal accident at Sadler's Wells Theatre. The following is a contemporary notice thereof in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxvii., part II., p. 971:—

"This night (Thursday, October 15th, 1807), a set of ruffians and pickpockets got into Sadler's Wells Theatre. Near the close of the performance, after making a sham fight among themselves, they left the house, exclaiming 'A fight! a fight!' This was mistaken for a cry of 'fire!' and in an instant the whole house was thrown into confusion; the people in the gallery, pit, and boxes, all thronged to the doors, and, in their eagerness to escape, fell over one another: but the principal pressure was on the gallery stairs, where thirty persons were either killed or wounded. It was a benefit night, and the house was supposed to have had near two thousand persons in it. The next day the Coroner attended, with his Jury, in the Proprietors' room; who, having first inspected the Theatre, and found that no fire had taken place, nor any part of the building given way, proceeded to take a view of the following bodies, which lay dead in the house:—1. John Labdon, aged 20, of No. 7, Bell-yard, Temple Bar. 2. Rebecca Ling, of Bridge-court, Cannon-row, Westminster. 3. Edward Bland, aged 28, of No. 13, Bear-street, Leicester-fields. 4. John Greenwood, King-street, Hoxton-square. 5. Sarah Chalkeley, of No. 24, Oxford-road. 6. Roda Wall, aged 16, of the Crooked Bill, Hoxton. 7. Mary Evans, Market-street, Shoreditch. 8. Caroline Terrill, Plough-street, Whitechapel. 9. William Pincks, aged 17, of Hoxton-market. 10. J. Phelliston, aged 30, White Lion-street, Pentonville. 11. Edw. Clements, aged 13, Paradise-court, Battle-bridge. 12. J. Groves, a servant with Mr. Taylor, Hoxton-square. 13. Benjamin Price, a lad about 12 years old, of No. 33, Lime-street, Leadenhall-street. 14. Elizabeth M. Ward, No. 20, Plum-street, Bloomsbury.

15. Lydia Carr, No. 23, Peerless-pool, City-road. 16. J. Ward, aged 16, Glasshouse-yard, Goswell-street. 17. C. Judd, aged 20, of Artillery-lane, Bishopsgate-street. 18. Rebeeea Saunders, 9 years old, of No. 12, Draper's-buildings, London-wall. Mr. Sharpe, the surgeon, was sent for on the firs alarm being given, and was in attendance before any of the sufferers were brought down. Mr. Chamberlaine, of Clerkenwell, and several other surgeons, were also sent for; and not a moment was lost in using all possible means to reeover the sufferers; but only one man and one boy were restored."

PAGE 438.

An obituary notice of Robert Mylne, who is mentioned at the above page, will be found in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1811, vol. lxxxi., part I., pp. 499-500. The genealogy of the Mylnes of Balfarg will be found in "Notes and Queries," Third Series, vol. vii., pp. 198-199. The account is abstracted from an old transcript of the Lyon record, made by Robert Mylne, a Scottish collector, of the last and preceding centuries.

PAGE 461.

At a meeting of the British Archæological Association, held February 22nd, 1850, Mr. C. R. Smith exhibited an impression of a seal, in brass, found in the New River, near Islington, which appeared to have belonged to an ancient society of notaries in Italy.

We read in "Lloyd's Evening Post," 1768, under date April, in that year, as follows:—"The New River Company have erected a fire-engine at their old works, near Islington, to force a greater quantity of water to the upper reservoir,[1] for which purpose a great number of iron pipes are now laying, in order thereby more effectually to supply the vicinities of the town with water."

At page 461 we quote from "Amwell," a poem, by J. Scott. It may interest some of our readers to know that this poet's residence was put up for sale by auction on June 17th, 1864. The following is a copy of the particulars:—

"Amwell House, situate close to the Town of Ware, in the County of Herts.—Messrs. Norton, Hoggart, and Trist have received instructions to offer for sale, at the Mart, on Friday, June 17, at twelve, a very valuable Freehold Property, land-tax redeemed, situate in the parish of Great Amwell, close to the town of Ware and the railway station, in a picturesque part of the county of Herts. It comprises Amwell House, for many years the residence of Scott, the celebrated Amwell poet, replete with every convenience for a large family or public establishment; coach-houses, stabling, and offices; beautiful pleasure grounds laid out in lawn and flower beds, ornamented with fine old timber, and intersected by dry gravelled shrubbery walks, leading to an exceedingly curious grotto, constructed in the year 1769, with subterraneous passages extending under the plantation, the walls decorated with choice specimens of shells and stones, forming an object of interest for many miles round, and to an ornamental summer-house, placed on high ground, commanding beautiful and extensive views of the surrounding country; fishpond, and rich park-like meadow land, of an undulating character, offering charming sites for the erection of villa residences; the whole containing about twenty-five acres, and presenting an unusually favourable opportunity for a profitable building speculation, independent of the occupation of the capital residence and grounds adjoining. In hand, and possession will be given on completion of the purchase. To be viewed by cards only. Particulars, with plans, may shortly be had at the Saracen's Head Inn, Ware; Dimsdale Arms, Hertford; of Mr. Robert Forster, Land Agent, Tottenham; Messrs. Jones, Francis, and Bosanquet, Solicitors, 22, Austinfriars, E.C.; at the Mart; and (with cards to view) of Messrs. Norton, Hoggart, and Trist, 62, Old Broad-street, Royal Exchange, E.C."

PAGE 475.

In Westminster Abbey is a beautiful monument to Sir Thomas Owen; on it is a fine life-size figure of a judge in his robes at full length, leaning on his arms, and over him is an inscription, showing that he was son to Richard Owen, by Mary, daughter and heiress of Thomas Ottly, of Shropshire, esquire; that from his youth he had applied himself to the study of the law, and was first made serjeant-at-law to Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards a justice of the Common Pleas. He died December 21st, 1598.

[1] *Vide* page 396.

PAGE 501.

The Editor has been favoured by Mr. T. C. Noble with the following note upon the King's-cross estate, which is referred to at the above page :—

"The estate at Battle-bridge comprised from seventeen to twenty acres. Of this my grandfather took sixteen small dilapidated houses, and the dust and cinder heap, which it was said had been existing on the spot since the great fire of London. He gave about £500 for the lot, although the parties wanted £800. Bricks were then very scarce, so he very soon realised a good sum for the old buildings, while Russia, hearing in some way of this enormous dust heap, purchased it for purposes in rebuilding Moscow. The site of the mountain of dust is now covered by the houses of Derby-street, and I may add the names of the thoroughfares erected on this estate were derived from the popular ministers of the Government of that day. The rental derived from this property by my grandfather exceeded £1,000 a year. Upon part of his estate he erected large auction rooms in Liverpool-street, but being obliged to go to Brighton, he let the building to a Mr. Lanza, manager of an amateur singing society, who, in conjunction with Mr. S. Geary (one of the early proposers, with grandfather, for bridging Holborn-valley), turned the place into a 'Cabinet Theatre.' It was some time ere my relative could stop the proceedings, and it cost him much trouble to do so. He, however, had from the first retained the cellars under the building, which he informs me are of a very extensive character."

PAGE 517.

In the Calendar of State Papers, December, 1633, pp. 341-2, is mentioned "A case against Dr. Mainwaring and the vestrymen of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, for innovating a new table of fees, and against — Robinson, the parish clerk there, who would not suffer a poor parishioner, Charles Hawes, to be buried without such 'exactious fees as were unreasonable,' whereupon the deceased was carried to a bank by a ditch side, and there was interred near the bowling place in Islington Fields." This informs us that the bowling-green, subsequently known as Dobney's, was of very ancient foundation.

We read in "Lloyd's Evening Post" for 1768, that "On Friday night last (Sept. 2nd) Mr. Johnston, who keeps the Prospect Bowling-green House, at Islington, having been robbed several times lately, was resolved to keep a diligent watch after the villains; and for that purpose, himself with three men went round the place, where, hearing a little bustling noise in a new outhouse at the end of his bowling-green, he went into it, and upon the roof found two men, who had ripped all the lead off the gutters, and had packed it up to carry away. Mr. Johnston and his men secured them for that night in Bridewell, and next morning they were examined before Justice Palmer, who committed them to prison."

PAGE 530.

William Huntington's portrait was published in 1791, oval; J. Borgnes engraver. It represents the S.S. in a lay habit, in the act of writing, and wearing his own hair. A small oval profile portrait is prefixed to his "Arminian Anatomized," 1783, engraver Record; and another appears in an oval frame, vignette of a vineyard for the same, 8vo., 1786, G. Terry.

PAGE 543.

At this page we have mentioned one of the several visits paid by Pepys to Clerkenwell. He says, in his "Diary," under date May 10th, 1667,—"Drove hard towards Clerkenwell, thinking to have overtaken my Lady Newcastle,[1] whom I saw before us in her coach, with 100 boys and girls looking upon her."

[1] *Vide* page 98, *ante*, for an account of Pepys' meeting with the Duchess of Newcastle.

PAGE 573.

At this page we have by mistake stated that Mr. Armitage was the architect of St. Philip's Church, Granville-square. The architect was Mr. E. B. Lamb, and this was one of his first works. It was built at a time when church architecture was not so well understood as at the present day.

PAGE 574.

Amwell-street was so called from Amwell, in Hertfordshire, where the New River has its rise.

PAGE 577.

Mr. John Blyth was appointed the architect of the Clerkenwell Parochial Charity Schools, in Amwell-street, without competition; and his services were given gratuitously. Upon the completion of the works he received a very complimentary testimonial from the building committee. Mr. J. W. Griffith submitted designs for the building.

PAGE 578.

At this page, and also at page 174, we have referred to the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Upper Rosoman-street. We may add that this building is in the Italian style of architecture, and was built from the designs and under the superintendence of Mr. John Blyth. The cost of the structure was between £2,000 and £3,000. The pulpit was supported by four Corinthian columns. The opening service sermon was preached by the late Dr. Andrew Reed.

In some copies of this History a foot note, relative to the date of the conversion of this church to the Roman Catholic worship, appears at page 578. That portion of the note which purports to correct a date should be expunged, as it contains an error; and the date 1857, on the third line of page 579, should be 1847.

In an "Inquiry into the Genuineness of a Letter dated February 3rd, 1613, and signed 'Mary Magdaline Davers,'" which Inquiry is published in the "Camden Miscellany," vol. v., we find incidental mention made of Mary Woods, a cunning woman, of Clerkenwell.

In 1612 Mary Woods, of Norwich, a person who professed skill in palmistry and other similar sciences, came to London in the way of her vocation, and lodged at the house of one Crispe, a barber, in Clerkenwell. Having obtained such a valuable inmate, the barber soon afterwards removed with "Cunning Mary" and her husband to the more fashionable neighbourhood of the Strand, and there the barber became a willing agent in procuring subjects or patients for his female lodger. One branch of her business consisted in furnishing ladies who desired to become mothers with charms and medicines which would assist them in attaining their end. In the next house to Somerset House dwelt a Mrs. Isabel Peel, wife of a tradesman named William Peel. Mrs Peel, to her great grief, was childless. The barber, at his lodger's suggestion, whispered in her ear that the very skilful person who was an inmate in his house could provide her with means to help forward her desires. An interview was arranged, and by "fair speech and cosening skill," Mary Woods persuaded Mrs. Peel of her power, but demanded no less a sum than twenty-four pounds for its exercise. In cash the amount was beyond the patient's means, but she delivered to her adviser "two lawn and other wrotte (wrought) wares," and received in return a small portion of an infallible powder which the cunning woman sewed in a little piece of taffetta, and bade the aspirant after maternity wear it round her neck.

The news that a woman of such marvellous skill had come to lodge in Westminster soon spread

around. Anxious ladies in many of the neighbouring mansions sent for her, and she especially got a footing in Salisbury House. Mrs. Jane Sacheverell, who attended on Lady Cranborne, was one of her victims. The Countess of Essex also had several interviews with her in the same friendly mansion, and gave her a diamond ring worth fifty or sixty pounds, sent her by her husband, the Earl, out of France, with directions to pawn it in order to procure a portion of the infallible powder, "which was very costly." The Countess also bestowed upon Mrs. Woods "certain pieces of gold worth between thirty and forty pounds." When the affair was called in question, Mrs. Woods asserted that the Countess gave her these things to procure "a kind of poison that would lie in a man's body three or four days without swelling," and that this poison was to be given to the Earl of Essex. But Mrs. Woods was an infamous person, whose uncorroborated assertion was worth nothing, and she had previously mentioned to Mrs. Peel that her employment by the Countess had relation merely to the child-giving powder.

Mrs. Woods possessed other faculties besides those with reference to which she was consulted by Mrs. Peel and Mrs. Sacheverell. She could "help" ladies to husbands, and "cause and procure whom they desired to have, to love them." On this branch of her business she was consulted by Mrs. Cooke, Lady Walden's gentlewoman, who gave her twenty pounds and more, in twenty-shilling pieces of gold, and, finally also, by Mrs. Clare, who is described as lying in the Court at Whitehall on the south side there, and as being a waiting gentlewoman in attendance upon the young Lady Windsor. Mrs. Clare, like several others of the ladies named, had no ready money, but the fees paid by her were very handsome. They comprised a standing cup and cover of silver gilt worth fourteen pounds, a petticoat of velvet layed with three silver laces, that cost forty pounds, and two diamond rings, the one worth twenty pounds, and the other worth five pounds.[1]

After the bubble burst, and cunning Mary absconded with her plunder, Mrs. Peel says that she "ripped the taffeta to see what powder it was, and found it but a little dust swept out of the flower (floor?)[2]

We read in Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. viii., 510-13, London, 1849, that amongst those who were persecuted and miserably imprisoned for the profession of Christ's gospel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, in the reign of Mary, 1558, was one John Fetty, a simple and godly poor man, dwelling in the parish of Clerkenwell, who was by vocation a tailor, and of the age of forty-two years or thereabouts. He "was accused and complained of, unto one Brokenbury, a priest and parson of the same parish, by his own wife, for that he would not come unto the church, and be a partaker of their idolatry and superstition; and, therefore, through the said priest's procurement, he was apprehended by Richard Tanner, and his fellow constables there, and one Martin, the headborough. Howbeit, immediately upon his apprehension, his wife (by the just judgment of God) was stricken mad and distract of her wits. They for that present let her husband alone, and would not carry him to prison, but yet suffered him to remain quietly in his own house, during which time he, as it were, forgetting the wicked and unkind fact of his wife, did yet so cherish and provide for her, that within the space of three weeks (through God's merciful providence) she was well amended, and had recovered again some stay of her wits and senses. She as soon as she had recovered some health did again accuse her husband, whereupon he was a second time apprehended, and carried unto Sir John Mordant, Knight, one of the Queen's commissioners; and he upon examination sent him by Cluney, the bishop's sumner, unto the Lollard's Tower, where he was even at first put into painful stocks, and had a dish of water set by him with a stone put into it, to what purpose God knoweth, except it were to show that he should look for little other sustenance. After the foresaid Fetty had thus lain in prison by the space of fifteen days, hanging in the stocks, sometimes by one leg and the one arm, and sometimes by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it happened that one of his children (a boy of eight or nine years) came unto the bishop's house to see if he could get leave to speak with his father. At his coming thither one of the bishop's chaplains met with him, and asked him what he lacked and whom he would have. The child

[1] *S. P. Dom. James I.*, vol. lxxii., Nos. 49-55, and 133.

[2] *Ibid*, vol. lxxii., No. 133.

answered that he came to see his father. The chaplain asked him who was his father. The boy then told him, pointing towards the Lollard's Tower, and showed him that his father was there in prison. 'Why,' quoth the priest, 'thy father is a heretic.' The child, being of a bold and quick spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered and said, 'My father is no heretique; but you are an heretique, for you have Balaam's mark.' With that the priest took the child by the hand and carried him into the bishop's house." And there "they did most shamefully and without all pity so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a goreblood; and then in a jolly brag of their catholic tyranny they caused Cluney, having his coat upon his arm, to carry the child in his shirt unto his father, being in prison, the blood running down his heels. At his coming unto his father, the child fell down upon his knees and asked his blessing. The poor man, beholding his child, cried out for sorrow and said, 'Alas, Will! who hath done this to thee?' The boy answered that as he was seeking how to come to see his father, a priest with Balaam's mark took him into the bishop's house, and there he was so handled. Cluney therewith violently plucked the child away out of his father's hands, and carried him back again into the bishop's house, where they kept him three days after. And at the end of three days Bonner (minding to make the matter whole, and somewhat to appease the poor man for this horrible fact) determined to release him, and therefore caused him early in the morning to be brought out of the Lollard's Tower into his bed-chamber, where he found the bishop basting of himself against a great fire; and at first entering into the chamber Fetty said, 'God be here, and peace.' 'God be here, and peace,' quoth Bonner, 'that is neither God speed, nor Good morrow.' 'If ye kick against this peace,' said Fetty, 'then this is not the place that I seek for.' A chaplain of the bishop's standing by, turned the poor man about, and thinking to deface him, said in mocking wise, 'What have we here, a player?' Whilst Fetty was standing in the bishop's chamber, he espied hanging upon the bishop's bed a great pair of black beads; whereupon he said, 'My lord, I think the hangman is not far off; for the halter (pointing to the beads) is here already.' At which words the bishop was in a marvellous rage. Then immediately after he espied also standing in the said bishop's chamber in the window a little crucifix (before which belike Bonner used to kneel in the time of his hypocritical prayers). Then he asked the bishop what it was; and he answered that it was Christ. 'Was he handled so cruelly as he is here pictured?' quoth Fetty. 'Yea that he was,' said the bishop. 'And even so cruelly will you handle such as come before you, for you are unto God's people as Caiaphas unto Christ.' The bishop being in a great fury, said, 'Thou art a vile heretic and I will burn thee, or else I will spend all that I have unto my gown.' 'Nay, my lord,' said Fetty, 'ye were better to give it to some poor body, that he may pray for you.' But yet Bonner, bethinking in himself of the danger the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might ensue, thereupon thought better to discharge him, which thing was accomplished. Whereupon after this and such talk the bishop at last discharged him, willing him to go home and carry his child with him, which he so did, and that with a heavy heart to see his poor boy in such extream pain and grief. But within fourteen days after the child died, whether through this cruel scourging or any other infirmity I know not."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-1610, *temp.* James I., mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, 1604, from Thomas Hayes to Lord Cranborne. "Encloses a discourse written some time before, concerning the Union; would like to explain personally some points in his motion touching tillage and the customs." Enclosed was "Discourse on the proposed Union between England and Scotland, founded on the opinions of historians ancient and modern," &c.

In the same Calendar mention is made of a letter dated March 26th, 1606, from Hen. Wright to the Earl of Salisbury. "Sends him a 'theorike with an overture;' having served him in small matters, offers his services in great. Can do something in scholarship. Incloses, same to the same. Account of his theorike; has discovered the mode of distilling the water of life, and of turning metals into gold. Begs that in compensation for his services 'in discovering of villainous practices,' he may have a place that will bring him in money to supply his furnaces, &c. Promises Salisbury and the king the benefit of his discoveries." Clerkenwell, March 26.

In the same Calendar mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, June 12th, 1608, from

George Lord Audley to Salisbury. "Will put in an answer to the Bill exhibited against him in the Court of Wards. Solicits the charge of a company of the force about to be sent into Ireland. Has served in Ireland, the Low Countries, and France."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1623-1625, *temp.* James I., mention is made of Interrogatories, dated October 8th, 1618, "to be administered to witnesses on behalf of Att. Gen. Yelverton, in his suit against Sir Hen. Neville, Sir Hen. Savile, Sir Wm. Burlacy, and others, relative to the right to Ashridge and other grounds held by them, but claimed for the Crown; with depositions thereon of Edw. Mansell, of Clerkenwell, Middlesex, and Sam. Parsons, of London."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1619-1623, *temp.* James I., mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, July, 1620, from Sir Henry Mainwaring to Lord Zouch. "Is tediously detained by the humours of the officers of Exchequer and Ordnance, in his efforts to obtain supplies for Dover Castle. Has delivered up Whitmore by the Council's order. Defers the musters, most of the fishermen being gone to the North Seas. Sir Wm. Zouch is drowned in crossing the channel." Inclosed was a letter from the Council to the same, "To order the conveyance of Fras. Whitmore, prisoner at Dover, to the Marshalsea at Southwark. With order to Mr. Richardson, keeper there, to receive him into his custody." Whitehall, June 30th.

In the same Calendar, mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, July 13th, 1620, from "Lord (Zouch) to (Sam.) More. Requests him to receive back a gelding, which Mr. Lougher seized, but is now willing to restore." From this letter it would appear that Lord Zouch resided in Clerkenwell

In the same Calendar, mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, December 8th, 1620, from Edw. Nicholas, to Mich. Knott. "Urges immediate payment of the £6 which he owes Mr. Hill."

In the same Calendar, we find a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, December 18th, 1620, from Lord Zouch to the Mayor, &c., of Hastings. "Recommends his servant, Sam. Moore, as one of their burgesses for the next Parliament. If he cannot be excused becoming a freeman, a commission must be sent to swear him, as he cannot be spared to go to the town."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1623-1625, *temp.* James I., mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, January, 1625, from the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer to Robert Treswell, Surveyor of Hampshire. "Being informed of tenements lately erected without warrant, on the waste near Cowes Castle, Isle of Wight, require him to certify their yearly value, and the names of the tenants, that they may be put in charge, as usual. Ask his opinion as to demising them, or restraining further building there."

In the same Calendar, mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, January 31st, 1625, from Lord Treas. Ley, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Carew, Master of the Ordnance, to the Officers of Customs at London, Lewes, and Rochester. "The King, to prevent abuses in the transport of ordnance, has taken it into his own hands, and, by indenture of November 2 last, authorises Phil. Burlamachi and Phil. Jacobson, of London, to be his sole agents therein, on warrant from themselves that the ordnance can be spared. Order them, therefore, to permit Elias Tripp, of Amsterdam, to export three hundred and twenty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, made at his own charge, after each piece is marked with its weight and quality, and duly entered in the books of the master of the ordnance and custom-house officers, without any duty thereon, the farmers of customs to receive allowance therefor by defalcation.

In the same Calendar, mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, February 10th, 1625, from Lord Treas. Ley and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Sec. Conway. "Request that a bill sent for signature may be endorsed with an order to pass it by immediate warrant." In the same Calendar is mentioned a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, February 6th, from Lord Treas. Ley and Sir Rich. Weston to Sec. Conway. "Request to be certified whether the tenements lately erected on the king's waste ground near Cowes Castle, Isle of Wight, are prejudicial to the castle; if so, they must be pulled down; if not, put in charge in the exchequer, to increase the revenue." In the same Calendar, is mentioned a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, February 22nd, 1625, from Lord Treas. Ley to Sec. Conway. "Sends for signature privy seals for repayment to two persons, for the behoof of

recusants, of sums paid in by them, and for the delivery of their bonds; these will suffice for the present, but will need renewal. Forwards a certificate on the alum business, the result of much labour with Sir Art. Ingram, and requests a warrant, either to conclude the contract or prosecute the law. Sends also a report on the pardon of Phil. Morris and Rich. Chaloner, tenants to Lord Robartes, of the iron works, in the Forest of Dean. Has given orders for export of one thousand quarters of oats for the Duke of Brunswick, duty free, and for defalcation thereon to the farmers of customs." And in the same Calendar is mentioned a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, March 10th, 1625, from Lord Treas. Ley and Sir Rich. Weston to Buckingham. "By the privy seals for payment of £94,000 and £24,000 for the fleet, of which £37,000 must be paid before it can sail, of £30,000 as gift to his grace, £30,000 loan returned to Sir Wm. Russell, and £12,000 for the French embassy, the entire revenue is taken up to Christmas twelvemonths, so that nothing remains for the household, &c.; beg the king's directions thereon."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1625-1626, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, June 3rd, 1625, from Lord Treasurer Ley to Sec. Conway. "Desires that the Bills of Exchange for the Queen's portion may be sent to him as soon as they arrive; and that his Majesty will authorise him to pay thereout to Mr. Burlamachi £6,000 out of the £40,000 which Burlamachi is to return to the King of Denmark; also £7,000 or £8,000, towards satisfaction of money borrowed to furnish the expenses of the household, the charges of ambassadors, and other pressing demands. The ambassador in the Low Countries has been requested to procure that the 2,000 men coming from thence may all be armed with corslets."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1627-1628, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, April 2nd, 1627, from Sir Thomas Meautys to Sec. Conway. "Sends an unsealed letter to the Duke soliciting employment."

In the same Calendar, mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, February 22nd, 1627, from Robert, Earl of Sussex, to Henry, Earl of Manchester, Lord President. "Certifies the names of defaulters at the muster of the trained bands for Co. Essex, at Brentwood, on October 14th last." On June 26th, in the same year, the Earl of Sussex wrote from Clerkenwell to Sec. Conway. "Recommends for employment his wife's brother, who served seven years in the Low Countries, and was one of those sent over to exercise the trained bands." On July 13th, following, the Earl again wrote from Clerkenwell to Sec. Conway. "Desires him to put the King in mind of him concerning the forts in Essex and Suffolk; he said he would think of it. The Earl's wife is so weak he dare not go from her. Begs Conway also to remember his brother Cotton for a place." On August 14th, following, the Earl again wrote from Clerkenwell, to Sec. Conway. "Solicits employment for Mr. Cotton, his wife's brother. Dislikes the forts in Essex and Suffolk being put in commission."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1625-1626, *temp.* Charles I., is mentioned an application dated from Clerkenwell, November 20th, 1628, from Robert, Earl of Sussex, to the Council. "Applies as Lord Lieutenant of Essex that £567 13s. 4d. expended by that county for coat and conduct money in May, 1625, may be paid out of the money received by the Commissioners for the Loan."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1628-1629, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, December 26th, 1628, from Robert, Earl of Sussex, to Lord President Conway. "Acknowledges receipt of letter from the Council concerning the county of Essex, which he had sent down with all speed. Reminds him of the forts in Essex, that he may either have them, or that his Majesty take them into his hands with the Lieutenancy, and give the writer some recompense. It is that the Earl of Warwick and his brother aim at."

In the same Calendar, mention is made of a letter, dated from Clerkenwell, July 13th, 1628, from John, Lord Houghton, to his uncle, Sec. Conway. "Begs for a license to transport four horses into the Low Countries, two for Lord Vere, two for the writer. Mr. Packer says there is a restraint for three years to come; persuades himself a back door will be opened to let out a friend. To make it more canonical they may all pass under Lord Vere's name. Lord Conway will thus much pleasure the writer's father, Vere." From this letter it appears that Lord Houghton resided in Clerkenwell.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1631-1633, *temp.* Charles I., mention is made of a Bond, dated April 14th, 1631, of John Whaley, of Clerkenwell, gentleman, and William Clarke, of St. Clement Danes, in £100, for appearance of the former at the Council table, within twenty days after notice.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1660-1661, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made of a Petition dated June, 1660, of "Susanna, widow of Rich. Pool, to the King, for the Postmaster's place at Court for her son Richard, as held by his late father, who maintained a man and horse for the late King at Oxford. Was turned out of his place for delinquency, and forced to sell all they had for food. With reference thereon to the farmers of the post." Annexed was a certificate by James Andrews, of Clerkenwell, in favour of the petitioner, dated June 14th, 1660.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1663-1664, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made of a letter, from Captain William Dale to Sec. Bennet, dated March 10th, 1662-3. "After Captain Gregory was taken and sent to the Tower, bade a woman visit Mrs. Gregory; she said her husband told her not to fear, for they had five hundred men ready who had vowed to kill the King, and as to the false villain Monk, he should be put in an iron cage and set upon St. Paul's Church; that they will give no quarter even to wives and children of the King's party. They meet in St. Martin's-lane, Clerkenwell, Old-street, and Moorfields. Will see the woman to-day, and get a further account from her."

In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1664-1665, *temp.* Charles II., mention is made of an information, under date October 10th, 1664, of "Joseph Holden, goldsmith and engraver, living at Nurton-lane, Clerkenwell. Was sent for on the 6th to the lodging of Lady Hawley, up four pairs of stairs; she showed him two papers, with the King's signet affixed, and asked him whether he could engrave such a seal, with all its parts and dimensions. He, intending to discover it, said he would undertake it if well paid, and she bade him have it done by Saturday."

In "Notes and Queries," 3rd S. iv., p. 187, is the following query:—"Information is desired respecting Laurence Halsted, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London. According to Dr. Whitaker ("History of Whalley," 3rd ed., 383), he was son of John Halsted by his first wife Hester, daughter of William Cooke, of Manchester; was born in 1638, married Alice, daughter of John Barcroft, Esq., and had issue John and Laurence, who died infants, and Charles, born 1675. Dr. Whitaker says that the Keeper of the Tower Records was so steady a Loyalist as to be excepted, according to Whitelocke, out of all acts of indemnity in the treaties between Charles I. and the Parliament. If he were born in 1638, he was only about eleven years old when Charles I. was decapitated."

In "Notes and Queries," 3rd S. iv., p. 295, is the following answer:—"Laurence, son of John Halsted, of Rowley, Gent., was baptised at Burnley, July 1, 1638; married and had issue, an only surviving son, Charles Halsted. In his will, dated May 1, 1690, he describes himself as 'Laurence Halsted, of Rowley Hall, in the parish of Burnley, co. Lanc., Gent.;' and settles his lands at Woking, in Surrey, and in Lancashire, upon his said son and his issue. Failing issue, to Alice (Barcroft), wife of the testator, for her life; and at her death, to descend to Mr. Henry Halsted, Clerk, Rector of Grace Church, London, and his heirs in fee. He bequeaths legacies to his uncle, Laurence Halsted, of Jamaica (who was probably the individual named by Whitelocke and Whitaker); and to his brother Matthias Halsted, also to Charles Halsted, of the parish of Clerkenwell, watch maker; to Robert, son of Robert Halsted, at the Crown, in Fleet Street, goldsmith; and to Ann, wife of Christopher Jackson, of Worston, yeoman; being godchildren of the testator. Proved at York, October 1, 1690. Dr. Whitaker gives two sons of the name of Laurence, both married men, to Banastre Halsted. The latter Laurence was son of Nicholas Halsted, and first cousin of the Laurence who married Elizabeth Ashton ('Hist. Whalley,' 3rd. ed., p. 383). This, and other errors, were corrected in May, 1846; when the pedigree was continued from the Visitations, and recorded in the Heralds' College ('Lanc. MSS.,' vol. xxxvii. p. 539)."

Richard Sykes was buried in Clerkenwell on 12th January, 1652. This is the "Parson of Kirk-Heaton," who is named by Thoresby in the "Ducatus Leodiensis," p. 3, as having been

"£1,350 deep in the List of Compounders." He was third son of Richard Sykes, Alderman of Leeds; was baptised at Leeds, July 24th, 1603; and was educated at Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, where he was entered about the time his future persecutor—Oliver Cromwell—quitted. Here he graduated B.A. in 1622, and M.A. in 1626. In 1627, his institution to the Rectory of Kirk-Heaton was a matter of contention between the King and the Archbishop of York; and, either gratitude to the King for the successful issue of this episode, or personal dislike to Cromwell, or a combination of both these sentiments, induced him in after life to embrace the royal cause. In 1645, the Committee of Compositions charged him with "Delinquency for deserting his owne house, and going into the King's garrisons and livinge there;" and although he, being hard pressed, took the National Covenant and the Negative Oath, the Committee fined him in the sum named, April 23rd, 1646, and continued the sequestration of his "spirituall benefice." In 1652 he was residing at Islington, still under penalties, and deprived of his lands at Flockton, Yorkshire; for restitution of which lands he instituted a "Suit before the Keepers of the Libertie of England," dated 28th November of that year. He made his will 27th December following, and died 10th January, 1652-3, in the fiftieth year of his age, probably worn out with grief and trouble. Richard Sykes, Rector of Spofforth, Yorkshire, was a son of this clerical cavalier. The Rev. Canon Hopper, of Starston Rectory, Harleston, Norfolk, is his descendant in the female line.

William, fourth and youngest son of Richard Sykes, Alderman of Leeds, was baptised at the Parish Church, 10th Februry, 1605. He had barely attained to majority when his father purchased the Manor of Leeds; and (says Thoresby) the Alderman let Mr. Harrison and half-a-dozen others come in as joint-purchasers with him; because, if in a single person, it would have given him too great a superiority, "which the good old gentleman not being ambitious of, reserved only one share for himself, and another for his son, William."

In the year 1626, William Sykes married Grace, daughter and co-heir of Josias Jenkinson, founder of the Alms' Houses, near Mill-hill Chapel, Leeds. She afterwards became a "noted Quaker, and notable good woman;" and, probably, influenced her husband, eventually, in embracing Nonconformist doctrines. At one period of his life, however, it would appear—from the style of his habiliments—that he was not inimical to the "Court Party," as Thoresby afterwards possessed a pair of his gloves, richly embroidered in gold, "the embroidering reaching above the elbow." His father dying 27th March, 1645, he settled at Knottingley, and was appointed Constable of that district—a position, of which he availed himself, to inculcate Nonconformity in one of its practical tenets. It is stated in Whitelocke's "Memorials," that on 17th September, 1652, "one Sikes was imprisoned by the Judges, at York, for publishing a kind of Proclamation against Tithes;" and the Surtees Society has printed the document at length as follows:—

"All good neighbours that getts ather hay or corne, and shall bee molested by theeves or robbers, otherwise called tith-mongers, by forseing ather stacke or cocke from your grounde, know ye that, according to my bounden duty, upon your notisse to mee given, I shall to the utmost of my power and place, as God shall inable mee presarve you in bothe. Knottingley, 21th July, 1652. William Sykes, Constable."

And again,—

"Whereas it is cleare, by the law of God, and the law of reason, that a tenth of ourre corne and haye, in kinde, ought not to be paid to preist or impropriator; and that hitherto wee have been cheated by names and pretences of tithes' law, and trible dammages without right or reason:—

"First. Wee, whose names are hereunto subscrybed, doe, in the first place, protest against all practise in that kinde, past or to come, as sinfull, ungodly, and distructive.

"Secondly. And therefore, in the second place, wee doe resolve and promiss to each other to reap and receive into ourre owne hands all our cropps of corne and hay, as well the tenth stacke or cocke as the other nyne, which the blessinge of God upon our labors and cost hath sent us, for the maintenance of our famylyes, and doinge other dutyes to the Common-welth and neighbourhoode, that is to bee dune by us.

"Thirdly. Wee will waite with patience till our representative inable us to recover reparations for those robberyes, which under the notion of tythes, have been drawne from us by them who are as able as good Zackkeus (if as honest) to restore fowerfould, and then to learne that good lesson of the Apostle—that having, stolne may steale noe more, but labour that they may be helpfull.

"Fourthly. Wee, as bound in duety by the bond of neighbourhoode, doe hereby bynde ourselves mutually to each other, to the utmost of our power, and as God shall inable us, to defend and save harmelesse each other from all opposers or opposisions which herein shall bee. Witness our hands, at Knottingley, the 26th July, 1652. William Sykes."

He sent his servant with this to the common crier of the village, who proclaimed it *ore rotundo*. The consequence was, much mischief ensued, the penalty to the delinquent being imprisonment in York Castle. The term of his incarceration cannot be ascertained; but, that he did not survive it long, is evident from his will being dated 15th October of the same year, and proved in London 5th July following. One item of it is:—"I give to ye poorest sorte of prisoners, within ye Castle of Yorke, two fat beeves, which shall be put into ye hands of Joseph Ellis, now livinge within ye said Castle, and hee to dispose of ye same accordinge to his discretion."

William Sykes appears to have held religious opinions little in accordance with those of his brother, Richard; and to have given thereby offence to Royalist and Roundhead alike; and, certainly, at the hands of the latter party he received practical illustration of their intolerance and power. In political opinions he may be said to have been two centuries in advance of the age in which he lived. Witness his "Remonstrance," dated March 20th, 1645. In this document, presented to Parliament, and called "The Humble Remonstrance of William Sykes, Merchant, for Free Trade in transportinge and importinge of lawfull and needfull commodities," he declares free trade to be the "Commonwealth's Birthright," and "all men's privilege, as well as our own." An original of this rare "Remonstrance" is in the possession of John Sykes, M.D., of Doncaster, and shows that the remonstrant would have been no mere accessary of the Anti Corn Law League, had his lot been cast in the nineteenth instead of the seventeenth century.

The place of his interment is uncertain; but he was not buried with his ancestors in St. Peter's, Leeds; and there is presumptive evidence of his last resting-place being St. Helen's, Stonegate, York—his brother, Henry Sykes, of Hunslet Hall, Leeds, desiring by will, dated 19th September, 1654, to be buried there; but the records of St. Helen's are defective at this period.

He left five sons:—1. Richard, of Ledsham Hall, Leeds; of whom presently. 2. John, of Whitton Hall, Durham. 3. William, of Leeds. 4. Daniel, of Knottingley; ancestor of branches of this family at Sledmere, West Ella, &c., in the East Riding. 5. Joseph, of Leeds.

Richard Sykes, Esq., the eldest son, was among those who promoted the erection of Mill-Hill Chapel, Leeds, thus spoken of by Thoresby:—"Adjoining the Alms-house Garth (Jenkinson's aforesaid), is the Meeting-house, commonly called the New Chapel, erected by the chief Presbyterians, upon the first Indulgence, 1672. It's said to be the first, and is certainly one of the stateliest fabricks built upon that occasion, in the North of England." Mr. Sykes remained a member of this community until his decease, 24th March, 1693; but was not interred in the cemetery attached to the Chapel—his son-in-law, Thoresby (then almost alienated from nonconformity), thus noting the burial in his diary:—"March 26th . . . solemnized this afternoon, about five, when he (father-in-law[1]) was interred in the grave of my great-grandfather, the old Alderman Sykes."

Early in the ensuing century, George and Samuel Sykes, from Driglington, in the neighbouring parish of Birstal, and collateral descendants of the Alderman, settled at Leeds, and became members of the Mill-Hill Society. They, and many of this branch, are interred in the cemetery belonging to the Chapel; and in that venerable edifice, associated with the past in so many religious, historical, and family traditions, Samuel Sykes, Esq., father of Colonel William Henry Sykes, M.P., received the rites of baptism. Others of this branch were baptised by Joseph Priestley,[2] LL.D., F.R.S., during his pastorate of this community, A.D. 1767-73.

[1] Note by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.:—"Of his father-in-law, Thoresby says 'he was a good man and a pious, and of admirable natural parts; was a good justice in bad times, and favourable to the Royalists, that were then under a cloud, as I have heard some of them acknowledge.'" (Nevertheless it was deemed necessary to commit him prisoner to the Citadel of Hull, during Monmouth's Rebellion.)

[2] Arthur Ashley Sykes and Joseph Priestley held similar religious dogmas. Dr. Sykes wrote a Tract entitled "The Eternal Peace of the Church only attainable by Mutual Charity, and not by a Pretence of Uniformity of Opinion;" and a "Treatise on Redemption," in which, said Dr. Priestley, "a great number of texts are admirably explained." Dr. A. A. Sykes's Branch included many clergy, and is traceable to Huddersfield, A.D. 1496.

About 1739, the French prophets had a place of meeting in Clerkenwell. They were a sect of religious enthusiasts, grossly superstitious, who mistook the ravings of several deluded but designing men for the voice of prophecy. The founders of the sect were Elias Marion, John Cavalier, and Durand Fage, all natives of France. These men, about the year 1706, are supposed to have visited England in the hopes of obtaining military employment, as several regiments were then raising for an intended descent on France; but, being disappointed, they had recourse to a more profitable pursuit, one in which they were eminently successful, and were followed by crowds, who comprehended as much of their ridiculous rhapsodies as the persons who uttered them. Three associates, named John Daude, Nicholas Facio, and Charles Portales, attended their exhibitions for the express purpose of making notes of what the prophets said. When their rapid utterance rendered this task difficult, the reporters consulted each other's memoranda; this failing, they had recourse to prayer, when the Spirit supplied the very words. Of the many persons who were duped by these pretenders was one Sir Richard Bulkeley, a man much deformed in person, who was so completely influenced by the vaticinations of these false prophets as to wear his clothes dirty and threadbare, because, as he alleged in excuse to his friends, "The Spirit had declared he should be made strait, and that he would stay till the Spirit had fulfilled his promise; for to buy new ones now would be money thrown away to no purpose, because they would not fit him when he was strait." Subsequently several of these impostors were tried, found guilty of gross immoralities, and sentenced to stand on a scaffold at Charing-cross and the Royal Exchange with papers on their breasts explaining the nature of their offences, and to pay twenty marks each. This exemplary punishment served to moderate the intemperate zeal of their followers.

In a quarto tract, by Lodowick Muggleton, called the "Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit" (London, 1699), Mr. Edward Hailstone,[1] found the following notes by Dr. Michael Lort:—

"In the year 1676, there were near and about Ashford, in Kent, about thirty persons of a new sect, called Muggletonians, as appeared by the return of the Abp. upon an enquiry by Commission from Kg Charles of the number of Papists and Nonconformists. (Bp Barlow's *Remains*, p. 313.) What follows is from Mr. North:—

"A few of these people remain in London, chiefly about Old-street-square, where they have a meeting, and another in Barnaby-street, Southwark. They consist of poor people in low life and sedentary trades, as weavers and shoemakers; those I have seen were all marked with a gloomy, melancholy aspect. For many years in my younger days I had some acquaintance with a person, who one while was one of them. He was a man of as much moral honesty and harmless disposition and behaviour, I verily believe, as could be; but having some black blood in him could never settle his mind in religious principles, and was allways wandring from one sect to another in the vain hope of finding perfection. At his first joining himself to any sect, he was very happy for a while, but soon finding no more perfection, naming those he had before tried and forsaken, he became melancholy and miserable for a while, till he heard of any set of people wch promised what he sought for. This revived his gloomy spirits, and he went heart and soul into all their delusions. By these means he had belonged to half as many denominations as he was years old. He was a bookseller by trade, and in a thriving way till ye appearance of ye French prophets, to whom he joined himself with great zeal, and became their printer and publisher, which brought him to poverty. By temperance and sobriety he lived to a good old age. What persuasion (or *church fellowship*, as he used to explain it) he died I have not learnt. By frequent conversations with him it could not be discovered yt he ever was of the Church of England. His son is an honest man, and shopman to a bookseller in London.

"N.B. John Nichols, the Quaker, F.R. and A.S., told me he had discovered and been present at 53 different Meetings of Sectaries, among them the French Prophets still assembling in Clerkenwell.—G. North, Apl 1770.

"The person's name above mentd was Noble. His son is now shopman to Payne ye bookseller.—M. L."

In the same book is pasted a piece of paper, and in an earlier handwriting, the following:—

"Lodowick Muggleton, Born in Bishopgate-street, 31 July, 1609; put apprentice to John Quick, a Taylor; Married a virgin of 19, Æt. suæ 22; another virgin of 19, Æt. suæ 32; a 3rd virgin wife of 25, Æt. suæ 53.

"Chosen to be a Prophet, and one of the last witnesses, by John Reeve's Revelation given Feby 3, 1651."

In the "Journal of the British Archæological Association," for March, 1864, page 81, reference is made to a group of leaden or rather pewter objects which were found in London, in the year 1862. One was exhumed in Clerkenwell, in September of that year, and represented a sword-sheath placed

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 3rd S., iii., p. 303.

across a buckler, the mouth of the former being sloped off, just as we find the scabbards on monumental effigies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and the face of the buckler was divided by fine lines into many squares, each containing a boss; and the edge was neatly pearled. This article was engraved in the journal above-named.

In the "Liber Custumarum," vol. ii., part I., p. 46, is a grant by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to the Mayor and Citizens of London, of Queen Hythe, to be held in fee farm at a certain rent. In it Clerkenwell is mentioned:—

"Charta Ricardi, Comitis Cornubiæ, de Ripa Reginæ.—Anno regni Regis Henrici, filii Regis Johannis, xxx mo, die Translationis Sancti Edwardi, apud Westmonasterium, facta fuit hæc conventio inter nobilem virum, Dominum Ricardum, Comitem Cornubiæ, ex una parte, et Johannem de Gysorz, tunc Majorem civitatis Londoniarum, et ejusdem civitatis communam ex altera, super quibusdam exactionibus et demandis ad Ripam Reginæ civitatis Londoniarum spectantibus, videlicet.—Quod idem Comes concessit, pro se et hæredibus suis, quod idem Major, et omnes Majores post ipsum, et tota communa ipsius civitatis, habeant et teneant prædictam Ripam Reginæ, cum omnibus libertatibus, consuetudinibus, omnibus, et aliis rebus ad eam spectantibus, ad feodi firmam; reddendo inde, per annum, eidem Comiti et hæredibus suis, vel suis assignatis, quinquaginta libras ad duos terminos anni apud Clerkenewelle; videlicet, ad clausum Paschæ xxv libras, et in Octabas Beati Michaelis xxv libras. Et ad Majorem hujus rei securitatem, prædictus Comes parti hujus chirographi, penes Majorem et comunam Londoniarum remanenti, signum suum apposuit. Et prædicti Major et communa scripto, penes dictum Comitem remanenti, sigillum communæ suæ apposuerunt."

In the "Liber Custumarum," vol. ii., part I., p. 320, we read as follows:—

"Et quoad hoc, quod clamant habere Ripam Reginæ, cum omnibus libertatibus, etc, dicunt quod Dominus Henricus, Rex, avus Domini Regis nunc xxvito. die Januarii anno regni sui xxvito., inspexit quandam Conventionem factam inter Ricardum, Comitem Cornubiæ, fratrem suum, ex parte una, et comunam civitatis Londoniarum, ex parte altera, per quam idem Comes, pro se et hæredibus suis concessit cuidam Johanni de Gisorz, majori Londoniarum, et ejusdem civitatis, communitate, quod iidem Major et communitas, et omnes Majores post ipsum, et tota communa ejusdem civitatis, habeant et teneant Ripam Reginæ civitati Londoniarum, cum omnibus libertatibus, consuetudinibus, et aliis rebus ad eam spectantibus, ad feodi firmam, pro l libris reddendio per annum apud Clerkenewelle, ad duos terminos, scilicet, ad clausum Paschæ xxv. libras, et in Octabis Sancti Michælis xxv. libras."

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1784, vol. liv., page 351, a correspondent expresses his desire to receive some biographical notices of the Rev. Messrs. Kimbers, of Clerkenwell, father and son. One wrote a compendious History of England, and the other a voluminous one. The latter was many years unfortunate in his wife, who was bereft of her senses. Saunders, who is mentioned at the page above-named, was in possession of a MS. Roman History, which was written by the latter, and which came down as low as the conquest of the Eastern Empire, and would have made, when closely printed, nine or ten volumes in octavo. Another correspondent of the "Gentleman's Magazine," same volume, page 419, says that information of both father and son could be obtained by applying to their son and grandson respectively, who lived at No. 7, Beauchamp-street, Leather-lane, and was a very worthy and respectable compositor in the office of Woodfall, the printer.

Stephen Skydmore, *alias* Skyddie, by his will, dated March 20th, 1584, gave all his lands, tenements, and hereditaments, situate within the precinct of the then late dissolved Priory, called the Blackfriars, near Ludgate, in London, after the death of his wife, to the Vintners' Company and their successors, to the intent that they should with the rents and profits of the said premises pay and perform the annuities and other things therein mentioned; that is to say, that the renter-warden and one other officer of the said company, together with the churchwardens or collectors for the poor of the following parishes, namely, 1. St. Ann, Blackfriars; 2. St. Bride's; 3. St. Andrew, Holborn; 4. St. Sepulchre; 5. St. Botolph without Aldgate; 6. St. Botolph without Aldersgate; 7. St. Giles without Cripplegate; 8. St. Botolph without Bishopsgate; 9. St. Leonard, Shoreditch; 10. St. Mary Matfellon, in Whitechapel; 11. St. Giles, Southwark; 12. St. Katharine's Hospital, by the Tower of London; 13. St. James, Bermondsey, called St. Mary Magdalene; 14. St. George's, Southwark; 15. St. Mary Avery, beyond the water; 16. St. Giles's in the Fields; and 17. St. James's, Clerkenwell—should distribute and pay amongst the poor people of the said parishes respectively,











THE SEALS OF THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

yearly, the sum of twenty shillings in wood, coals, or other fuel, in the month of October. And he also wished that the company should, out of the said rents and profits, pay yearly to the Churchwardens of St. Stephen, Coleman-street, the sum of fifty-two shillings, to the intent that they should, every Sunday in the year, bestow one dozen of bread among twelve of the poorest people of the said parish, after morning prayers in the church. He also directed the said company to pay out of the rents and profits of the said lands twenty shillings among the poorest people of the said company; and further charged the said lands with a payment of £24 per annum to the city of Cork. Mr. Pascall, writing in 1851, says:—"In the year 1584, Stephen Skydmore, *alias* Stephen Skiddie (on the board of donations in the church it is Scudamore), by his will left an estate to the Vintners Company, to pay annually to seventeen parishes (of which Clerkenwell is one) the sum of one pound each. The estate consists of seventeen houses in the parish of St. Ann, Blackfriars, and produces £315; out of which they pay per annum £44 12s., and keep the difference, of £270 8s." This property having been taken by the City corporation, under the Clerkenwell Improvement Act, the amount is now paid to the parishes annually by the City Comptroller.

At the latter end of the sixteenth century William Pearson left by his will £50 upon the following trusts:—"Item, I give unto the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, county of Middlesex, the sum of £50, lawful English money, to be paid unto the churchwardens of the parish within six months after my decease, in trust and confidence, and to and for the intent and purpose, that the churchwardens of the said parish for the time being shall, in consideration of the £50, pay and dispose of three pounds of lawful English money in every year, yearly for ever, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes by me herein declared; that is to say, That the minister of the said parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, shall preach one sermon concerning the preparation for death, in the forenoon of Michaelmas-day, in every year for ever (except Michaelmas-day happen to be on a Sunday, then on the Monday following), and the prayers of the Church of England shall be there read in the same church before the sermon; and for his or their pains in reading or preaching, the minister for the time being shall have and receive 15s. for every sermon he shall so preach, and the reader of the prayers shall have and receive 2s. 6d., and the clerk 1s. 6d., and sexton 1s., for their attendance. And if in case the minister of the said parish for the time being shall not himself preach constantly upon Michaelmas-day, then and in such case the churchwardens for the time being shall appoint one able and orthodox parson to preach as aforesaid, who for his pains shall have the same allowance as aforesaid. And also, that forty poor people of the same parish shall there constantly be at and attend the said prayers and sermon, and, after sermon done, shall have and receive sixpence a-piece; and that upon every one of the said Michaelmas days, after sermon ended, 20s. (residue of the £3) shall be spent upon a collation for the parson, churchwardens, and overseers of the said parish for the time being. And I do will and appoint, that the churchwardens of the parish who shall receive the said £50 shall enter the same, and the several uses thereof by me herein declared, into the parish vestry books, and shall subscribe thereunto by their own proper handwriting the names of the parson, churchwardens, and at least nine others of the most ancient vestrymen of the same parish, and shall deliver the like receipt for the same so subscribed as aforesaid to my executors. And if in case the parson and churchwardens shall not accept of this my free gift given to the same parish as aforesaid, but shall refuse the same, or afterwards neglect to pay £3 a year, and perform the trust as aforesaid, then and in such case, and not otherwise, I give the said £50 to Christ's Hospital, London, aforesaid, to be for ever employed towards the maintaining an organ there for the poor children as aforesaid." The following is a vestry minute of November, 1592:—"At a vestry holden this day in the church it is agreed, that the churchwardens for the time being shall pay unto the collector for the year, out of Mr. Pearson's legacy, yearly, iij lb. quarterly to be paid, and the collector can receive at this instant, the day above said, the whole sum of ——— due for one year ended Michaelmas, 1592, and so from quarter to quarter." At a vestry held September 29th, 1674, a copy of the above part of Pearson's will was brought in, and the following memorandum was made:—"Memorandum, That we, the minister, churchwardens, and vestrymen of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do acknowledge to have had and received

this 29th day of September, 1674, of William Pearson, of Yardley, in the county of Hertford, gentleman, the sum of £50 of lawful money of England, which he the said William Pearson hath given and bequeathed unto our parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, as by the clause in his will before and above mentioned doth more fully appear, to be by us and our successors given and disposed according to the uses, intents, and purposes therein directed; and we do hereby promise, for us and our successors, to perform, fulfil, and satisfy the trust reposed in us, according to the tenor of the same. Wm. M. Sclator, Minister." (And several other names.) And under the same date we read:—"Whereas William Pearson, as in the before-mentioned written clause of his will mentioned, did give the sum of £50 into the hands of Thomas Hoard, then churchwarden of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, to the intent that the churchwardens of the said parish, and their successors for the time being, should at Michaelmas-day in every year, for ever hereafter, pay and dispose of the sum of £3 in such manner as and by the said recited clause of his will is declared, viz., to the minister, 15s.; reader, 2s. 6d.; clerk, 1s. 6d.; sexton, 1s.; and 20s. for forty poor people; and 20s. the residue, to be spent on a collation or dinner, as by the contents of the clause of his will doth appear mentioned: We, therefore, whose names are hereunto subscribed, the minister, churchwardens, and other ancient inhabitants and gentlemen of the vestry of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, aforesaid, have appropriated the yearly rent arising by the two several watchhouses within the said parish (the one standing at Wood's-close,[1] and the other at the end of Mutton-lane)[2] for the payment of the above specified sum of £3, according to the form aforesaid; and we do hereby order and appoint, that the present churchwardens, likewise their successors in the said office of churchwarden for the time being, shall dispose of the sum of £3 yearly accruing by the rent of the aforesaid watchhouses, for no other use but according to the use and intent aforesaid; and the true intent and meaning of this order is, that the said watchhouses shall be appropriated as a standing and settled revenue for the uses aforesaid, until the parish with the said or like sum shall purchase a house or land that may be appropriated for the same use. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands. William M. Sclator" (And several other names.) Mr. Pascall, writing in 1851, says:—"How long payment was continued in conformity with the previous order, it is not possible now to tell; but we know that the watchhouses have been taken down long since, and that many years have passed without anything having been paid by the parish. The distribution, it is true, has been regularly made; but the amount has been always taken from other charitable funds, by which the poor have been deprived of those resources intended for their use. This sum of £50 was taken and used by the vestry, they engaging for themselves and successors to pay the £3 annually. But the same had not been paid for many years until 1843; yet the amount was annually appropriated, viz., 20s. to the churchwardens for what is commonly called the Michaelmas goose dinner; 15s. to the minister for sermon; 5s. to reader, clerk, and sexton; and 20s. to the poor. The amount was taken from other charity moneys—a course alike unjust and injurious to the poor, and by which the poor were thus made the actual contributors of 20s. to the churchwardens for their dinner, and 20s. to the clergy and others for a sermon (never preached), taken from out of moneys left to purchase them coals and bread." This sum is now regularly charged upon the parish funds, and dispensed as willed.

Roger Bellow, by his will, dated April 29th, 1614, gave his house and land in Cobham, Surrey, to the churchwardens of Clerkenwell and their successors, upon condition that they should pay to the churchwardens of Cobham and their successors the sum of twenty shillings yearly, at Lady-day, for bread to the poor on Good Friday; and the residue of rent from the estate to provide wheaten bread to be distributed on every Sabbath-day, in the parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, amongst the poor of the said parish; and the same to continue, and not to be altered to any other use. The following is the course of the Cobham estate:—On January 15th, 1546, 38th Henry VIII., John White, in consideration of five marks, granted to Thomas Marsh a tenement in Cobham, near the churchyard, with the garden adjoining, and one acre in church-field near to Court-way. On November 1st, 1548,

[1] *Vide* page 154. [2] *Vide* page 111.

Thomas Marsh, heir of the before-named Thomas Marsh, granted the said premises by feoffment to Robert Gally and his heirs in consideration of £6 3s. 4d. On May 10th, 1591, 32nd Elizabeth, was a feoffment of the same premises from Joan Allyn, daughter and heir of Gally, to the use of Robert Parson and his heirs. On October 20th, 1606, 4th James, Robert Parson devised the house wherein he dwelt, and an acre of land in the common field, which he purchased with the said house, to his son Henry Parson, and if he should die without issue, then to his son James Parson and his heirs. On September 20th, 1612, 10th James, Henry Parson and James Parson, in consideration of £140, by feoffment conveyed to Roger Bellow and his heirs, the said messuage, garden, and acre of land; Roger Bellow devised the same as before mentioned. On November 1st, 1614, the churchwardens of Clerkenwell granted a lease to Edward Fawcett for fifty-two years, at £4 per annum, the lessee covenanting to pay twenty shillings per year to Cobham parish. On January 24th, 1624, a new lease, on surrender of the former, was granted to Fawcett for eighty-one years from Christmas, 1624, at the same rent, in consideration of his having laid out £100 in building the house, and paid £5 in money. On April 7th, 1705, a lease was granted to John Jordan, by Edward Howard and Richard Bowes, churchwardens, for twenty-one years, from Christmas, 1705, at the annual rent of £9 payable to Clerkenwell, and £1 payable to Cobham. Mr. Pascall, writing in 1851, says:—"This estate now consists of a house and garden, let on lease to Mr. John Carr, at £20 per annum; which lease will expire at Midsummer, 1860. Also a house now very old, let to Mr. Stonestreet, at £10 per annum. And two pieces of land, let on lease to Mr. Slifield, at £8 8s. per annum. This lease expired Michaelmas, 1846; but the widow, Mrs. Slifield, continues to hold over, having given no notice to quit or surrender the same. One piece, it is thought, might be advantageous to build on. These two pieces of ground (the one containing 1a. 0r. 5p.; the other 1a. 1r. 11p.) were allotted in respect of the houses under the Inclosure Act for the manor of Cobham, in the year 1795."

By indenture dated January 21st, 1634, under the hands and seals of Thomas Coell and John Mallows, reciting that Lady Elizabeth Kytson, by indenture dated May 29th, 21st James I., had conveyed to Sir John Sulyard and John Mallows, their heirs and assigns, the manor of Lackford, Suffolk, and divers messuages, lands, and tenements in Lackford, and that the said Lady Elizabeth and the said Sir John Sulyard and John Mallows had, by indenture dated September 17th, 22nd James I., conveyed the said premises to the said Thomas Coell and others, to hold, after the death of the said Lady Elizabeth, to the use of the said Thomas Coell, John Mallows, and others, their heirs and assigns, for ever, on trust to employ the rents and profits to such uses as the said Lady Elizabeth should in manner therein mentioned, declare and appoint; and further reciting, that the said Lady Elizabeth had by indenture dated November 26th, 1st Charles I., declared and appointed that her said trustees should in her lifetime, or within so short a time after her death as conveniently might be, convey and assure the several annuities in the said last named indenture mentioned, to be yearly for ever, after her decease, issuing out of the said manor and lands in Lackford aforesaid, and to be paid yearly at Lady-day and Michaelmas by equal portions; and reciting, that among the said annuities, so by the said Lady Elizabeth appointed to be conveyed was the annuity after mentioned; the said Thomas Coell and John Mallows, in part performance of the said trust in them reposed, granted and conveyed to George Long and five other chief inhabitants of the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, their heirs and assigns, one annuity or yearly rent of £3, to be yearly issuing and paid out of the manor of Lackford, and the messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of the said Lady Elizabeth, situate in Lackford, at Michaelmas and Lady-day by equal portions, upon trust to employ and bestow the said annuity (as the charitable gift of the said Lady Elizabeth) for the relief of the most poor, aged, and impotent people inhabiting in the said parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, in food, raiment, and firing, or such other necessaries as should seem best, in the discretion of those persons who should be seised of the said annuity, or the greater number of them, preferring always such of the said poor as were born within the parish. This deed is recited in the sixteenth report of the Charity Commissioners, 1826, page 253. Mr. Pascall says—"Sir Charles Kent, of Portman-square, paid the annuity, and deducted 2s. 6d. for his trouble. The propriety of this deduction appears questionable. The said Sir Charles is now dead, and I believe the property belongs to his

son. The annuity is paid at Messrs. Paul and Snow's, bankers, 217, Strand; and on applying to them, in 1843, for two years then due, they wished to make the like deduction; but, on its being resisted as unjust, they paid the full amount, and so continue to do."

Henry Garrett, or Gerrard, by his will, gave to the Haberdashers' Company a house in Holborn (once in the occupation of Mr. Tringham, a few doors west of Hatton-garden); which devise, for want of properly naming the corporation, was declared to be void, and the company purchased the premises of Mr. Gerrard's heirs, and afterwards sold it to Mr. Nicholas Burt on June 18th, 1675, reserving to themselves an annual quit-rent of £1 1s. 8d., which the company pay in the following manner, according to the intent of the testator:—To St. Sepulchre's, 15s.; to Clerkenwell, 6s. 8d. The company are not now possessed of the will; nor do they know the date of it. The only document they can find on the subject is an entry, in their Book of Wills, of the rental of two tenements in St. Andrew's parish, Holborn, then let for £4 13s., which in reversion was given to the parish by one Henry Garrett; and after mentioning the invalidity of the devise, and subsequent purchase by the company, it is added:—"Out of which there goeth no quit-rent or other charge." In Seymour's "Survey of London," vol. i., page 37, is as follows:—"A quit-rent out of some houses in Holborn, given by Alderman Gerrard: payments thence to the churchwardens of St. Sepulchre, and to the poor of Clerkenwell."

Susanna Nieman, by will, dated September 4th, 1816, and proved in the Consistory Court of London, February 23rd, 1820, gave to the minister of St. James's, Clerkenwell, and his successors, the sum of £250, Four-per-cent. Consols, in trust, to receive the dividends thereof for ever; and the testatrix directed that the minister and churchwardens of St. James's, or any two of them (the minister being one), should from time to time lay out the same annually in the purchase of coals, and distribute the same in the month of December, in every year, to such poor persons residing in the parish as they might consider proper objects of charity, not more than one sack to each family. The principal was reduced, by payment of legacy-duty, to £225, and the interest to three and a half per cent., and now to three and a quarter. The testatrix also gave to the minister and his successors the further sum of £375 of like stock, in trust, to receive the dividends thereof for ever; and she directed that the minister and churchwardens of St. James's, or any two of them (the minister being one), should from time to time lay out the same in the purchase of quartern loaves, to be given by them to poor families residing in the parish, each of such poor persons being recommended by housekeepers of St. James's. The principal was reduced, by payment of legacy-duty, to £337 10s., and the interest to three and a half per cent., now to three and a quarter. These two sums now stand as one sum, viz., £562 10s., in the bank books. The testatrix also gave to the minister of St. James's and the rector of St. John's, Clerkenwell, and their respective successors, the sum of £250 like stock, in trust, to receive the dividends thereof; and she directed that they and the churchwardens of St. James's and St. John's should distribute the same, in sums of one shilling and sixpence each, to such poor persons, residing either in St. James's or St. John's, as should be deemed the most proper objects of charity, on the 5th day of November, in every year, for ever. This sum was reduced, by legacy-duty, to £225, and the interest to three and a half per cent., now three and a quarter. The testatrix also gave to the same minister and rector, and their respective successors, £400 of like stock, in trust, to receive the dividends thereof; and she directed that they and the churchwardens of St. James's and St. John's, or the major part of them (the minister or rector being one), should lay out the same every year in the purchase of coals, and distribute them in the winter season among such poor inhabitants, of either St. James's or St. John's, as to them, or the major part of them, should seem the most proper objects: and the testatrix directed that an account of these bequests should be painted and placed in conspicuous places, one in each of the churches. This latter sum was reduced, by legacy-duty, to £360, and the interest to three and a half per cent., now three and a quarter. The two last-named bequests now stand in the bank books in one sum, £585. The testatrix also bequeathed the sum of £650 Four-per-cent. stock to the rector of St. John's, and his successors, in trust, that he and they should receive the dividends thereof, and that the rector and churchwardens of St. John's for the time being, or any two of them (the rector being one), should from time to time

appoint such and so many poor families, resident in St. John's, as they should deem to be most necessitous and meritorious, to partake of the bread and coals in the will after directed to be purchased with the dividends; that is to say, the testatrix directed that £12 a year, part of the dividends, should be annually laid out by the rector and churchwardens, who should have concurred in such nomination, in the purchase of quartern loaves, and in distributing one loaf to each family on every Sunday, after Divine service in the forenoon; and she directed that the clear residue of the dividends should be laid out annually, by the persons before named, in the purchase of coals, to be by them given in January, in every year, to the same nominated families, and that no more than one sack should be given to each family at one time; and she declared that the families so nominated should be entitled to such bread and coals during their respective necessities and residences in St. John's, and no longer. The testatrix also bequeathed to the same rector and his successors £350 of like stock, in trust, to receive the dividends thereof, and lay out the same in half-quartern loaves; and she directed that the rector and churchwardens for the time being, or any two of them (the rector being one), should from time to time nominate poor women, resident in St. John's, widows or spinsters, and distribute to them one half-quartern each, every Sunday, after Divine service; and she declared that the poor so nominated should be entitled to the loaves only during their respective residences and necessities in St. John's. These two legacies were reduced, by duty, to £900; and the interest to three and a half per cent., now three and a quarter.

John Nieman, the before-mentioned lady's brother, by his will, dated July 3rd, 1802, gave £500 Four-per-cent. stock, after the death of one Sarah French, to the churchwardens of St. John's, and their successors, in trust, to receive the dividends thereof, and lay out the same weekly, in equal portions, in the purchase of good wheaten bread loaves of the value of nine-pence each, to be given away by the churchwardens every Sunday morning, after the sermon, in the church, to poor distressed people of St. John's, every such one to be recommended by a separate respectable housekeeper of St. John's; and as the said interest would afford the purchasing weekly of ten bread loaves of 9d each, that when the list of ten persons should be full according to the number of loaves, the same persons should continue to receive the bread every Sunday until they should die or quit the parish of St. John's. £40 of this legacy was sold for payment of duty, and the remaining £460 was transferred to two churchwardens of St. John's. The stock was afterwards increased by savings to £476 13s. 4d. The interest was reduced to three and a half per cent. and then to three and a quarter. Mr. Pascall says that the whole of the gifts of Susanna and John Nieman to St. John's are confined exclusively to that district, while St. James's makes no distinction, which enables many persons in St. John's to get a double share.

William Richards by his will, dated February 11th, 1810, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, June 27th, 1819, said:—"I desire that my brothers may divide and inherit my property equally between them, after paying the following legacies:—To purchase an annuity of £50 per annum for the use and benefit of my sister, to be so secured that she can neither sell it or make it over to any other person, but to be enjoyed by her during her natural life. I also require they will give my man, Thomas Withey, the sum of £100; to the minister and churchwardens of St. James, Clerkenwell, the sum of £200, the interest whereof to be distributed annually on Christmas-day to the poor in bread, in half-peck loaves; also the sum of £100 to the Philanthropic Society; and £100 to the Refuge for the Destitute." Mr. Pascall says the first £100 was paid to the Philanthropic Society, Southwark, though not directed to be so paid; and it was generally thought it was intended for the General Philanthropic Society, Clerkenwell, to which the testator was a subscriber.

The following is an extract from the will of William Robertson, dated December 4th, 1830:—"I, William Robertson, of Corporation-row, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, esquire, being of sound and disposing mind, memory, and understanding, do make my last will and testament, as follows:—First, and principally, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, and my body I commit to the earth, trusting in the merits of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ alone for glorious resurrection; and as to such worldly estate wherewith it has pleased God to bless me, I dispose thereof as follows:—I give to my dear wife, Rose Robertson, all my

furniture, plate, linen, china, books, pictures, and household effects, for her own absolute use and benefit. I give to John Scott, of Claremont-square, Clerkenwell, aforesaid, ———, and John Savage, of River-terrace, City-road, esquire, all such moneys as I may leave in the public stocks or funds at the time of my decease, and also such sum or sums of money as may at the time of my decease be due and owing to me from Mr. Francis Henchman, or jointly by him and any other person or persons, upon trust to invest such money as the same shall be received in some or one of the public stocks or funds in the names of the said John Scott and John Savage, and to stand possessed thereof, and the interest to accrue due thereon in the meantime until the same shall be received, together with such moneys as I may have in the public stocks or funds at the time of my decease as aforesaid, upon trust to pay the interest, dividends, and annual proceeds thereof, unto my said wife, Rose Robertson, for her use and benefit during her life, and so in such manner as the same may not be subject to the control, debts, or engagements of any future husband; and to that end I direct that the receipt of my said wife alone shall be a sufficient discharge for such dividends, interest, and annual proceeds, and when and as the same shall become due and payable, and not by anticipation; and from and after the decease of my wife, upon trust that they the said John Scott and John Savage do and shall, by sale of a sufficient part of the said stocks or funds, raise and pay the sum of one hundred pounds to the treasurer for the time being of the Parochial Charity School of St. James, Clerkenwell, for the education and clothing of poor children, for the use of that institution; also the sum of one hundred pounds to the treasurer for the time being of the Benevolent Institution for the relief of aged necessitous workmen of good character in the several branches of the clock and watch trade, and their widows, instituted in London the sixth day of March, 1815, for the use of that charity; also the sum of fifty pounds to the treasurer for the time being of the charity called or known by the name of the Finsbury Dispensary for the Relief of the Poor, instituted in the year 1780, and now carried on in St. John-street, Clerkenwell, for the use of that institution; also the sum of fifty pounds to the treasurer for the time being of the Parochial Sunday School of St. James, Clerkenwell, for the use of that institution; and also the sum of fifty pounds to the treasurer for the time being of the Charity School for educating and clothing poor children in the Protestant religion and useful learning, instituted at the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, Spafields, for the use of that institution; and upon trust that they the said John Scott and John Savage do and shall pay the dividends and interest and annual produce of the residue of the said stock or funds, and such interest as aforesaid, when and as the same shall become due and be received, unto and amongst John Sayer, Thomas Sayer, Frances Sayer, and Sarah Sayer, of Kirby Stephen, in the county of Westmoreland, brothers and sisters of my said wife, and descendants of my grandfather, in equal shares and proportions during their joint lives, and unto and amongst the survivors or survivor of them during their, his, or her life; and upon further trust, that they the said John Scott and John Savage do and shall, as soon as conveniently may be after the decease of the survivor of them the said John Sayer, Thomas Sayer, Frances Sayer, and Sarah Sayer, transfer the said residue of the said stocks or funds, and so much of the said debt or sum of money (if any) as shall then remain unpaid, unto the minister and churchwardens for the time being of the said parish of St. James, Clerkenwell. And I direct that such minister and churchwardens, and their successors, shall stand possessed thereof, upon trust, by and out of the dividends, interest, and annual proceeds thereof, to keep in repair the tomb wherein the remains of my daughter and of my dear friend, the Rev. Henry Foster, are deposited, and to pay the sum of five shillings each to one hundred poor persons resident in the said parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, on Good Friday in every year; and upon trust to apply the residue of such dividends, interest, and annual proceeds (if any) in the supplying of coals to poor persons in the said parish in the winter season, but not more than a sack to each person; but in case such dividends, interest, and annual proceeds shall not be sufficient, after keeping in repair the said tomb, to pay the sum of five shillings each to one hundred poor persons, then upon trust, to pay five shillings each to as many poor persons of the said parish as such dividends, interest, and annual proceeds will admit of."

This will was "proved at London, 4th February, 1831, before the worshipful John Dauben y,

doctor of laws, and surrogate, by the oaths of John Scott, John Savage, and Rose Robertson, widow, the relict, the executors to whom administration was granted, having been first sworn to duly administer."

Thomas Spencer, of Myddelton-square, surgeon, who had been the medical attendant of the poor at the workhouse of Clerkenwell parish, from July 9th, 1809, to the time of his decease, in December, 1847, by his will, dated 3rd September, 1847, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, in December of that year, bequeathed as follows:—"I give and bequeath to my trustees and executors so much money as will purchase the clear sum of £2,000 Bank Three per Cent. Consolidated Annuities, which I direct to be invested by them in the names of the incumbent of the parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, in the County of Middlesex, and of the churchwardens of the same parish; and I direct the interest and dividends of such stock to be applied by the incumbent for the time being of the parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, aforesaid, and by the churchwardens for the time being of the said parish, for ever hereafter, in the purchase of bread, coals, and warm clothing, to be given and distributed by the said incumbent and churchwardens for the time being, at or about Christmas-day in each and every year, to and among such of the deserving and necessitous poor residing in the said parish, and not receiving parochial relief, and in such shares and proportions, manner and form as the said incumbent and churchwardens for the time being shall in their discretion think fit and proper."

Mr. Pascall, writing in 1851, says—"The above words, 'So much money as will purchase the clear sum of £2,000 Three per Cent. Consolidated Annuities,' appear to leave very little doubt what was Mr. Spencer's intention; but the amount purchased was only £1,800 Three per Cents., on account of the legacy duty. I have great reason to believe, that it is now the intention of the executors to make the amount good to the parish to the clear sum of £2,000 as ordered, they considering that to have been his wish."

Sir George Fettiplace gave by his will, in 1743, the sum of £13 per annum to the minister and churchwardens of St. John's, Clerkenwell, and their successors, to be laid out in bread—namely, 5s. a week, in ten sixpenny loaves, and given every Sunday morning to ten poor people at the parish church of St. John's. The amount is received from the Bishop of Oxford, in whose name a sum of stock, producing £210 a year, is invested, under an order of the Court of Chancery, for the maintenance of this and other charities.

In the year 1823, a sum of money was given by Mrs. Sarah Wild, as the gift of her late husband, Elisha Wild, and herself, sufficient to buy the sum of £25 New Four per Cent. stock, the interest to be laid out, on the 14th of February in every year, in bread to the poor of St. John's, Clerkenwell, for ever. The dividend is given away in loaves on the day specified, to poor persons selected by the churchwardens.

Sarah Wetherall (late Mrs. Wild) left by will, in the year 1830, £25, the interest of which was to be laid out in bread, and distributed to the poor of St. John's, Clerkenwell, on the 18th of October annually.

Emanuel George Mitchell left by will, in the year 1837, £100 stock, the interest of which was to be laid out in keeping his grandfather's monument in repair, and the surplus to be given to the poor of St. John's, Clerkenwell.

John Waterworth, of Islington, left by will, in the year 1627, the sum of £20 to the poor of Clerkenwell, for bread. Mrs. Rysdon, of Clerkenwell-close, in the same year, left the sum of £30, for the same purpose.

These two sums were taken by Vestry, 24th June, 1627, to repair the church under a promise to return the same to the uses ordered. The following is the minute relating thereto:—

24th June, 1627.—"At a Vestry holden this day, whereas the several sums of £20 and £30 were given by the charitable legacies of two well-disposed parishioners of this parish, deceased, to the use of the poor of the parish—viz., by John Waterworth, of Islington, deceased, £20; by Mrs. Rysdon, of the Close of Clerkenwell, widow, deceased, £30—both of which sums have been lent forth for the use and benefit of the said poor; and for that the churchwardens and parishioners are become much indebted, and are constrained to take as much money

towards the repairs of their parish church :—It is now ordered and agreed by the inhabitants and parishioners, in regard the said £50 may well be spared out of the stock of the poor at this present, That the churchwardens should take the said £50 into their hands when it shall become due, and shall disburse and lay it out about the repairs of the said church ; and that care be taken when the said repairs shall be finished, or there shall be some need, the said £50 shall be again raised by taxation of the inhabitants or otherwise, and restored to the stock of the poor of the said parish, as it was intended by the donors ; in the meantime to be only used as money borrowed, and not otherwise. And, that such profit as ought to be allowed for the use of the said money be allowed by the churchwardens and their successors, in bread or otherwise, as is appointed by the wills of the donors."

Mr. Pascall says, "As no mention is ever after made of those sums being returned, or raised by taxation, or found in any accounts of the charity moneys, it is not unfair to presume that the same have never been repaid by the churchwardens or their successors."

By will, dated May 12th, 1639, Jasper Yardley gave to five parishes, of which St. James's, Clerkenwell, was one, the sum of £40 each, in trust to the ministers and churchwardens, to be lent on bond for one year to poor but industrious shopkeepers or tradesmen, to put them forward in life; and the testator left much more to an hospital of which he was master.

Mr. Pascall says, respecting this gift :—"I believe this money was received and spent. There can be no doubt that the loan of £40 for a year to some tradesmen would be of great advantage; but they have been most unjustly deprived by the cupidity and avarice of those who applied it to uses for their own benefit, in lessening the assessments."

Lady Elizabeth Bullock left by will the sum of £20 for the use of the poor of Clerkenwell. We find the following vestry minute relating to this gift :—

— May, 1647.—"Memorandum of the inhabitants in the vestry of Clerkenwell Church, the said day and year :—Richard Frisby, churchwarden, and Roger Cresson, collector, did receive of Edward Bullock, of Faulkbourne Hall, Esq., the sum of £20 of current English money, being the gift of his mother, Dame Elizabeth Bullock, deceased, unto whom the said Edward Bullock was sole executor; which said sum of £20 was given for the relief of the poor of the said parish by the last will and testament of the above Lady Elizabeth Bullock, and for which we do acquit, exonerate, and discharge her executor, there being present at the receipt of the said £20, besides the churchwarden, collector," &c., &c.

When Edward Bullock died, his widow paid to the churchwardens of Clerkenwell the sum of £3, for the poor, which sum is acknowledged by memorandum in vestry, February 18th, 1648.

It would seem that Frederick Fawcett, in the year 1661, gave the sum of £50, to be invested for the benefit of the poor of Clerkenwell. We find the following vestry minute relating thereto :—

16th November, 1661.—"At a vestry held this day, it is ordered, That Mr. Symon Cook and Thomas Yardley, churchwardens of this parish, do receive of Mr. Fawcett the sum of £50, which they are to see put out on good security for the benefit of the poor."

James Leveson left by will, in the year 1663, the sum of £117 16s. 8d. to the poor of Clerkenwell. The following vestry minute relates to this gift :—

19th October, 1663 :—"William Robinson and Richard Tomlins brought in the account of James Leveson, Esq., deceased, £117 16s. 8d., and paid the same to the churchwardens and overseers."

Mr. Pascall says this sum was one-third part of the residue of the produce of Aldermere, Somersetshire. To what use this was ordered does not appear, there being no extract from the will to show, but the churchwardens are directed "to receive the money of the trustees on Friday next, and provide some civil entertainment to the above-named Robinson and Tomlins at the receiving the money, and to give a discharge under the directions of Mr. Ayliffe."

On November 28th, 1663, the vestry ordered the churchwarden to deliver up the money, but he refused, unless it was to the next churchwarden, or to pay for a purchase, but agreed to pay six per cent. for the same for the benefit of the poor. "The refusal of the churchwarden to surrender up the money he had received only about five weeks, unless for the purchase of some property, appears probably to have arisen from a consciousness that the same was to have been invested for the benefit of the poor, and not to be used for the relief of the inhabitants. Whether his successor received it

from him and was less scrupulous, there is nothing to show; but certain it is nothing is now known what became of it or of Bullock's or Fawcett's bequests—they are all alike lost to the poor."

Mr. Pascall thinks it is not improbable that the following may have some reference to this money, as all such moneys not immediately wanted in those years were generally lent out on personal security for a limited period:—25th June, 1665. "At a vestry held this day it appears, in consequence of the contagion, the churchwardens must have more money; and it is ordered that £50 be paid them out of the principal of £200 lent to Mr. Alderman Barkwell on Nov. 2, 1664."

Sir Erasmus Smith,[1] in the year 1691, left the sum of £50 to the poor of Clerkenwell. The following vestry minute relates to this gift:—

30th November, 1691.—"At a vestry held this day, at the parish church:—Whereas Erasmus Smith, Esq., deceased, by his last will and testament hath bequeathed and given the sum of £50 to the poor of this parish, upon the condition that his family should peaceably enjoy his part in the pew wherein he sat in the church, during their abode and continuance in the said parish:—Ordered," agreeably to his will, &c.

Thomas Arnold, in the year 1694, left by his will the sum of £100 to the poor of Clerkenwell. The following vestry minute relates to this gift:—

24th February, 1694.—"Whereas the gentlemen of the vestry do understand that there is £100, being the pious gift of Thomas Arnold, Esq., unto this parish for the use and benefit of the poor of this parish, which said sum of £100 Sir Jeremiah Sambrook is ready to pay to such person as the vestry shall appoint:—Ordered therefore, and desired by the vestry holden as aforesaid, That Mr. John Crosse do receive the said £100 for the use of the poor, of the said Sir Jeremiah Sambrook; the said Mr. John Crosse having consented to give the present churchwarden a bond, and allow and pay after the rate of five per cent., until it can be well secured at interest otherways, for the yearly benefit of the poor: and a copy of this order shall be a sufficient discharge to the said Sir Jeremiah Sambrook for the same."

Mr. Pascall says, that of this amount the interest was evidently intended for the benefit of the poor. Nothing, however, is now known of either interest or principal of the two last-named sums, except the statements above.

"Anno 1699, by will dated 9th of May, George French gave to twenty poor housekeepers or widows that have a charge of children, 2s. 6d. a piece, to be paid them by the Haberdashers every Christmas. This gentleman was a lodger in Clerkenwell, with Mr. Howard, churchwarden, and by his will gave £18 per annum for ever to this and other parishes to charitable uses. He therein gave 10s. to the minister of St. Antholin's, to preach a sermon every third day before Christmas, at nine o'clock in the morning, and to read over the charity before or after the sermon. The master or upper warden of Haberdashers, and the respective churchwardens of each parish to have five days' notice before distributing the charity. To twenty poor aged freemen of the Haberdashers, or their widows, to be appointed by the master or warden, 2s. 6d. each. To twenty poor housekeepers, or widows, of St. Andrew's, Holborn, below the bar, whom the churchwardens and overseers shall appoint by their names in writing, to be presented by the beadle, 2s. 6d. each. The like to the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell. The like to the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. The like to the parish of St. Olave, Southwark. The like to the parish of St. Antholin's. The minister, clerk, the four trustees, the master of the company, and the five churchwardens, to meet in vestry before sermon, to fit themselves with a pair of best white kid gloves on that day, in remembrance of the donor. The clerk, sexton, and beadle, 1s. each, out of the money remaining; 10s. for a friendly dinner; and the rest to be given to other poor. The trustees to be assistants to the executor in seeing the charity fully performed. The estate in George-alley, and £7 10s. a year ground-rent, bought of Samuel Pursax, being the front house in the possession of Mr. W. Nightingale, victualler; also £5 ground-rent due from a house in Walbrook, now in possession of Anthony Herrender, surgeon, and of the Star in the Wall, shall stand charged with the said £18 a year; and to make it good, he gave £300 as further additional security to make good the aforesaid charity. Since his death, with the £300 money were bought two houses fronting St. John-street, and the back house behind them, fronting to St. John's-lane."

In reference to this gift, Mr. Pascall says:—"The whole is entirely lost to this (Clerkenwell) parish, while, as may be seen in the Tenth Report of the Commissioners on Charitable Bequests,

[1] *Vide* page 11*n*.

that in the year 1736 the Haberdashers' Company received the sum of £40 in compensation of an annuity to the poor, under George French's bequest." In Seymour's "Survey of London" this gift is mentioned. The following is a copy of the testator's will in full:—

"In the name of God, Amen. I, George French, citizen and haberdasher, of London, do, this 10th day of May, 1699, make and ordayne this my last will and testament, in manner and form following, although through the mercy of God I am well both in mind and body at the writing hereof, yet considering the uncertainty and frailty of my natural life, do first recommend my soul into the hands of my ever-loving God that gave it me expecting salvation by the alone merits and satisfaction of Jesus Christ, my Redeemer; and my body to the earth from whence it came, hoping for a joyful day of resurrection, and to be decently buried by my executor hereafter named: And, having bowells of compassion towards the afflicted members of Jesus Christ, I do give £18 a year for ever, to be given and disposed of in no other way or manner than is hereafter directed and declared: And for the comfort and encouragement of such not to faint in their tryall, I doe give 10s. a year for ever to the minister of the parish church of St. Anthony, alias Antholin, London, to preach a sermon there on a suitable text of Scripture to the occasion, on every third day or near it before every Christmas Day, at nine o'clock in the morning, which first Christmas Day shall be in the year after my decease, and the day to be appointed by my executor and his successors for ever; and that the minister do, before or after sermon, read over the charity contained in this my last will, so that it may be carefully and faithfully performed and kept in perpetual memory to God's praise and glory, and that no poor partake of this charitable gift but those that are present to hear the sermon: And my will is, that my executor, and his successors for ever, shall give notice in writing to the above said minister, and master or upper warden of Haberdashers, and churchwardens of those parishes hereafter named, at least five days before the day for the distribution of the said charity; and in case, after such timely notice being given, there be a fault, either in the said company or in any of the said parishes, that their poor do not attend at the time appointed, then they shall lose the benefit of the said gift for that year, and it shall be given to the poor of the other parishes then present, being of good life and conversation: And immediately after the sermon my will is, that my executor hereafter named, and his successors for ever, shall then give unto twenty poor aged freemen of the Company of Haberdashers, or their widows, of such whom the master or warden of said company shall appoint by their names in writing, to be presented by their beadle, 2s. 6d. a piece, with these words, 'Give God the praise;' and also to twenty aged or poor housekeepers, or the widows of such as hath a great charge of children, of the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, whom the churchwardens and overseers shall appoint in writing, to be presented by their beadle, 2s. 6d. a piece; and also to twenty aged poor housekeepers, or the widows having a great charge of children, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, whom the churchwardens and overseers shall appoint by names in writing, to be presented by their beadle, 2s. 6d. a piece; and also to the like in the parishes of St. Giles, Cripplegate; St. Olave, Southwark; and St. Antholing, 2s. 6d. each; and my will is, that notice be given to all herein concerned, that no person's name be given to receive this charity that is of a loose and scandalous life; and in case my executor, or his successor, give in the names not exceeding three persons, that are freemen of the said company, or liveth in any of the said parishes, when they give notice in writing for all their poor to meet at St. Antholin's Church, it shall be accepted: And also my will is, that the minister and clerk, my four trustees, the master of the company (or, in his absence, the upper warden), with the five churchwardens of the said parishes do meet in the vestry before sermon, and fit themselves with one pair of the best white kid gloves, and my executor and his successors do the like for ever, to wear that day in remembrance of me, and no person to have gloves that is not there before the minister goeth that morning into the pulpit to preach: And I do give the clerk and sexton, and six beadles, 1s. a piece: And in giving the charity my will is, the poor be called in order as mentioned in my will; and after the poor are dismissed, what money is remaining, if you please, you may spend 10s. in a friendly dinner for those that hath gloves, and give the rest to other poor before you depart: And my will and desire is, that my trustees hereafter named, during their natural lives, be assistant to my executor, in seeing this charity fully performed; and in order to it, my will is, that all my estate in George Alley, alias Cross Keys Alley, formerly called Westraies Alley, the £7 10s. a year their ground-rent not excepted, which I bought of Samuel Spencer and Elizabeth his wife in November, 1681, the deed of purchase being enrolled in Court, in Barnaby-street, Southwark, the front house being now in the possession of William Nightingale, victualler; and also a £5 a year ground-rent due from a house in Walbrooke, London, the sign of The Starr on the Wall, now in possession of Anthony Herrenden, surgeon, with the moiety of the house when James Thacker's lease shall be expired, who was the builder; the whole being two sisters' interest, I bought Sarah Row the younger sister's right and title in or about the year 1677, as by deed of purchase fully appears, shall stand charged with the abovesaid £18 a year, to make good the performance of the above charity for ever; and to take off all pretence that may happen to obstruct the said charity, either in loss by fire, or houses being empty, or great charges of repairs, or loss of rent, I do give £300 as a further additional security to make good the full performance of the above charity; and if I do not lay it out in a ground-rent during my life here, then my will is, immediately after my decease, that my executor and trustees, with the master and churchwardens as above, whom I make all herein trustees, do meet to consider what

is the best and safest way with the most legal advantage to secure it, provided it be in or near London ; and for my executor and his successors' encouragement to be careful and diligent in looking after the repairs of the houses and getting in the rents, so as the said charity may be performed according to this my last will and testament, then my will is, that my executor and his successors for ever shall receive all the profits of the above said £300 to their own proper use, else not : Also I do give for mourning £5 to the house where my accustomed lodging is at the time of my decease, they giving a receipt in full satisfaction of all demands whatever : Also I do forgive my nephew, Selah Smith, all the money he oweth me on three several bonds, though he don't deserve it : Also I do give unto his son, Samuel Smith, on condition he performeth the above charity, all my estate in George-alley, *alias* Cross Keys-alley, formerly Westuraise-alley, with the ground rent of £7 10s. a year, the front house being now in the possession of William Nightingale, victualler ; also the £5 a year ground rent due from a house in Walbrooke, now in the possession of Anthony Herrenden, surgeon, tax-free, with the moiety of the house when James Thacker's lease expires, to him and his heirs for ever ; but in case he doth not perform the conditions without deductions from any manner of tax whatsoever, then I do empower my said trustees hereafter named, with the master of the Company of Haberdashers, and churchwardens of the said parishes, to make their legal entry upon all the aforesaid premises, and keep possession till he pays double costs and charges : Also my will is, that in case the said Samuel should die without issue of his body lawfully begotten, and also all the rest of Mathuselah Smith's children now living die without issue of their bodies lawfully begotten, then I do give all and the whole of the above said inheritances as a further addition to the above charity to the said company and parishes for ever. Also I do give unto my nephew, Samuel Smith, the lease of my seven tenements in Glasshouse-yard, Goswell-street, the first house now in possession of Robert Lawrence, victualler ; and also the lease of my two houses in Bell-alley, Golden-lane—Nathaniel Curtis lives in one of them, and is to pay the ground-rent, whose rent I would not have raised so long as the lease continues ; and what money he shall owe me at my decease I forgive him, and as he was mine let him be your plasterer : Also I do give the said Samuel Smith all the remainder of my estate not disposed of, on condition that he payeth to all the children that his father, Mathuselah Smith, hath living at the time of my decease, £20 a-piece, as they shall attain the age of twenty-one years : Also I give unto George Gifford, Esq., of Clifford's Inn, a ring of 20s. : Also I give to Marmaduke Norcliff, gentleman, and John Freeman, apothecary, Thomas French, bricklayer, and William French, fellmonger, rings of 10s. a-piece. : And I do make my loving friends, Richard Edes, of the Prerogative-office, gentleman, and Joseph Cames, citizen, of Dyer's-court, and Daniel Hayes, in St. Paul's-churchyard, and Edmund Howard, bridle maker, in Clerkenwell-close, trustees of this my will and testament, to see the abovesaid charity justly performed every year during their lives, according to this my will : And I desire them to go with my executor, about five days before the first Christmas after my decease, to the master and churchwardens, and show them the contents of my will, that they may rightly understand how to act ; and I do give them, my four trustees, a ring of 20s. a-piece ; and my will is, that all the rings have this posie, 'A good conscience the best treasure :' Also I give my loving friend, Walter Humphreys, Holborn Bars, a ring of 10s. : And that it may be known where the £300 is that I have given for a further additional security to the performance of the said charity, £150 is in the hands of my above said trustee, Daniel Hayes, in three several bonds of his late brother, John Sidley, hosier, by Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn, deceased, being bound with him, at four per cent. ; also £100 in the hands of Joseph Lem, at St. Mary's Cray, Kent, in two £50 bonds, George Richmond at Blackwall is bound with him, at six per cent. ; also £50, the remainder of four score pounds bond of Christopher Deane, deceased—his widow hath confessed judgment to me for the security of it, at five per cent. ; and if I remove any of it during my life, I shall leave it under my hand in writing how I have disposed of it ; the bonds are all by me ; and in case of my mortality, I would have my trustees forbid all persons bound to pay the money to my executor without their consent, I having given it to the uses of my will ; but if in case he should trouble them, which I hope he will not, then I do hereby indemnify you and save you harmless out of my estate to defend them : And my will is, that my body be laid in the vault just within the church door of St. Antholing's : And I do make and ordain my nephew, Samuel Smith, my full and sole executor of this my last will and testament ; and in case the said Samuel should die before me, then I do make and appoint the next eldest son of the said Mathueselah Smith that shall be living to be my executor, &c. : Also I do give my said executor £10 for mourning, and all the rest of my estates after debts, legacies, and funeral expenses are discharged : And lastly, I revoke all former wills, &c., and do confirm this by setting my hand and seal the 10th May, 1699.—George French.

"Published, &c., in the presence of, &c.,

"Nephew Samuel Smith,—I, having received the £50 of Mrs. Elinor Deane, being a part of the £300 given in my will, dated 10th May, 1699, and having lent it to Mr. Joseph Lem, on bond, dated 9th August, 1699, my will is, that it shall still stand charged to make up the above sum of £300 to the uses mentioned in my above will ; and my desire is, that this clause may be annexed to my said will. So, not doubting of your fidelity herein, I rest, your loving uncle, "George French."

"10th August, 1699."

James Sidegrave, of the Charterhouse, by his will, in 1708, gave the sum of £50 to the poor of Clerkenwell. There is the following vestry minute relating to this gift :—

6th April, 1708.—"Mr. Sidegrave gave and bequeathed the sum of £50 to the poor of this parish by his will. By a resolution of this date it was ordered, that the same should be paid to Mr. John Crosse, treasurer to the school, for the benefit of the children."

George Licorish, of Islington, by his will in 1729, left money to the poor of Clerkenwell. The following vestry minute relates to his gift :—

17th September, 1729.—"At a vestry held this day pursuant to notice, they came to the following resolution :—That the vestry clerk do wait on Mr. Clive, Mr. Stafford Briscoe's attorney ; that it is the opinion of the vestry, that £50 be paid by Mr. Briscoe, to put them on the same footing with Islington parish in relation to the said legacy, before the said letter of composition is signed according to the draft laid before vestry."

Francis Snowsell, left by will, £50 for the poor of Clerkenwell. It is believed that this was one of those transactions in which property was left to the parish, and never recorded in the vestry minutes. The gift is referred to in Seymour's "Survey of London," as follows :—"Francis Snowsell gave, to be put into the parish stock for the use of the poor, £50." No date is given.

Seymour says that "Anno 1660, Anne Valence, widow, late wife of Robert Valence, of this parish, deceased, gave the sum of £50 to be distributed by the vestry among an hundred poor men and widows that live by their honest labour." This gift is not mentioned in the vestry minutes.

SUPPLEMENT.

PAGE 38.—We find the following notice advertised in 1787 :—

"MONUMENTS IN CLERKENWELL CHURCH, MIDDLESEX.—The Church being in so ruinous a condition that it must be pulled down, the Churchwardens hereby give notice that the Monuments in the Church may, on application to the Churchwardens, at any time within six weeks from the date hereof, be taken down, for the purpose of preserving them, and that when a new Church hath been erected they may, with the consent of the Churchwardens, be put up therein, all expenses incurred by the taking down and putting up to be paid by the persons applying. Dated this 21st Day of March, 1787. *Vide* page 50.

PAGE 68.—We read in a newspaper, dated April 19th, 1728, that Mr. Lloyd was appointed Lent preacher at St. James's, Clerkenwell, on that day.

PAGE 69.—In a newspaper, dated February 4th, 1762, we find the following :—

"Yesterday came on the election for the place of Vestry Clerk for the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell ; the contest lay between Mr. Wright, distiller, in Cold Bath-fields, and Mr. Railton, attorney ; when the former was chose by a very great majority."

The Rev. Mr. Sellon, after being ten years morning preacher of St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, preached his farewell sermon there on Sunday 27th, April, 1766, in consequence of his appointment to be morning preacher at the chapel of the Foundling Hospital. It was heard with great attention, and was printed (May, 1766, quarto, pp. 23) at the desire of the parishioners. The words of the text were, "Only let your conversation be, as it becometh the gospel of Christ" (Philip i., 27), and the subject the moral duties of the gospel, comprised under the articles of temperance, righteousness, and piety.

PAGE 77.—An engraved portrait of Thomas Topham, the strong man, by Leigh, was published in 1741, the year in which he lifted three hogsheads of water, weighing one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six pounds.

PAGE 82.—In 1788 were published in folio, by I. and J. Taylor, "Plans, Elevations, and Sections of the House of Correction for the County of Middlesex, to be erected in Coldbath Fields," &c., by Charles Middleton, Architect. The book contains twelve pages of letterpress, comprising the specification of the works ; and fifty-three copper-plates. The prison was designed for two hundred and six males, one hundred and sixty females, and twenty-four in the infirmary ; making a total of three hundred and ninety prisoners, besides the governor, keepers, nurses, &c. A general plan of the building and surrounding ground shows the Small-pox Hospital and its gardens, next to the gaol and at the corner of Bagnigge Wells-road. Other plans show that the north and south fronts of the prison were each two hundred and forty-one feet six inches wide ; and that the east and west fronts were each one hundred and eighty-six feet wide.

PAGE 90.—An engraved portrait of John Weever, the antiquary, was prefixed to his "Funeral Monuments," 1631, folio, at which time he was aged fifty-five. He died in 1632, aged fifty-six. The engraver was T. Cecill. The first plate, after being cut and re-touched, was inscribed William Foster.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1793, vol. lxiii., part II., p. 864, is a notice of the death of Mr. William Newsham, watchmaker, of Clerkenwell-close, on August 25th in that year. This gentleman was a descendant of Bartholomew Newsam, of the Strand, clockmaker, a copy of whose will, dated in the year 1586, we give below. It would seem that the members of this family continued the art of horology for a lengthened period. The following will contains some curious and interesting bequests:—

"In the name of God Amen The seaventh day of Januarye in the yere of our Lord God one thousand fyve hundred eightie sixe and in the nyne and twentieth yere of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of Inglande Fraunce and Ireland Defender of the fayth &c. I Bartholamewe Newsam of the parish of St Marye in the Stronde in the Countye of Middlesexe Clock Maker being of wholl mynde and perfecte remembraunce (Allmightie God be praysed) doe make and ordeyne this my last Will and Testamente in manner and forme followinge viz. First and principally I committ and comende my soule unto Allmightie God trustinge by his mercye through the merittes of my Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ to have full remission and forgiveness of all my synnes and I will my body to be buried in the Savoy in the Stronde aforesaid where it shall seeme good to my executors or executrixe and I will that due regard be had that my debtes be first duely paid Item I give and bequeath unto theis persons followinge as hereafter is mencoed Viz to the poore people of the parishe of Stroude twenty shillings to Xpistian my Mayde tenn shillings John Potter my prentis my seconde clocke and three poundes sixe shillinges eighte pence in moneye at the end of sixe yeares after my decease yf he shall lyve soe long and allso all his yeres which by his Indenture he shoulde have served me and to William Baker my servante twenty shillinges and his wholl tearme of yeares he was to serve me and to Thomas Tuke a payre of hose and coate to be made of a furred cassocke and two sufficient shirtes and twenty shillings in mony and to John Newsam of Yorke tenn shillings John Watsonn tenn shillinges Isabell Richardsonn Joane Allesou my sister's daughter tenne shillinges the eldest daughter of my sister if shee be alive tenn shillings to my cozin George Tuke my best Gowne to John Newsom my best Vice save one a beckhorne to stand upon borde a great fore hammer and to hand hammers a grete longe beckhorne in my backe shoppe and all the rest of my tooles I give unto Edward Newsom my Sonne with condicon that he become a Clockmaker as I am yf not I will the foresaid tooles to be sould by my Executors or Executrix and the money thereof cominge to be imployed towardes his bringinge upp to some other profession whereunto his mynde shall best serve And I give to Mr. Howson my chamlett Cassocke to James Gardener my felte hatt lyned with velvett Mrs. Howson fyve shillings James Gardin his Wife fyve shillings Elizabeth Bickford fyve shillinges Mr. Symkins twenty shillinges Robert Bacon a sylke bagg with a lockeringe Mr. Richard Braswell my velvet Girdle with gylte harnes and to John Braswell my Godsone two shillings vjd allso to Edmunde Duffeilde a Scottishe dagger which my Lord of Northumberland gave me and a sonne dyall of copper gylte and to Mr. Byllet my very good friend two angells of goulde allso to Thomas Plompton one angell of tenn shillinges also I give and bequeath unto John Hill Esquire one cristall Jewell with a watche in it garnished with goulde and a greate dyall in a greate boxe of ivory with two and thirteth poyntes of the compos and to my very loveinge friende Mr. Barnarde Dewhurst one watch gylte to shewe the hower and to Albane Stepneth Esquire a strickinge clocke in a silken purse and a sonne dyall to stande uppon a post in his garden allso to Mr. Edwarde Wotton Esquire a chamber clocke of fyve markes price for a token hopeing that he will be good unto my Wife and children Item I give and bequeath unto my singuler good Lord the Lord Highe Tresorer of Inglande a cristall jewell garnished with a pearle at the end of it Item I give and bequethe unto my eldest Sonne William Newsam fortye poundes in moncy to be paid in tenn yeres next after my decease, vizt., at every Michaellmas yerely fouer poundes Item I give and bequeath unto Edward my Sonne fortye poundes of mony to be dilyvered unto him when he shall come to the full age of twentye yeres Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Margret Newsam fortye poundes of moncy to be delivered and paid unto her at the day of her full age of one and twenty yeres or at the day of her marriage which soever of them shall first happen Item I give and bequeathe unto my daughter Rose Newsam fortye poundes of mony to be delivd and paid unto her at the day of her full age of one and twentye yeres or at the day of her mariage whichsoever of them shall first happen and as concerning the disposicon of all my landes tenementes and hereditamentes I will that within seaven yeres next after my decease all those my landes tenementes and hereditamentes with thire appurtennes whatsoever lying and being in Cony Streete in the parish of St. Martyn within the cittye of Yorke or suberbes of the same shall be soulde by Parnell my wife with the consents and agreementes had in writing under the handes of my loveinge friends John Hill Esquire and George Tuke Habberdasher of London at such price as by him or he shall be thought reasonable yf she shall take uppon her the chardge of execucon of this my Will and if she shall refuse to accepte the said charge or shall die before such sale by her be made then I will that the same shall be so soulde by George Tuke with the consent of the foresaid Mr. Hill had in manner above mencoed to the intente to pay and dischardge my debtes and legacies with the mony hereof commge and as concerninge the desposicon of my chattelles realles I will that all my intereste and tearme of yeres whatsoever which presently I have or ought to have by vertue of the Queen's maties letters patents to me granted bearing date at Wealde Hall the sixth day of September in the fyve and twentieth yere of the Queen's mats Raigne that nowe is or otherwise of in all those

severall parcelles of landes tenementes or hereditamentes with all and singuler theire appurtenes whatsoever being percell of the demeane landes of the mannor of Fleete in the Countye of Lyncolue and sometymes pereell of the landes and possessions of Henrye Marques of Doreett late duke of Suffs attaynted of highe treasou and late granted amongest others to Thomas Lynne by the Queen's Maiesties letters patentes that nowe is under her great seale of Inglande bearing date at the sixteenth day of July in the one and twentieth yere of her Higheues raigne for tearme of one and twenteth yer beginninge from the feast of the Blessed Marye the Virgin then last past and for divse severall yerely rentes amountinge together to the some of seaven pounds and allso all that my right tytle interest and tearme of yeres whieh I have or oughte to have in revercon otherwise by vertue of the Queen's Mats. lres. patents bearing date as before is mencoed of in and to all that watermyll with the appurtenes situate lyinge aud beinge in Wymondham in the Countye of Norffolke and of and in all that messuage or tenement with the appurtennes ealled the Millhouse to the said mill apperteyninge and all that voyd grounde lying one the north parte of the said howse aud messuage called the mill howse and one eyther parte of the waters within the heydes as they are devided from other landes by herdes and dolyes there sett and putt and of in and to one Aldacer ealled Dame Robertes Grove and all fishinges belonginge to the said Watermyll with all and singuler their appurteues nowe or late in the tenure or oeeupaeon of William Steele and William Moeklefielde or of theire assignes which mill messuage tenamente landes and other the premisses in Wymondham aforesaid be percell of the mannor of Wymoudham in the Countye of Norffolke and sometyme did belong and apperteyne and weare percell of the possessions of the late Monasterye of Wymondham uowe dissolved and weare grauted to Sr Henry Cobham Knyght by the Queenes Maiejties letters patents sealed with the Xchequire seale bearing date the sixth day of June in the nyneteenth yere of Her Highenes raigne for tearme of one and twentye yeres beginninge from the feast of Blessed Marye the Virgin then last past and for the yerly rente of fower poundes two shillinges all that my right title interest and tearme of yeres whieh I have or oughte to have in revercon or otherwise by vertue of the Queen's Maiesties lres patentes bearing date as before is mencoed of in and to all that weare of Lanllnfney and all that fishinge or fishinge plaee or plaes of the water of Lanllufney called Corvid lyinge and beinge in the Countye of Nehop with all theire rightes members libertyes and appurtennes whatsoever nowe or late in the tenure or oecupaeon of Roberte Pulestone or his assignes parcell of the principallytye of North Walles granted to one John Hill gentleman by the Queen's Maiesties lres patents under her Exehequired seale dated at Westmester the twelve day of Aprill in the nyntenth yere of her mats raigne for tearme of one and twentye yeres beginninge from the aunueiacon of Blessed Marye the Virgin then last past and for the yerely rent of twelve shillinges and allso all my right title interest and tearme of yeres which I have or oughte to have anywaye of in and to all those two gardens or garden plotts lying and beinge in Firketts Field in the parish of St. Clementes Danes without Temple Barr in the County of Midd being of the yerly rente of fyve and twentye shillinges be soulde by my said wife wthin seaven yeares as before is said and with the consents of Mr. Hill and my Cosin Tuke to be used taken and hadd in lyke sorte as before is mencoed touchinge sale of my houses with the appurtennes in Yorke for and towards paymente of my debts and satisfaction of my legacies yf she shall take upon her the chardge as aforesaid but she shall refuse to accept the said ehardge or shall die before sueh sale by her be made then I will that the same shall be soulde within the said tyme by George Tuke with the consent of the foresaid Mr. Hill had in manner above meneoed. Item I will that Parnell my Wife shall have and oceupye all that house or tenemente wherein I nowe dwell to have and to holde to her and her assigns for by and duringe soe many yeares of my leases and tearmes in the same as yf shall happen her the said Parnell to lyve and I will that after her decease my said Sonne William shall have to him and his assignes the leases and residue of the yeres of and in the same howse or tenemente eyther in possession or revercon then not expired Item I give and bequeath to William my sonne all that house or buyldinge late in the tnure of Henry Salmon taylor seituat lyinge and beinge in the Weste parte of my nowe dwelling howse aforesaid To have and to holde to him and to his assignes for by and duringe soe many yeres as I have or oughte to have in the same by any lres patents demise lease or leases whatsoever eyther in possession or revereon. Item I give and bequeathe unto my Wife all that howse or buyldinge late in the tenure of Roberte Symkynsone sadler lyinge and beinge in the Est part of my saide nowe dwelling house to have and to holde unto her and her assignes onlye untill my Sonn Edwarde shall eome to the full age of twenty yeres and I will that my sonne Edwarde shall have and holde the same to him and his assignes for by and duringe soe many yeares as I have or oughte to have in the same by any lres patentes demise lease or leases whatsoever eyther in possession or revereon Item I will that yf it shall happen my said sonne Edwarde to deeease before he shall attayne the age afore mencoed or before he shall be lawfully married to a wife that then the said house and tearme soe to him bequeathed shall remayne to his brother William and to his assignes during all the residewe of the tearme of yeres then to come and unexpired in any lease or leases of the same eyther in possession or revercon Item I will that yf it shall happen any of my ehildren afore said to deeease and departe this life before that age and tyme by me appoynted to him or her for paymente of any theire legaeies and parte of monye of sueh a one soe deceasinge shall be equally distributed amongest the rest of my ehildren survivinge Item I will that yf it should happen Mr Hill or Mr Tuke to departe this life before the sale be made of my leases and tearmes of yeares before meneoed that then Mr. James Howson saddler and Mr. James Gardiner taylor be in theire steedes touchinge giveinge eonsente for sale as aforesaid Item I will that Parnell my wife shall leave at her decease unto

my foresaid sonne William and his assignes all such glas in the windows waynscott clothes and all other thinges that be nayle fast in my nowe dwellinge howse together with all bedsteedes and tables as nowe the stande wth out detryment wearinge excepte Item I will and my mynde is yf Parnell my said wife shall doe or cause to be done any act devise thinge or thinges whereby the righte course of this my presente Testament and last will and my mynde therein expressed shall not be observed to the uttermost of her power that then she shall be neyther my executrix nor take any benefitt of my landes goodes or chattells by vertue of this my will and Testamente Item I will that Parnell my wife shall have due care and regard as well to the direction and guydinge of my eldest sonne in God his feare as also to the bringinge upp of my younger children in like sorte and with conveniente meate drinke and apparell for them as may to her and my overseers seeme most fitt for their preferments and well doinge The residewe of all my goodes chattelles and debtes whatsoever unbequeathed I wholly give and leave to my welbeloved wife Parnell Newsam whome I make and ordeyne Executrix of this my will and testamente and my aforesaid friendes Mr. John Hill Esquire and George Tuke overseers of the same In witness whereof I the said Bartholomewe Newsam to these sixtene sheetes of paper conteyninge my last will and testamente have sett my hand and seale the day and yere first above written. Sealed and delivered in the presence of us Edmund Duffeilde Frauncis Fuller. This is a true copie of the will examined by us Edmunde Duffeilde and Frauncis Fuller.

"Probatum fuit Testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram magistro Thoma Creake Legum Doctore surrogato venerabilis viri Magri Willim Lewin Legum etiam Doctoris Curie Prerog. Cantuarien Magri Custod sive commissarii decimo octavo die Mensis Decembris anno domini Millesimo quingentissimo nonagesimo tertio juramento Magri Richi Stubbs Notary Publici procuratoris petionille Newsam Relicte dei defuncti et exceutricis in hmoi Testamento nominat cui commissa fuit adminitraco bonorum piruim et ereditorum dei defuncti de bene et fideliter administram ad saneta Dei evangelia jurat."

We read in the "London Gazette," May 22nd, 1690, as follows:—"On Monday, the 26th inst., will be a great match of cock-fighting for two guineas a cock, and fifty guineas the odd battle, between two persons of honour, at the cockpit, in Clerkenwell-close."

Page 93.—An engraved portrait of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who died in 1565, was published in 1655, folio, from a painting by H. Holbein, taken in 1548, when the subject was aged twenty-eight years. The engraver was W. Hollar. A wooden print portrait is prefixed to Chaloner's "De Republica Anglorum," &c., 1579, 4to.

A portrait of Sir Thomas Chaloner, governor of Henry Prince of Wales, and who died in 1615, was also published, mezzotinto, by R. Earlom, from a painting by A. V. Dyck.

Page 95.—A portrait of Dr. Theophilus Garencier, or Garencieres, sitting at a table, is the frontispiece to his "Translation of Nostrodamus's Prophecies," 1672, folio; the engraver being W. Dolle. The oval in the same print is the portrait of Nathaniel Parker, of Gray's Inn.

Page 103.—We read in a newspaper of 1754 as follows:—"British School, Clerkenwell-green. The Treasurer and Trustees of this Charity give Notice, that the Election of a Schoolmaster in the room of Mr. Thomas Hughes, deceased, will be by Ballot, on Monday next, the 4th instant, and that the said Ballot will be opened at Ten in the Morning, and finally closed at Four in the Afternoon."

Page 105.—In a newspaper of the year 1779, we read as follows:—

"The foundations of the county, or new Hicks's Hall, upon Clerkenwell-green, have been laid for some days, and the bricklayers are working upon it with all speed to complete it within this year. This building will comprize all the offices belonging to that court; with a spacious apartment for the grand jury, an elegant dining room for the Justices during the sessions, apartments for the housekeeper and crier, and every convenience for such a building. The exterior part will be freestone from the surface of the earth, and is planned upon a model that will make a grand appearance, and do honour to the county meetings. The old Hall in St. John-street will be erazed, whereby a fine opening will be made from Smithfield to the Islington-road, which has long been wished for, especially on market days, when the drivers of cattle crowd one side of the street, and the other is so narrow as to admit of only one carriage to pass."—*Vide* page 296.

Page 107.—A portrait of Sir Richard Chiverton, Alderman of London, 1658, sitting in an elbow chair, was published in folio.

Page 111.—In the "London Gazette," 1742, we find the following account of a murder committed by smugglers on Clerkenwell-green:—

"Whitehall, April 10.—Whereas on Sunday, the 4th instant, about Two of the Clock in the morning, five Men mounted on Horseback, loaded with Goods, suspected to be Tea, passing through the Road near Clerkenwell

Green, one of their Horses run against the Constable, who holding up his Staff to defend himself, the Person on the said Horse discharged divers Pistols or Blunderbusses at the said Constable and his Watchman Isaac Crawley, and wounded the said Crawley in his Arm, which has since been cut off: And whereas another of the said Persons returning back, fired four Pistols or Blunderbusses at the said Constable and his Watchman; and soon after divers Persons came to the Watchhouse[1] at Clerkenwell Green, and discharged several Pistols or Blunderbusses through the door of the said Watchhouse, and wounded Richard Croxall, another Watchman there on his Duty, who is since dead. For the better discovering and bringing to Justice the Persons concerned, his Majesty is pleased to promise his most gracious Pardon to any two of the Offenders who shall first discover their Accomplices (the person who first fired at and wounded Isaac Crawley excepted), so as he or they may be apprehended and convicted thereof.

"CARTERET.

"And as a further Encouragement for such Discovery, the Person or Persons so discovering shall receive a Reward of Fifty Pounds for each Offender who shall be apprehended and convicted; to be paid by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs on the Conviction of such Offender or Offenders.

"N.B.—The Person who first discharged the Pistols or Blunderbusses at the Constable, and his Watchman, was a Lusty Man, about Forty Years of Age, of a Swarthy Complexion, pitted with the Small Pox, and had on a Wig of a Darkish Colour, a Light Coloured Duffel Coat, and a Great Coat over it, and the Horse or Mare he rode on was of a large Size, of a dark Bay Colour, with Cropt Ears, the Saddle he rode on, which was dropt from the Horse, is a brown Leather Saddle, with four Staples, and two Leather Straps, such as are frequently used by the Smugglers, with a Woollen Saddle Cloth, Chequ'd with Blue and White, with one Girt and a Surcingle, and another of the said Persons, who returned back and fired upon the Constable and his Watchman, rode on a large black Horse, was a lusty Man in a light-coloured Great Coat, and another of the Horses was a spotted Horse with a Bald face."

Under date 1765 we read:—

"As a carpenter was going to repair a well belonging to the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, at the bottom of the green, which had not been used for a long time, he found to his great surprise the water reddish and extremely hot; and on further examination discovered a large drain made into the well, through which the water flowed a considerable way from a distillery erected in an old house in that neighbourhood, and so contrived that one man might do the business of many, and that very privately, by conveying the smoke into several different chimneys and letting the waste water into the well already spoken of."

No. 7, Clerkenwell Green, was Lunt's Coffee House, where in the early part of the present century William Lunt gathered about him a company, who there assembled for "Discussions, Lectures, Orations, Mock Trials, Readings, Recitations, and Harmony." In a long room, decorated with maps, prints, casts, busts, &c., were boxes for his visitors, each being inscribed with such names as Homer, Demosthenes, Cicero, Milton, and Shakspeare. There was, it is said, a general tone of infidelity and levity in the communions held here. Gale Jones was one of the visitors. When he first rose to open a debate a stranger would have imagined that he had an attack of the palsy, as every limb of his body appeared to shake; but after speaking for a few minutes, and warming with his subject, all nervousness left him, and he spoke as brilliantly as it is possible to conceive of any speaker. We believe he kept a chymist's shop in the neighbourhood, but he removed afterwards to Wilstead-street, Somers Town, where he died.

PAGE 112.—We read in a newspaper of 1697 or 1698 as follows:—

"At the lower end of Gray's Inn Lane, in Sir John Oldcastle's Field, near the City of London, is discovered a Spring, of the nature of those famous Cold Baths, St. Winifred, in Wales, and St. Mangus (sic, Magnus), in Yorkshire, being approved of by several Physicians conversant in the Uses and Vertues of Cold Bathing. There is a convenient Bathing place erected, and a House built over it for privacy. The same will be ready for Accommodation upon Monday the 19th of this month. Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays are appointed for Men, and Tuesdays and Thursdays for Women."

In a newspaper of 1745 appeared the following:—

"On Saturday night (March 15th, 1745), the corpse of Mr. Walter Baynes, of the Middle Temple, was carry'd from his House, the Cold Bath, and interr'd in a decent Manner in the Parish Church of St. James, Clerkenwell. He was the oldest Member of the Society of the Middle Temple, and many Years Deputy Custos Brevium of his

[1] *Vide* page 102.

Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, under the Right Hon. the Earl of Litchfield, (in which Place his only Son, Walter Baynes, of the Middle Temple, Esq., succeeds him, to whom he has left a very considerable Estate :) He was a man generally belov'd, most amiable in his Temper, and whom Friendship and Benevolence ever accompany'd towards Mankind ; of whom he justly merited the good Reputation long assign'd him, and which he preserv'd unblemish'd through every Stage of a Life adorn'd with a constant Tendency to Goodness, and piously ended in the 91st Year of his Age. The above Gentleman reviv'd the ancient Practice of Cold Bathing in this Southern Part of the Kingdom, and of whom Dr. Baynard in his Treatise thereupon makes mention." *Vide* page 636.

In 1752 the following advertisement appeared :—

"Cold Bath House.—The Proprietors of the most Excellent and Original Cold Bath, in the Square in Cold Bath Fields, the Bottom of Hatton Garden, have agreed to reduce the Price of Bathing, which has for many Years, on Account of its superior Qualities, been at double the Price of all other Baths in London. The Bath is constantly supplied from the Springs pouring into it Day and Night without Intermission, whereby the Bath is always fresh and pleasant. But for the farther Satisfaction of the Publick, we beg leave to refer them to the most eminent Physicians who have treated on the Use of Cold Baths ; wherein this Spring is particularly recommended. Several Gentlemen assert, who have used Otters-Pool, that this Spring is by some Degrees Colder. Physicians, and other Gentlemen of the Faculty, are allowed to bathe Gratis.

"☞ George, the late Attendant, will be the Guide to the Gentlemen, and a proper Woman is appointed to attend the Ladies. Great Care shall be taken of Children that shall be ordered to this Pool. No Bathing on Sundays after Nine o'Clock. The Price will be One Guinea a Year, or One Shilling each Time of Bathing. Very genteel Lodgings to be lett, compleatly furnished ; particularly a Ground Floor, consisting of a Bed-chamber, Dining-room, and Parlour, with the Use of a Kitchen, and a Room for Servants. None will be accepted as Lodgers, whose Character will not admit of Scrutiny."

Page 113.—A mezzotinto portrait of Eustace Budgell, who died in 1737, was published in 1720. J. Faber being the engraver, D. Fermin the artist.

Page 119.—The "Cobham's Head" has been a place of public entertainment for a longer period than we have stated at this page, for in the "Daily Courant," April 20th, 1728, appeared the following :—

"My Lord Cobham's Head, against Sir John Ould Castle's, is lately opened, and the House and Gardens are made very handsome and compleat, with a fine Canal stock'd with very good Carp and Tench, fit to kill. And any Gentlemen are allowed to angle for their diversion. There are very good lodgings to be lett, where Gentlemen may board if desired."

In 1729 appeared the following advertisement :—

"To be Lett or Sold, a Large, Compleat Publick House, the Sign of the Lord Cobham, in Cold Bath Field, leading from Holbourn to Islington. Inquire at the House."

Page 122.—In a newspaper of 1751 the following notice appeared :—

"By desire of some Gentlemen, who are curious of seeing the New Fire Works in the Chinese manner, which have not yet been seen in England, they have voluntarily made a Subscription for a Collection of Fire Works, wherein the said Chinese Fire is to be performed, at Sir John Oldcastle's, Cold Bath Fields, on New Year's Day To begin exactly at half an hour after Five o'Clock in the Evening. Note.—Tickets One Shilling, and may be had at the above said Place ; as also at the Gentleman and Porter in Fort-street, near Stewart-street, Spittlefields; at the Sign of the Royal Fire Works in Hosier-lane, near Smithfield ; at the Sun Tavern in the Strand, near Charing Cross ; and at the Blue Anchor in St. Katherine's-court, Tower Hill."

Page 130.—In a newspaper of 1752 we read :—

"Mulberry Gardens, Clerkenwell, are now opened by Mr. Clanfield, Engineer to Cuper's Gardens (after the Italian manner), and this and every evening during the summer season will be a concert of vocal and instrumental musick. And by desire, Mrs. Smith will sing several new songs, particularly the 'Virgin's Resolution ;' and to conclude with a grand collection of Fireworks, &c. The doors to be open at five, the Musick begin at six, and the Fireworks played off at nine. Each person paying sixpence admission, threepence of which is to be allowed in liquor. Coffee and tea at all times of the day. Proper officers are provided to keep strict order and decorum."

PAGE 140.—In the "Public Advertiser," 1774, appeared the following letter:—

"FOR THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

"TO SIR JOHN FIELDING.

"August 29.

"Sir John,—It is the duty of every man to contribute something towards the general good of society. You, Sir, have been an ample benefactor:—Your preventive plan of justice does honour to you, does honour to human nature; but as every bad practice does not come within the view of any one man, the Public at large should furnish you with all the intelligence in their power. I have long been in hopes some one more able would have taken up the pen to expose a place, in my opinion very dangerous to society—I mean a Cock-pit in a place called Pickled Egg Walk, near Cold Bath Fields, where the very dregs of the people assemble twice or thrice a week to fight cocks, and gamble away their time and money. You would be surprised even on the outside (for I never was within it) to hear the noise of swearing and betting. I overheard a fellow, without anything that deserved the name of coat, the other evening declare he had lost 18s.—a small sum for a gentleman, but a large one for such a fellow as that. The amusements of the lower class deserve the strictest attention. I would not wish to debar them of innocent Diversions; on the contrary, I think many of them necessary as a relaxation from perhaps a sedentary business: such as skittles and other games upon pins, where they are debarred from sporting their money. In this affair there is no exercise, and the sole intent of the meeting to gamble. Surely, Sir John, if there is a law against such meetings, it is a pity it should be so long unexecuted; and if there is no law, it is high time there was. I should be no ways surprised at being stopped and robbed by one of those unfortunate adventurers, who, after losing his money, has nothing left to comfort him but an empty pocket, and perhaps the cries of a starving wife and family. Should this hint be attended to, it will give me real pleasure, and may encourage me to address you another time. "PHILANTHROPOS."

PAGE 142.—The portrait of the "Pantheon Maccaroni" was published, representing a dandy of the period, dressed in the first style of fashion, between two ladies equally smart. This print is rare.

PAGE 144.—We read in a newspaper of March, 1779, as follows:—

"Sunday, Northampton Chapel, in Spaw fields, purchased by the Countess of Huntingdon, was opened by the Rev. Mr. Haweis, one of her Chaplains, who preached a Sermon on the occasion: the text was taken from the first chapter of Corinthians, the 23rd and 24th verses. The Countess herself was present, and the concourse of people were so great on the occasion, that the Chapel, though spacious and extensive, could not contain all that assembled."

PAGE 151.—In 1779 appeared the following amusing notice of sports which took place in Spa Fields:—

"THE CLERKENWELL CHRONICLE.

"A scene of fun and business intermixed took place on Saturday last in the Spa-fields, to which no language can do justice.

"On Friday some Bricklayers enclosed a piece of ground ten feet by six, for roasting the ox; and so substantial was the brick work that several persons sat up all night to watch that it did not fall to pieces before morning. An hour before sun-rising the fire was lighted for roasting the Ox, which was brought in a cart from St. James Market—no ridicule we trust on the people in the West. At Seven o'clock the Ox was laid over the fire in remembrance of the cruelty of the Spaniards in their conquest of Mexico. By nine o'clock one of the legs was ready to drop off; but no satire on the American Colonies was intended; for if it had fallen there were numbers ready to have swallowed it. At Seven o'clock came a sergeant and a number of deputy Sons of the Sword. The sergeant made an elegant speech at which every one gaped in astonishment, because no one could understand it. At half past two the beef was taken up, slices cut off, and thrown among the crowd, and many, and many a one catched his hat full to fill his belly.

"Four butts of beer were given to the populace and drunkenness became the test of loyalty. One of the gold laced hats was won by a soldier, and the other by a Bridewell boy.

"Instead of four old women to run for the gown, &c., there were only three girls; and the race was won without running; for two of the adventurers gave out before half the contest was over, and even the winner was a loser, for she tore off the sleeve of her gown in attempting to get it on. Only one man grinned for the tobacco, gin, &c. But it was enough. Ugliness is no word to express the diabolicality of his phiz. If the King had ten such subjects he might fear they would grin for the crown. Addison tells us of a famous grinner who threw his face into the shape of the head of a base viol, of a hat, of the mouth of a coffee pot, and the nozzle of a pair of bellows; but Addison's grinner was nothing to the present, who must have been born grinning. His mother must have studied

geometry, have longed for curves and angles, and stamped them all on the face of the boy. The mob was so immense that though the tide was constantly ebbing and flowing it was supposed the average number was 4,000 from nine in the morning till eight at night; and as this account is not exaggerated, 44,000 people must have been present. All the alehouses for half a mile round were crowded, the windows were lined, the tops and gutters of the houses filled. The place was at once a market and a fair, curds and whey were turned sour, ripe filberts were hardened, and extempore oysters baked in the sun. The bread intended for the loyal was thrown about the fields by the malecontents. The beer was drank out of pots without measure and without number, but one man who could not get liquor swore he would eat if he could not drink his majesty's health; and observing an officer with a piece of beef on the point of his sword, he made prize of it and ate it in the true cannible taste.

"The feast on the whole was conducted with great regularity, for if one got meat another got bread only, and the whole was consumed; but to add to the Farce a person threw a basket of onions among the bread eaters. Some men were enlisted as soldiers, but more were impressed; for the blood hounds were on the scent and ran breast high. If not spring guns, it might fairly be said that men traps were fixed in the Spa Fields. The beef was good of its kind, but like the constitution of Old England, more than half spoiled by bad cooks."

PAGE 155.—In 1803 was published, by Alexander Hogg, Paternoster-row, the portrait of "John Statham, a Remarkable Blind Young Man, of Ray-street, Clerkenwell."

PAGE 159.—In the "Flying Post," September 17th—20th, 1709, we read, "Mr. Preston, master of the Bear Garden, was killed by one of his bears, and his son shot the bear to death." *Vide* page 649.

PAGE 162.—In a newspaper of 1731 was the following advertisement:—

"At his Majesty's Bear Garden in Hocley Hole, this present Monday, being the 15th of this instant, will be a great Match fought, by a fallow colour'd Bitch from Lambeth to fight against a fallow colour'd Dog from Spittle fields, both to fight Let go for Let go, at the famous Newington Bull, for one Guinea each in money, and a Silver Collar, Value 30 shillings, the Dog that is kill'd or runs away loses all the money. No Body to be on the Ground but the three Umpires. With Variety of Bull and Bear beating. Likewise the Bull with Fireworks to be turn'd loose in the Game place among the Men, with two or three Dogs after him.

"NOTE.—The Doors will be open at Two o'clock and the Diversion begin at Three exactly, because the Days are short and the Sport will last long."

PAGE 164.—In 1720 the following quack advertisement appeared:—

"Whereas, I, Charles Mapp, Master Taylor, dwelling at the Sign of the Coach and Horses, near Clerkenwell Church, have been for the space of 5 years very much Afflicted with Cholick, but since Michaelmas last was Twelvemonth much more violently, my Digestive Faculty being so depraved, that I generally Vomited up the greatest part of what I Eat or Drank; and being also troubled with the Stone and Gravel, I was for the most of that time confin'd to my Bed. I made use of Five of the most eminent Physicians, but found little or no Relief; but my Case growing Desperate and Hopeless, I being look'd upon as a Dead Man in the Eyes of my Physicians, and most that saw me, I apply'd myself to Mr. John Moore, Apothecary, at the Pestle and Mortar, in Abchurch Lane, London; who in a short Time cured me of my aforesaid Maladies; for his Medicines I paid him, so lie under no Obligation to publish this, but for the Good of others. "CHARLES MAPP.

"September 26, 1720."

PAGE 169.—In a newspaper of 1769, we read as follows:—

"Jackson, at his grand Grotto-Garden, and Gold and Silver Fish Repository, in Rosoman's-row, Clerkenwell, returns his most grateful acknowledgments to the indulgent public, for the many favours received; assuring them that it shall be his peculiar care to make every thing agreeable to the eye. A very curious variety of Gold and Silver Fish are now selling, which afford pleasing ideas to every spectator. A good price given for gold and silver fish. No price will be demanded, entirely relying on the generosity of the company."

In the same year the following advertisement appeared:—

"GROTTOS.—Jackson, well known for his Performance in grottos and water-works, begs leave to inform the curious, that his grotto-garden, in Rosoman's-row, near the London Spaw, Clerkenwell, is open every day for the inspection of those that are curious in shells, grottos, and water-works, there being this year great additions; with his new-invented water-mill, which, when set to work, represents fireworks, and forms a beautiful rainbow in its proper colours, delightful to behold; numbers daily resort to inspect the same, who express their highest satisfaction thereof, and allow it the greatest curiosity ever seen. Admittance 6d. each person, or a company as they please.

"Of all amusements for many miles about,
View my grottos, you'll say Jackson cuts them out.

"N.B. At the said garden, ladies and gentlemen may be supplied with gold and silver fish, at a fair price."

In 1740 the following notice appeared:—"Yesterday Morning early died of an Obstruction of the Urine, at his Lodgings on Ludgate Hill, Dr. Hook, Proprietor of the New Wells near the London Spaw. He was a gentleman descended of a good Family."

The New Wells were thus advertised in 1744:—

"New Wells.—At the New Wells, near the London Spaw, Clerkenwell, this and every evening during the Summer Season, will be presented Variety of New Performances—viz., a New Song in Honour of Admiral Anson's taking the Aquapulca Ship from the Spaniards. Mr. Hendriek will Dance on the Rope, with a Wheelbarrow before him; and Mr. Morris will perform several curious Exercises on the Stiff-rope, particularly he will jump over a ribband eight feet from the Rope, Forwards and Backwards. Tumbling by Mr. Hendrick, Kerman, and others. Several Grand Dances (both Serious and Comic) by Madem Devall, and Mr. Shawford and others. And Singing by Mr. Meers and Mr. Corbett. To which will be added a new Pantomime Entertainment, called 'The Sorceress; or, Harlequin Savoyard.' The character of Harlequin by Mr. Rosoman; Petit Maitre by Mr. Shawford; Sorceress, Mr. Meers; Colombine, Mrs. Pritchard; Clown, Mr. Warner; the Rest of the Parts to the best Advantage. The whole to conclude with a Grand Dance of Indians (after the manner of their own country), by Madem Devall and Mr. Shawford, accompanied by Mr. Rosoman, Mr. Yeates, Mr. Hendrick, Mr. Davis, Mrs. Pritchard, and Miss Shawford. The Scenes, Machines, Musick, and Dresses are entirely new. Each Person to be admitted for a Pint of Wine as usual. To begin every Evening at Five o'Clock."

Page 170.—In a newspaper of May 20th, 1752, we read:—"On Sunday, for the first time, the late New Wells near the London Spaw was preached in by a clergyman, it being taken by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley for a Tabernacle."

Page 172.—Since the week commencing May 1st, 1865, The Clerkenwell News has been published five times a week, namely, on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. *Vide* page 653.

Page 180.—In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, *temp.* Charles II., 1666-1667, is named a letter, dated September 10th, 1666, from H. Brouncker, to Williamson, which desires him to move Lord Arlington to order the release of Captain Mac Gill from the New Prison, Clerkenwell; being a Frenchman, Lord Arlington thought it better for him to lie there three or four days.

Page 183.—The following obituary notice appeared in 1783:—

"At Hampstead, Miss West, the notorious female pickpocket, and accomplice of Barrington; for many years celebrated by the appellation of the modern Jenny Diver. She is said to have bequeathed near £3,000 to her two children, the eldest of which was born in Clerkenwell Bridewell, previous to the mother's being removed to Newgate, under sentence of a year's imprisonment, for picking a pocket in a room over Exeter 'Change, while the body of Lord Baltimore was lying there in state."

Page 188.—The Skinners' Arms in Coburg-street, Clerkenwell, was formerly kept by William Mattison, a highly intelligent and well educated man, who was, previously to his becoming the proprietor of that house, collecting clerk to Messrs. Wyatt, ale brewers, Portpool-lane, by whom he was much respected. At his house was held one of the branches of the Philanthropic Society, and Mattison being a great favourite, it was well patronized. Here used to meet Pierce Egan, Smirke, George Cruickshank, who then lived in Amwell-street, and other celebrities.

Page 203.—At this page we have mentioned the endeavours which were made of late years to re-establish the Langue of England as a branch of the ancient order of St. John of Jerusalem; and at page 658 we have referred to a lengthened correspondence in "Notes and Queries," upon the legitimacy of the revived Langue. Without offering an opinion upon this contested question, we may add, that there is existing a sovereign and illustrious order of St. John of Jerusalem, Anglia, of which His Grace the Duke of Manchester is now Grand Prior. This order is governed by statutes which were passed by the special chapter-general on April 16th, 1862, and confirmed by the chapter-general on June 24th, in the same year. The statutes comprise eighteen chapters, the first of which is as follows:—"The English Langue (Lingua Sexta) of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which welcomes to it the honourable families of the British Empire, and their descendants, consists of Bailiffs, or Great Crosses, Commanders, and Knights of Justice, together with associates under the name of Knights of Grace, Honorary Knights, Chaplains, Esquires and Donats. Ladies are also

admitted. Following the precedent of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, in the fourteenth century, its Head is the Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the British Empire, and he is aided by the Capitular Bailiffs, the Preceptor of Torphichen, the Vice-President of the Capitular Commission, and the executive Officers of the Langue." The eighteenth chapter states, that "The mode of reception into the English Langue, corresponds, as nearly as possible, with that established in the Bailiwick of Brandenburg. The profession vow imposes upon every Member, on his admission, a declaration on honour that he will use his best exertions:—I. To uphold and maintain the rights, privileges, and independence of the Sovereign Order. II. To observe and obey the rules and statutes, so far as they are compatible with his allegiance and the existing state of British society. And, III. To advance the best interests of the Langue of England."

This revived order now numbers amongst its members, noblemen and gentlemen, whose names alone add dignity and lustre to it; and from the date of the revival up to December, 1862, the roll of members includes:—of Peers and Peerage families, 13; Foreign Noblemen and their families, 21; Baronets and Baronets' families, 23; high Civil Functionaries, 12; Admirals, Generals, and Field Officers, 38; with others eligible on account of their social standing, honourable descent and connection, or distinguished eminence in science and literature.

In 1864 was published a short Memoir of the Order and the English Langue, written by Robert Bigsby, Esq., the registrar and secretary of the latter; Knight Grand-Cross of St. John, Anglia; Knight of St. James of the Sword of Portugal, and of numerous other orders; LL.D. of the University of Glasgow; Honorary Member of the Royal Academy of Palermo, of the Academy Gioenia of Catania, and of the Academy of the Intrepidi of Cori, &c. This Memoir briefly traces the course of the Order from the time of its original institution, about the year 1048, unto the present day.

Dr. Bigsby says:—

"In 1798, the Order was despoiled of its sovereignty by Bonaparte, and the Grand-Master soon afterwards resigned his office, in which he was succeeded by the Emperor Paul I., of Russia, who sought to re-obtain for the Order the possession of the Island of Malta. The death of this monarch, which occurred in 1801, once more unsettled the hopes and prospects of the Knights. The succession of Grand-Masters closed with Tomassi, the immediate successor of Paul, since which period the Order has been governed by Lieutenants of the Mastership; but intervals of entire prostration have given birth to wide changes in its constitution, and at present it may be said to exist in a state of utter disunion, and consequent feebleness and decay. Every Language of the Order has been successively dissolved or suppressed by acts of arbitrary power, but there is a principle of vitality in its very nature which still operates, and will preserve for it, despite of all revolutions and changes in the affairs of nations, an historical future.

"Since the peace of Amiens, in 1802, the Languages of Arragon and Castile have separated from the government of the Order, and attached themselves to the crowns of their respective countries, Spain and Portugal. The Italian and German Languages have looked to the Pope for protection, and exist under the form of Grand-Priories only, possessing but a small portion of the earlier revenues of their respective communities. The three French Languages, namely, those of Provence, Auvergne, and France, under the two empires, sank into inactivity, but during the two Bourbon dynasties, they reasserted their right, which through all ages had been conceded to them, of being the corner stone of the Order, and, under the presidency of the Prince Camille de Rohan, became associated with those of Arragon and Castile in various magnanimous efforts to restore the Order, if not to a sovereign position, at least to its pristine philanthropic objects, as is proved by their urgent Memorial signed in the name of the five combined Languages, by the Count Achille de Jouffroy to the Congress of Verona in 1822, and by Instruments of Convention entered into by their Council-Ordinary, of the respective dates of 1826 and 1827, under the presidency of the Commander de Dienne, the surviving colleague of the Prince Camille de Rohan, the Commanders de Bataille and Peyre de Chateauneuf, and the Bailli de Laysterie, who presided over the Capitular Commission by which, with the entire adhesion of the Languages of Arragon and Castile, they initiated the resuscitation and aided in re-organizing the English Language, which has since continued, under a succession of distinguished Grand-Priors and other functionaries, to form the only independent section of the Order.

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"It should be borne in mind that, within the Order itself, the English Langue has never been extinct. The authoritative assertion of the French Council-Ordinary on this point appears in their Second Convention—'La Langue Anglaise, dont les privilèges furent toujours en vénération, et conservés;' and it is proved beyond cavil that its officers always continued to represent it in the Chapters.

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"Both the Royal brothers, George IV. and William IV., sympathized strongly with the objects of the institution, and were equally impressed with veneration for its exalted career in the annals of naval and military fame—a career which has brilliantly extended itself over the lapse of nearly eight centuries, and the memory of which will as brightly endure so long as history itself shall survive.

"The sacred name of Charity should alone be inscribed on the banner of our future Knights—the schemes of political ambition be 'parcel of the past.' The noble emulation of doing good should be the sole guiding principle of the English Language of the Order of St. John."

At a Chapter General of this Order, held June 24th, 1864, the Almoner reported to the Grand Prior as follows:—

"To His Grace the Grand Prior of the Venerable Langue of England.

"My Lord Duke,—In accordance with the instructions I have received from your Grace, I have the honour to submit the following project, for the establishment of a Commandery of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the district of Clerkenwell, in which I have endeavoured to embody the suggestions made by your Grace, and by the other members of the Capitular Commission, as expressed during the meeting of that body on the 20th instant.

"It is proposed to rent a house of convenient size, and centrally situated in the district of Clerkenwell, which shall form a temporary Commandery, and from which shall be distributed daily alms, in the form of soup, cooked meat, bread, arrowroot, wine, brandy, porter, tea, sugar, and other suitable articles, to such sick and otherwise deserving poor as may receive tickets.

"The direct management of the Commandery to be vested in the hands of a Serving Brother, to be appointed by the Order, with a suitable salary. The Serving Brother to reside in the Commandery, a portion of which must be furnished for his accommodation. A Knight to be appointed as Commander, who will have plenary authority over the Institution, subject only to the control of the Chapter-General, the Capitular Commission, and the Grand Prior of the Langue. With him will be associated as many other Knights as are willing to undertake the duties of periodical inspections of the Institution. Chaplains to be also appointed for the same purpose, either from amongst those at present in the Order, or who may be elected from amongst the clergy of the district.

"Tickets, available for a certain amount of food of the various descriptions above enumerated, will be issued to members of the Order in proportion to the amounts of their subscription. These tickets may be either distributed by them personally, or may be entrusted by them to the clergy and ministers of the various religious denominations, to the medical officers of the local dispensary, to the visitors of the district for the various charitable institutions, or to any other persons acquainted with the wants of the poor. The public to be also invited to contribute after the machinery has been fairly set in motion, receiving, in a similar manner, tickets in proportion to the amounts of their several subscriptions. Persons aiding in the good work in this manner will become, in accordance with ancient usage, 'Corrodaries of the Order;' the only deviation being, that whereas the Corrodaries of old times were entitled to food for themselves and their followers, they will, in the present scheme, transfer their claims to their poorer brethren.

"It is proposed that at first the distribution should only take place twice or three times per week, the other days being devoted by the Serving Brother to the duties of an accountant and collector. It is also proposed that the cooking should be performed at one of the bakeries in the neighbourhood for the present. Should the Institution prove successful, it could eventually undertake this duty itself.

"Other Commanderies might also hereafter be formed, not only in other necessitous districts of London, but also in many of the leading provincial towns in England.

"With regard to the cost of carrying out this project, the only outlay necessary for the management of the Institution would be an annual sum of about £100 for rent and the salary of the Serving Brother, and a sum of £100 for furniture and fittings on first starting. Both of these amounts could be provided from the ordinary income of the Langue. The expense of food will, of course, depend upon the number of tickets presented by the poor, and as these will only be issued in proportion to the amounts contributed, it is needless to enter into any calculation on that score. The amount of benefit conferred on the poor will depend entirely on the support afforded to the Institution. It is, therefore, hoped that members will aid the scheme by augmenting the amount of their annual oblations, bearing in mind that for all such augmentations they will receive full value in food tickets.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord Duke,
"Your Grace's obedient Servant,
"Whitworth Porter,
"Major-General Engineers, Almoner."

It is not yet quite decided by the Capitular Commission whether Clerkenwell shall be the site of the intended Commandery. Enquiries are pending as to the eligibility of this parish as the home of such an institution. It has been strongly represented by well-informed persons connected with the locality,

that there is not a sufficient amount of distress prevailing there to render it expedient to prefer the situation to Westminster, Bethnal-green, and other places. Clerkenwell generally enjoys steady prosperous lines of manufacturing trade, that keep in regular work the more industrious members of the community.

PAGE 213.—In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1785, pages 713, 714, is an account of Sir Richard Shelley, Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. And in the same work is an engraving of two medals which were struck in his honour.

PAGE 219.—At this page we have given engravings of the seals of St. John's Priory; at page 663 we have described another seal of the same order; and opposite page 721 we have given an engraving of five seals of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. The Editor is indebted to Dr. Robert Bigsby, the secretary of the English Langue, for the loan of the seals from which the latter has been executed. The oldest is, without doubt, the earliest seal of the English Langue of the order, as originally located in Clerkenwell early in the twelfth century.

In the "Archæological Journal," vol. x., p. 141, are an account and engravings of a leaden bulla of Raimond du Pay (del Podio), who was of a noble family in Dauphiny, custos, or grand master of the order of St. John in Jerusalem, or Hospitallers. He succeeded Gerard,[1] the first custos, on his decease, about A. D. 1121. In that year, Raimond addressed letters to solicit the succour of the faithful throughout Europe, accompanied by a Bull conceded by Pope Calixtus II. He compiled the first statutes of the order, and formed a systematic code for its regulation; he was eminently distinguished by valour and military skill, in the interminable struggles with the infidel, of which Palestine and Syria were the scene, in the twelfth century. Raimond appears to have been living in 1158, and he died about 1160.[2] The interesting relic, of which representations are given as above mentioned, was found under the walls of Norwich Castle, and is now in the valuable cabinet of Norfolk antiquities, in the possession of Mr. Robert Fitch, of Norwich. On the obverse appears the custos kneeling at the side of a patriarchal cross; the legend being † RAIMVNDVS CVSTOS HOSPITALIS HIERVSALEM. On the reverse is seen a church with three domes, doubtless intended to portray that of the holy sepulchre; so represented that the interior is shown, and the tomb of our Lord within the church—a cross being placed at the head; a lamp, or corona, suspended above; and an object, possibly intended for a censer, swinging at the foot of the tomb. The legend is:—HOSPITALE DE HIERVSALEM. The establishment of the Hospitallers was adjacent to the church of the sepulchre; and existing remains of the building are described by Mr. Williams in the "Holy City," vol. i., p. 391.

In the same volume of the "Archæological Journal," p. 141, are an account and engravings of a leaden bulla of Raimond Berengarius, a native of Dauphiny, who succeeded Roger de Puis, in 1365, as Grand Master of the Hospitallers. In that year he commanded the fleet, united with that of Peter, King of Cyprus, in the expedition against Egypt. In 1374, his advanced age prevented his attendance at the great assembly of the Order at Avignon, where he was represented by his Lieutenant, Fernandès de Hérédia, and the statutes of the Order were settled. Berengarius died in November, 1374.[3] On this curious bulla the primitive design is retained, but modified: the badge of the cross may be perceived, though very indistinctly, upon the shoulder of the kneeling custos; at the sides of the patriarchal cross before him are introduced the letters Alpha and Omega; the oriental domes of the church are converted into Gothic tabernacles. The recumbent figure beneath the fragment of architecture intended to represent the church, appears by the cross nimbus to be our Lord's body placed on the tomb, thus typifying the presence of the Holy Sepulchre. The legends are as follows:—*Obverse*, † F. R. BERENGARII CVSTOS PAVPERVM. *Reverse*, † HOSPITALIS IHERVSALEM.

In the same volume of the "Archæological Journal," p. 326, are an account and engraving of a leaden bulla of Gerinus, fifteenth Custos, or Grand Master of the Hospitallers. It was appended to a document in the record office at Malta, dated A.D. 1233.[4] He succeeded Bertrand de Texis, who

[1] *Vide* page 198, *ante*.

[2] *Art de Verifier les Dates*, tome ii., edit. 1818, p. 106. *Statuti del Sacro Spedale di S. Giov. Borgo Nuovo*, 1674.

[3] *Art de Verif. les Dates*, tome ii., p. 112, from Sebastion Paoli and Paciandi. Paoli, in his collection of the statutes of the order, states that he died in A.D. 1373.

[4] The office reference is Book vi., No. 9.

died previously to October, 1231, although some accounts record his death as late as 1244.[1] Gerinus appears, however, by a document dated October 26th, 1231, to have been grand master at that time.[2] Pope Gregory IX., on his reconciliation with the Emperor Frederic II., who had obtained possession of Palestine by a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, sought to secure in his favour the influence of the Hospitallers; and Gerinus supported the cause of Conrad, son of Frederic, by Yoland, daughter of John de Brienne, King of Jerusalem. The claim of Conrad to that title was disputed by Alix, widow of Hugh, King of Cyprus. Her father, Henry, Count of Champagne, had espoused Isabel, daughter of Amauri, King of Jerusalem; and he had been further confirmed in the sovereignty of Palestine by Richard Cœur de Lion and his allies in 1192. The results of these contentions were fatal to the Christian cause; an anarchy ensued, and Jerusalem fell into the power of the Mahommedans. Gerinus did not live to see the issue of the disastrous quarrel in which he had engaged. His name occurs as grand master in May, 1236, but he died before September in that year. Vertot has incorrectly stated that he perished with a band of Hospitallers and Templars in a conflict with the Kharismian marauders, who ravaged Palestine and took Jerusalem. It was not, however, until 1244 that those hordes, expelled from their own country by the Tartars, made their descent upon the Holy Land.

The bulla of Gerinus presents another example of this rare and curious kind of seal. The obverse displays a figure of the custos kneeling reverentially before a patriarchal cross; he bows his head with a gesture of great veneration. The badge or white cross, of the Greek form, is distinctly shown upon the left side of the mantle. On the reverse appears the customary representation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with three domes very rudely portrayed. Beneath, or within the church, is a corpse swathed in grave clothes, and typifying the tomb of our Lord. Over the body is suspended a vase, similar in form to the richly ornamented glass lamps still to be seen in the East; at the feet appears the censer swinging over the corpse, and at the head is placed a Greek cross. The legends are as follows:—*Obverse*, † Frater Gerinvs Custos; *Reverse*, † Ospitalis Iherusalem. The H in Iherusalem is formed like an M, whilst the final M resembles an H.

Page 246.—In a newspaper, January, 1704, appeared the following advertisement:—

"☞ At Hogarth's Coffee House in St. John's Gate, the mid-way between Smithfield Bars and Clerkenwell, there will meet every day at 4 a Clock some Learned Gentlemen, who speak Latin readily, where any Gentleman that is either skilled in that Language or desirous to perfect himself in speaking thereof, will be welcome. The Master of the House, in the absence of others, being always ready to entertain Gentlemen in the Latin Tongue. There is likewise designed a Society of Trades to meet every Monday night in the Great Room over the Gateway, for the promoting their respective Trades."

In a newspaper, of 1759, we read:—

"Yesterday was held the annual Feast of the Cockneys, at the Jerusalem Tavern, Clerkenwell (after hearing a Sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Sellon, Morning Preacher of St. James's, Clerkenwell, and two Anthems vocally and instrumentally performed by the Gentlemen of St. Paul's Choir), where a considerable Number of Persons of Distinction were present, and a handsome Collection was made for erecting a new School House for the Education of the poor Children of that Parish."

A newspaper, dated November, 1771, records as follows:—

"The new Pavement of St. John's-lane, Clerkenwell, is now finished, after many Impediments and Interruptions from the Want of Stones, &c. St. John's Gate, which was formerly an Entrance to a Monastery of the Knights Templars, is to remain; but the Room that has been constructed in modern Time over the Arch, is to be taken down, and the Master of the Coffee House, to whom it belonged, has received Forty Guineas from the Commissioners, as an Indemnity for the Injury he thereby sustains."

Page 276.—In 1729 appeared the following advertisement:—

"Lost or Mislaid on Wednesday Night last, in a House in Ailesbury-street, in Clerkenwell Parish, A little black Pocket Book with Shagreen Case, in which was contained several Promissory Notes, and two Memorandum Books, as also a Bond for £50, with several loose Papers, of no Use but to the Owner. If the Person who hath

[1] Statuti del Sacro Spedali di S. Giov. Chronological list of grand masters. Borgo Nuovo, 1674.
[2] L'Art de Verifier les Dates, tome ii., edit. 1818, p. 109, citing Sebastian Paoli.

found the said Notes will apply to Mr. Palmer, Hair Merchant, in Fryar's-alley, in Wood-street, or will leave a Letter where they may be had, shall have Four Guineas Reward, paid by the said Mr. Palmer, and no Questions asked."

Page 295.—We extract from the "New Newgate Calendar" the following account of John Plackett, who was executed in the City-road, London, July 28th, 1762, for robbing a Danish gentleman, whom he treated with great barbarity :—

"It is something remarkable that this old and desperate offender should confine his depredations to the neighbourhood in which he was born. All the robberies which we have been able to trace to him were committed within the circle of a mile of Islington, the place of his birth. He was transported for a burglary near Clerkenwell, which adjoins to Islington; and he was executed near the spot where he robbed and so cruelly treated a stranger, which is, in fact, a part of that village.

"John Plackett was the son of poor, but honest and industrious people, living at Islington, who placed him at a charity school, whence he was apprenticed to Mr. Pullen, wheelwright, of St. John's-street. He absconded from his master before four years of his apprenticeship were expired, and entered on board a man of war. His character as a sailor was unexceptionable; but when the ship was paid off he contracted an acquaintance with a number of dissolute people, and having soon spent his wages in scenes of riot and dissipation, he commenced foot-pad.

"Having subsisted some time by the commission of robberies on the highway, he broke into a house near Hockley-in-the-Hole,[1] and stole a quantity of kitchen furniture, for which offence he was tried at the Old Bailey, and sentenced to seven years transportation. Soon after the expiration of the term of his exile, Plackett returned to England, and committed several robberies between Islington and London.

"On the 10th of June, Plackett was drinking with some sailors during the greatest part of the day, at a public-house in Wapping; and about twelve at night he left them with an intention of committing robbery.

"The same night Mr. Fayne, a Norway merchant, was returning from the Danish Coffee House, in Wellclose-square, where he had spent the evening with some friends, to his lodgings in Shadwell; when, losing his way, he enquired of a hackney coachman the road to Shadwell; but as he spoke very indifferent English, the man could not understand him; and he presently applied for the same purpose to another hackney coachman, at which instant Plackett came up, and made signs for Mr. Fayne to follow him, saying he was going to Limehouse.

"They walked together through many streets and obscure lanes and passages, till they came into the fields, when Mr. Fayne observed that they could not be in the right road; but the other pretended not to understand him. They proceeded to the fields near Islington, when Mr. Fayne became greatly alarmed and expressed much uneasiness, for which, indeed, he had sufficient cause: for his treacherous companion, going behind him, struck him a violent blow on the back of his head, which occasioned him to fall to the ground.

"The unfortunate gentleman lay for some time in a state of total insensibility; but upon recovering the use of his faculties, he found himself entirely naked, and perceived Plackett standing near him, with his cloaths and his pocketbook in his hands. In a few minutes Plackett made off with his booty, which, exclusive of his cloaths, did not amount to much more than a guinea and a half.

"The loss of blood rendered Mr. Fayne so exceedingly weak that it was with great difficulty he rose and got to a dry ditch, where he had not been long before he perceived a light at the turnpike house in the City-road, and as well as his weak condition would permit, crept to the spot. The gate keeper readily admitted him, put him into his own bed, and attended him during the night with such assiduity and tenderness as proved him to be a man of great humanity.

"The gate keeper recommended to his unfortunate guest to send for Mr. Godman, a surgeon of skill and eminence in Old-street. Mr. Fayne was attended the next morning by Mr. Godman; and that gentleman being conversant both in the French and Latin languages, he received a particular account of the cruel treatment his patient had experienced on the preceding night.

"Mr. Godman recommended Mr. Fayne to very genteel lodgings in a reputable family in Brick-lane, Old-street, where he attended him with remarkable assiduity and tenderness till he was perfectly recovered.

"Mr. Fayne was visited in Brick-lane by many of the Norwegian merchants, and other persons of reputation. He liberally rewarded the humane turnpike man, for the kind assistance afforded to a distressed stranger.

"Soon after the robbery and cruel treatment of Mr. Fayne, information of the affair was given before Mr. Justice Welch, who advertised a reward for apprehending the offender; and in a few days he was taken at his lodgings in Gray's Inn-lane. The shirt that Mr. Fayne wore when he was robbed was found in Plackett's room; and the person was traced to whom he had sold the cloaths.

"Plackett being taken before the magistrate for examination, the evidence against him was deemed sufficient to put him on his trial; and he was therefore committed to Clerkenwell Bridewell. Plackett solicited to be

[1] Now called Back-hill, leading from Leather-lane, Holborn, to Clerkenwell.

admitted an evidence for the Crown, against a number of accompliees, but was denied; and he afterwards acknowledged that no person was concerned with him in the robbery of Mr. Fayne, and that it was not in his power to give information against any offender.

"At the next sessions at the Old Bailey, Plackett was sentenced to be hanged and his body to be hung in chains. He regularly attended divine service in the chapel, and behaved with a decency becoming his unhappy situation, during the time that he remained in Newgate.

"The place appointed for the execution of Plackett was near the City-road; and when he arrived there, he pointed to the spot where he had robbed Mr. Fayne, saying his soul was struck with horror when he reflected upon his cruelty to that gentleman. Observing his uncle among the crowd he called to him, and pulling a ring from his finger, offered it him; but it was some time before he could prevail upon the uncle to accept it. He behaved with great decency and contrition, praying with the minister near three quarters of an hour. A little before he was turned off he called for silence, and, in an audible voice, made the following confession:—'The first robbery I committed was on a young woman on the long causeway, Islington, about sixteen years ago; the second was on a man in Jenning's field, in the same town; the next was stealing a copper from Mr. Beazley, in St. John's-street, for which I was transported for seven years, but I staid in the plantations fourteen. After my return to England I stole a silver watch and a gown from my uncle's house; and the last was the fatal robbery on the Danish young gentleman, for which I most deservedly suffer. All the above robberies I committed by myself, and no person was ever concerned with me. This I solemnly declare, as I expect mercy from God, before whom I am now going to appear.'

"He was turned off amidst an amazing concourse of people; and while hanging, the rails on the footway of the City-road were forced down by the pressure of the crowd, and a great number of people fell into a triangular hollow formed by the meeting of the City and Goswell-street roads; by which accident many were very dangerously hurt. After hanging the usual time, the body was cut down and conveyed to Finchley-common, where it was put into irons, and hung on a gibbet. The spot where he suffered, for many years afterwards, was called Plackett's Common."

PAGE 301.—Under date 1755, we read:—

"John Sims and Francis Coy, alias Connor, were convicted at Hicks's Hall of stealing out of the burying ground of St. James's, Clerkenwell, the corpse of a male infant; and were sentenced to be whipt from Porter's Block to the end of Swan-alley, in St. John's-street, and to suffer one year's imprisonment in Newgate."

PAGE 325.—The following copy of the will of Bishop Burnet contains interesting references to his household effects, at his residence in St. John's-square, Clerkenwell:—

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Gilbert Burnet, Doctor in Divinity, and Bishop of Salisbury, being of good health, and perfect and sound in my mind, do make and ordain my last will and testament in manner and form following; that is to say, First, I commend my soul to my good and gracious God, who has blessed me in the course of my life with great and signal blessings, both spiritual and temporal, and before whom I have endeavoured to walk with great integrity and simplicity of heart, and have exercised myself to have always a conscience void of offence towards my God, and towards all men, both in the private capacity of a Christian and in the discharge of the publick trusts and stations to which he has called me, though with many failings and great infirmities, for which I humbly desire (and trust to obtain) mercy and pardon by the merits and intercession of Jesus Christ, my blessed Saviour and Redeemer, in whom alone I put my trust, and by whom I fly to the mercies of God, hoping he will accept of my sincere repentance, and forgive all my sins, and that he will assist me with his spirit, and guide me through the valley of the shadow of death, and receive me into his kingdom and glory.

"I live and die a sincere Christian, believing the truth of that Gospel which for many years I have preached to others. I am a true Protestant according to the Church of England; full of affection and brotherly love to all who have received the reformed religion, tho' in some points different from our constitution.

"I die, as I all along lived and professed myself to be, full of charity and tenderness for those among us who yet dissent from us, and heartily pray that God would heal our breaches, and make us like-minded in all things, that so we might unite our zeal, and join our endeavours against Atheism and infidelity, that have prevailed much; and against Popery, the greatest enemy to our church, more to be dreaded than all other parties whatsoever.

"I will that my body be decently but privately buried, in case I die at Salisbury, in the south isle of the cathedral, where two of my children lie buried: And in case I die in any other place, in the church, or churchyard of the parish where I may happen to die.[1]

[1] On Thursday, March 17th, 1714-15, his lordship died, in the seventy-third year of his age, at his house in St. John's-square, Clerkenwell, and on the Tuesday following his body was interred in the church of that parish, near the communion table, the pall being supported by his successor, Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Oxford; Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Trimnell, Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Hough, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; Dr. Evans, Bishop of Bangor; and Dr. Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely.

"As to all my goods, estate, or furniture of my two houses, I order the whole to be appraised and sold, and that my library be also sold by an auction, excepting only such things as I have divided amongst my children by a codicil added to this my will; and that after my debts are paid, and my funeral charges, and the legacies hereafter mentioned are paid and satisfied, that the whole produce of all that belongs to me at the time of my decease, shall be divided into six equal parts, of which I give two to my eldest son, William; and one to every one of the rest of my sons and daughters; with this one reservation, that in case I do not in my own lifetime raise two thousand two hundred twenty and two pounds four shillings and sixpence, for two endowments set forth in a codicil added to this my will, then the sum of ninety and nine pounds, due to me in the Exchequer, shall be set aside for raising the said sum, together with the yearly interest arising out of the said ninety-nine pounds, and shall be kept apart for the said endowments, together with fifty pounds more, which I give to my nephew, Gilbert Burnet, advocate in Edinborough, for the charge and trouble of settling them, according to the schedule that I add as a codicil to this my will. And I recommend the management of this ninety-nine pounds, together with the interest that will grow out of it, to my worthy friend, John Warner, Goldsmith, and for his pains in this, I leave fifty pounds to his eldest son, my godson.

"Item, I give and devise all the furniture of the great upper room in the palace at Salisbury, and of the chapel there, to my successor, the Bishop of Salisbury, in the same manner that my predecessor, Bishop Ward, left the furniture in the parlour of the said palace.

"I appoint all my servants to be kept together for a month after my decease, and to be entertained or have board wages given them; and I give to every one of them half a year's wages, besides the wages of the quarter in which I die.

"I give also half a year's sallary to the master of my charity school in Salisbury, besides that due for the sallary of the quarter in which I die.

"Item, I appoint twenty pounds to be divided among the poor of Salisbury, five pound to the poor of the Close, to be distributed by Mr. Hoadly,[1] and five pound to the poor in the three parishes in the city of Salisbury, to be distributed among them by the ministers of the three parishes, at their discretion.

"Item, I make and constitute my eldest son, William Burnet, the executor of this my last will and Testament. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, on the twenty-fourth day of October, in the tenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Queen Anne, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and eleven.

"Gi. Sarum.

"Sign'd, seal'd, and publish'd, as the last will and testament of the said Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, in the presence of

"John Macknay,
"Alexander Le Fort,
"John Barnes."

"This I add as a codicil to my will.

"I give all my papers to my son Gilbert, with this express order, that none of them be printed; but that he keep them all for his own use, or destroy them, as he thinks fit.

"I do only except out of this general order, a book entitled 'Essays and Meditations on Morality and Religion,' and the 'History of my own Time,' together with the conclusion; and the 'History of my own Life.' There are two copies of this history: one in my own hand, and another in the hand of a servant. In the reading these over I have made several amendments, deletions, and additions, having read over sometimes the one copy and sometimes the other; so I order the two copies to be compared together, that so all the alterations that I have made may be taken into the printed edition. I leave it to the discretion of my executor to print the book of Essays when he pleases, and limit him to no time. But for the History,[2] I limit him in the printing of it to six years after my death, and that it may not be printed sooner; but as to the printing it after six years, or the delaying it longer, I refer that to such directions as I may give him by word of month; only I require him to print it faithfully, as I leave it, without adding, suppressing, or altering it in any particular; for this is my positive charge and command.

"As for any advantage that may be made by the sale of the copies of these books, or the selling out my property in any of my other books, I order it to be divided into six parts, of which my eldest son, William, my executor, shall have two, and every one of my other children shall have one.

"Gi. Sarum."

"Sign'd, seal'd, and publish'd as a codicil added to my will, in the presence of

"John Macknay,
"Alexander Le Fort,
"John Barnes."

"This I add as another codicil to my will.

"Whereas by my will I have settled a method for raising two-and-twenty hundred and two-and-twenty pounds three shillings and sixpence, which is in Scottish money forty thousand marks. It is my will and pleasure, that when the said sum is raised in the method that I have prescribed, an account of it shall be sent to my nephew,

[1] This is interlined since Dr. Geddes's death. *Sic originale.*

[2] His lordship followed Thuanus's method in writing this History of his Life and Times; and likewise his example in ordering the publication of it so long after his decease.

Mr. Gilbert Burnet, advocate, that he may transaet for a legal and seeure way of settling the one half of the said sum in, or near, the parish of Salton, upon an infeofment of annual rent, for the due payment of a thousand marks yearly, at the feast and term of Martin masse ; and of settling the other half of the said sum in like manner in or near the town and eollege of new Aberdeen, with such forfeitures, in ease of not paying the yearly sums of a thousand marks to the parish of Salton and the eollege of New Aberdeen, as according to the laws of Scotland ean be made ; and for his trouble and expence in doing this, I leave him fifty pounds. All this is provided in ease that I do not in my own lifetime aecomplish my design in settling these two endowments. In Salton I order the thousand marks to be thus disposed of; thirty ehildren of the poorer sort shall be put to sehool, to learn reading, writing, and easting aceounts ; to every one of these ten marks Seottish shall be given to eloath them in plain grey eloaths, all of one sort ; this is three hundred marks. After they have been four years at sehool, and are fit to be bound out to trades, or to follow husbandry, they shall reeeive forty marks a pieee, which is four hundred marks more : but this four hundred marks, during these four years that they are at sehool, shall be applied to the building a good sehoolhouse near the ehurchyard, and for purchasing half an aere of ground for a garden and outlet to the schoolhouse. I appoint a hundred marks a year of addition to the schoolmaster's allowanee ; and fifty marks a year to the inerease of the library began for the minister's house and use, of which he shall every three years give an account to the Lairds of Salton and Hermiston, and to any two neighbouring ministers, which they shall be obliged to sign for his diseharge, unless they ean show reason to the contrary. The boys and girls either to be put to sehool, or afterwards to prentice, shall be named thus : twenty by the Laird of Salton, and ten by the minister, who shall be ehosen out of the other estates in the parish ; as also by turns, seven of those to be put to prentice by the Lairds of Salton, and three by the minister ; and the next year six by the Lairds of Salton, and four by the minister. The remaining hundred and fifty marks to be distributed yearly to the poor of the parish by the minister, with the approbation of the Lairds of Salton and Hermiston, and sueh others as join with him in taking eare of the poor of that parish ; and this eourse I order to be continued for ever, as an expression of my kind gratitude to that parish, who had the first fruits of my labours, and among whom I had all possible kindness and eneouragement. I leave my said nephew the visitor and overseer of this endowment, that it be earried on according to my design, with a power to him at his death to name another overseer, and this to eontinue in a perpetual suecession : and if any overseer fails to name another, then I refer it to the senators of the College of Justice, to inspect and oversee it, with this express proviso, that if any of the said overseers are put to any eharge to have my will in this endowment to be faithfully observed, he shall be reimbursed out of the said rent-eharge of a thousand marks, which shall be laid on such braneches of it as shall be thought by the said overseer, together with the minister, and the Laird of Salton, most agreeable to my intentions in this endowment. As for the thousand marks which I give for ever to the College of New Aberdeen, in remembrance of my education there, I order the Lairds of Leyes, as long as that estate is in the family of the Burnets, to name every year a sehoiar for the first elass of that eollege, to whom a hundred and fifty marks a year shall be paid for the four years' stay in the eollege, and two hundred marks for two years after, that he continuing in the study of divinity ; and the next to be nominated a sehoiar shall have the said hundred and fifty marks only during the four years of his being at the eollege ; but the third, who shall be nominated to be a sehoiar, shall have the former provision for the two years of divinity which the fourth shall not have ; thus, when all are full, a thousand marks a year will answer for four scholars and two students of divinity. But since these are to be gradually filled, I appoint the overplus of the thousand marks for every year, till the whole number is filled up, which will amount to two thousand seven hundred marks, to be applied to the raising a building of six chambers for the eonvenieney of the sehoiars. All this I recommend to the Lairds of Leyes, to exeeute this with the consent of the prineipal of the said college, and the provost of the said town. The prineipal and regents shall have the examination of the sehoiars so nominated, with a power to refuse them, so that only fit persons may enjoy the benefit of this endowment. And if any Laird of Leyes shall take any reward for any sueh nomination, or detain any part of the provision made for such sehoiars, then the said nomination shall be for ever lodged with the provost and bailies of New Aberdeen, for one turn, and the Principal and Regents of the College for the next turn, which I appoint also shall take place, in ease the Lairdship of Leyes shall go out of the name and family of Burnet : as I do also desire, that to the said scholarships one of the name of Burnet may be preferr'd, if he is duly qualified for it. This I sign and join with my will. "Gi. Sarum.

" Signed, sealed, and published, as a codicil added to my will, in the presenee of

" John Macknay,
" Alexander Le Fort,
" John Barnes."

" Whereas I by my last will and testament ordered all my estate, arrears of rents, debts, and goods belonging to me at the time of my death, to be divided into six equal shares, of which two were provided for my eldest son William, and one for every one of my other four children. And now upon the marriage of my eldest son,[1] I have made over to him the several branches mentioned in a deed bearing date the third day of June, in

[1] He married Dean Stanhope's daughter.

the year one thousand seven hundred and twelve, which I value at three thousand pounds, I do therefore revoke that part of my will, by which two shares of six of my whole estate are given to him, and appoint that till a sum of five thousand and seven hundred pounds is raised, and given among my other children, fifteen hundred a-piece to three of them, and twelve hundred pounds to my youngest son, Thomas, besides the three hundred pounds that I paid for his Chambers in the Middle Temple, the said William shall have no other title or right descending from me to him: But when the said sum of five thousand and seven hundred pounds is thus set off for my younger children, then I confirm my will with relation to any overplus that may belong to me at the time of my death, so that it shall be divided into six equal shares, of which two shall belong to my said eldest son, and one to the other four children, share and share alike. And this I add as a codicil, and part of my said last will and testament. "GI. SARUM.

"Sign'd, sealed, and published as a codicil, and part of my will, the fourth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and twelve, in the presence of

"JOHN MACKNAY,
"ALEXANDER LE FORT,
"JOHN BARNES."

"Whereas by my last will and testament, and by a codicil added to it, I provided that a sixth part of all I shall be possess'd of at my death shall belong to my second daughter, Elizabeth: and that I have now given her fifteen hundred pounds, at her marriage,[1] I do now add this as another codicil, that till fifteen hundred pounds is given off to my daughter Mary, and as much to my son Gilbert, and twelve hundred to my son Thomas, she shall demand no share of my goods, by virtue of that clause in my will; but that when that is done, she shall then have a sixth part of all the overplus of what I shall leave at my death. And this I add as a codicil, and as a part of my said last will and testament. "GI. SARUM.

"Sign'd, sealed, and published, as a codicil, and part of my will, the seventeenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and fourteen.

"JOHN MACKNAY,
"JOHN BARNES,
"JOSEPH BAND."

"A SCHEDULE, containing the Distribution of my Goods among my Children.

"To my eldest son, WILLIAM,

"I give the bed, chairs, tapestry, and the furniture of the best bed-chamber in St. John's. I give the plate that came from Hanover. The clock in the parlour at Salisbury. A pair of silver candlesticks, with snuffers and snuff-dish, at his choice. A gilt salver, with St. George's little salver. All the pictures in the dining-room and parlour at Salisbury. All my works bound in red Turkey leather. My mathematical instruments, wind pump, and glasses. The black velvet bed, with the furniture of that room. My picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller, after Mr. Johnstoun's life. Twelve spoons and forks, two salts, and the set of castors. Twelve silver-hafted knives, with my crest on them. The cabinet in the great drawing-room at Salisbury. The Magna Charta. Four pair of Holland sheets, three dozen of damask napkins, with the appurtenances. Three dozen of diaper napkins. Three pair of sheets for servants.

"To my Second Son, GILBERT,

"I give all the rest of my gilt plate; my repeating watch. Gold medals, to the value of fifty pounds three shillings. All the pictures in the dining-room at St. John's. The furniture of the room I lie in at Salisbury, together with the furniture of the room in which William lies. The clock in the room before my study in Salisbury. The picture of the Supper in the parlour at St. John's. My picture in the room where my son William lies, at St. John's. A pair of silver candlesticks with snuffers and snuff-dish; eight spoons, eight forks, a salt, and a decanter. The tapestry in the room without the King's-room, Salisbury. A great salver and a small salver. The half of my silver medals. Six silver-hafted knives. Buck's Bible. The Polyglot Bible and Lexicon. The great book of mapps. All the furniture, except the books and pictures, in my study at St. John's. Four pair of Holland sheets. Three pair for servants. Three dozen of damask napkins and three dozen of diaper, with the appurtenances, and three pair of sheets for servants.

"To my Eldest Daughter, MARY,

"I give all the furniture of the red room, with every thing in it. All the furniture of the room they now lie in at Salisbury. The pictures of the family, done by Mr. Hoadley. The pictures of the daughter suckling her father, in the parlour at St. John's. The repeating table clock tipt with silver. The case with the twelve small forks, knives, and spoons. Six spoons, six forks, and a salt. A great salver, and a small one. The picture of William Duke of Hamilton, in a gold case. Two silver candlesticks, with snuffers and snuffer-dish. The casket in my son's room at Salisbury. The black silvered leather that is without the red room. Gold medals to the value of fifty pound and one shilling. The great Bible that lies before me in my chapel. The half of all my

[1] She married — West, Esq., of the Temple.

China dishes. A pair of fine Holland sheets. A dozen of the finest damask linen, with table and sideboard cloth, and towels. The half of the linen not given away to my sons. The harpsicords at St. John's.

" To my Second Daughter, ELIZABETH,

" I give all the furniture of that which is called the King's Room, Salisbury, and the furniture of the White Room, within the Red Room. All the pictures in my study at St. John's, and that of the Blessed Virgin's death, in the parlour there, in St. John's. The cabinet that was my wife's. The black ebony cabinet that was Lady Margaret's. The screen in the parlour at St. John's. The red velvet chair, and green satin chair. The Bible and Common Prayer Book that lie before me in the Church at Salisbury. The other half of my China. My garter robes.

" To my Yonngest Son, THOMAS,

" I give the furniture of the room I lie in at St. John's. And the furniture of the closet next the King's Room at Salisbury. All my silver medals. My gold chain, with the medals, or ensigns of the order. All the pictures that I have not already disposed of. A pair of silver candlesticks. Eight spoons, nine forks. One salver, and one salt. The salver of the Welsh silver. All the rest of the plate not already mentioned. My great Bible at St. John's. The Scottish Black Arts. The scritore in my study at Salisbury. The clock in the parlour at St. John's. Six silver hafted knives. Four pair of Holland sheets. Three pair for servants. One dozen of damask napkins, with nine fine ones. And the appurtenances. Four dozen of diaper napkins, with table cloths. My strong box.

" This I add as a codicil to my will. " GI. SARUM.

" Sign'd, seal'd, and publish'd as a codicil added to my will, in the presence of

" JOHN MACKNAY,
" ALEXANDER LE FORT,
" JOHN BARNES."

PAGE 399.—In the "London Gazette," May 12th, 1690, appeared the following:—

" This is to give notice that the well near Islington, called New Tunbridge, will be open on Monday, the 26 inst., during the whole season for the drinking of the medical waters, where the poor may have the same gratis, bringing a certificate under the hand of any known physician or apothecary. The Coffee House within the garden there is to be let at a reasonable rate."

PAGE 417.—In a newspaper of 1744 we read as follows:—

" SADLER'S WELLS.—At Sadler's Wells, adjoining to the New River Head, Islington, this (and every evening during the summer season), will be performed the usual diversions of that place, consisting of variety of Rope Dancing by Signora Purcilla, and others. Tumbling by Mons. Janno, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Hough. Balances by Mynheer Dansanlecravie Van Hoot. Dancing (both Serious and Comic) by Mr. Davenport, Mr. Miles, Mr. Pelling, Mr. Osbeldiston, Mr. Clagget, Mons. Janno, Master Ferg, Master Morris, Mrs. Miles, Mrs. Phillips, Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Hough, Miss Wright, Mrs. Annesley, and Mrs. Vallois. Singing by Mr. Heemskirck. To which will be added an entertainment of Singing and Dancing, call'd The Happy Despair; concluding with a Grand Dance, call'd Le Bergere in the Temple of Flora. Harlequin by Mr. Miles; Colombine, Mrs. Phillips; Swiss, Mr. Heemskirck; Golumpus, Mr. Hough; Silvio, Mr. Scollough; Dorilla, Mrs. Vallois; Chimney Sweepers by Mons. Janno, and Master Morris; Strephon, Mr. Davenport; Amorania, Mrs. Hough; Swains by Mr. Osbeldiston, Mr. Clagget, and Mons. Janno; Nymphs by Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Annesley and Mrs. Vallois. To begin every evening at Five o'clock. This day and to-morrow (being the time of Welch Fair) the Diversions will begin, for the first time at Two o'clock, and the second at Six in the evening."

PAGE 418.—The following advertisement appeared in 1752:—

" SADLER'S WELLS, ISLINGTON.—This evening, Mr. Maddox, among the rest of his curious Performances, will play on a violin, sound a trumpet, beat a drum, and balance a coach wheel on the wire; likewise puts a straw on his foot, tosses it from thence to his face, from his face to his shoulders, from his shoulders to his face, from his face to his foot, from his foot to his face again, and keeps it in a balance the whole Time. Also stands on his Head when the Wire is in full Swing, and quits it with his Hands at the same Time. To conclude with several new feats of Activity by Mr. German, Mr. Williams, Mr. Rayner, and others. Each person to be admitted into the Pit or Galleries for a Pint of Wine. Places for the Boxes to be taken at the Bar of the Wells."

PAGE 423.—In 1784 appeared the following advertisement:—

" SADLER'S WELLS.—This and the following evenings will be presented great variety of Dancing, by Messrs. Dupuis, Meunier, Williamson, Miss Mathews, Mrs. Huntley, and Mrs. Sutton. A dance called Blindman's Buff, or the Highland Laddie. Singing, by Mr. Fox, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Herryman, Mrs. Barnett, and Miss Barnett; particularly a favourite musical piece, called the Landlord Outwitted. In the course of the evening's entertainments

will be presented the amazing exhibition of the Dancing Dogs, by Sieur Seaglioni, with new dresses, scenery, and decorations. Dancing on the Tight Rope by those eminent performers, Signor Placido and the Little Devil. And Tumbling by Messrs. Dupuis, Mewnier, Rayner, Huntley, Signor Placido, and the Little Devil. To which will be added a new Entertainment, never yet performed, in two parts, called The Shipwreck; or, Harlequin Old Leo and the Savages, in which will be introduced (with considerable improvements) the celebrated scene of Harlequin Skeleton. The dresses and decorations entirely new. The paintings by Mr. Greenwood. Box Ticket, 3s. 6d.; Pit, 2s.; Gallery, 1s. Places for the Boxes to be taken at the Wells. The doors to be opened at Half-past Five o'clock, and the performances begin at Half-past Six.

"N.B.—A patrole of horse and foot are stationed from Sadler's Wells Gate, along the New Road to Tottenham-court Turnpike; likewise the City-road to Moorfields; also to St. John's-street; and across the Spa Fields to Rosoman's Row, from the hours of eight to eleven.

Page 451.—In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, *temp.* Charles II., 1666-1667, we find a request dated January, 18th, 1667, by the Corporation of the New River, "for leave to continue their pipes where they now are, giving satisfaction to the owners of the soil, and to lay, remove, or amend pipes in any waste soil, common, public street, or highway, in counties Hertford and Middlesex, and in London and Westminster, reciting the former grants to the company, constituting it, making the King half proprietor, on his bearing half the charges, &c.; in 1619, King James granted his moiety in fee-farm to Sir Hugh Middleton, on certain conditions, covenanting for all pipes and channels to remain as they were, and giving authority to six of the Privy Council to apprehend offenders.—Jan. 18. Reasons why the Corporation of the New River differ from the proposals of Sir Rob. Vyner and the other owners of the Thames Waterwork in Durham-yard. They think they should not be excluded from St. Clement Danes and other parishes where their pipes have been laid twenty years, nor from Covent-garden, which they were just preparing to serve, having spent £8,000 in preparation to supply the western parts of London, for which the small proportion allotted them in Bloomsbury, &c., will be no compensation; they plead their charter of incorporation, by which they have right to continue their pipes and serve all London and Westminster, but as an accommodation for the inhabitants, to have the choice between their water and the Thames water, Sir Rob. Vyner has leased land through which their pipes run, and cut off the pipes."

Page 485.—In "Mist's Journal," September, 1725, appeared the following notice:—"On Tuesday, the 28th of this month, will be a bullock roasted whole at the house of Mr. Peter Brett, at the Rising Sun, in Islington-road, near Sadler's Wells."

Page 517.—In "The New British Traveller," by George Augustus Walpoole, 1784, p. 217, is an engraving by Page, representing "A General View of London, the Capital of England, taken from an eminence near Islington." The point of sight is Pentonville-hill, and the road which is now called Pentonville-road. At the bottom of the plate in the centre is the Upper Pond, now Claremont-square enclosure. Beyond that the New River Head, and the works, ponds, and house are represented. To the left of them is Sadler's Wells Theatre, surrounded on the north by fields. To the right of the plate is Bagnigge Wells-road, with Randell's Tile Kilns on the left hand side of it; and on the right Bagnigge House and Gardens. Spafields are shown open from Pentonville-hill to Exmouth-street, and are crossed by intersecting paths. We read in the "Daily Courant," November 12th, 1765, as follows:—"Friday afternoon about two o'clock, a hare crossed the New-road near Dobney's Bowling-green, ran to the New River Head, and from thence to Coldbath-fields, where, in some turning among the different avenues, she was lost. She appeared to have been hard run, by her dirty and shabby coat."

Page 518.—In a newspaper of 1781 appeared the following advertisement:—

"By Mr. Skinner and Co. On Thursday, the 1st of November, at Garraway's Coffee House, 'Change-alley, at twelve o'clock, and possession given in a few days. The Lease and Trade of the Shakespeare Tavern and Jubilee Gardens, adjoining the New-road, Islington, formerly called Dobney's Bowling-green; consisting of a dwelling-house, with suitable conveniences; a building containing a bakehouse, two kitchens, bar, and large room over; with an adjoining erection, comprising two spacious rooms, capable of dining near two hundred people each; trap-ball ground, bowling-green, and extensive gardens, properly laid out. The whole forming one of the best adapted places in the vicinity of London for public entertainment, as well as for accommodating select dinner and tea parties. To be viewed till the sale, and printed particulars had on the premises; at Garraway's Coffee House; and of Mr. Skinner and Co., Aldersgate-street."

Page 523.—Between thirty and forty years ago the magnates of Clerkenwell were in turn the subject of much local satire, and the wits of the parish found mediums for their talents in illustrated pasquinades and caricatures, some of which are now before us, they having been saved from the common fate of such ephemeral publications. They have very little historical worth, the occasions of their issue and the subjects of them having mostly passed away; but as there are still living some survivors of the satirical contests, we will make a passing allusion to a few of the paper weapons, more particularly as one of the fathers of the parish has given us an explanation of the points of them, and the names of the burlesqued subjects in the illustrations.

The first picture represents a befuddled man standing in the Church of St. James, opposite the pews numbered 14 and 15. From his mouth issues a confused and drunken speech, in which the inebriate proposes that the vestry there assembled shall go back to the Crown and finish another bottle. The plate is entitled Clerkenwell Portraits, No. 1, "The Maiden Speech of Dizzy Mizzy, *alias* Mr. Dismal," who was Mr. Dismore, a jeweller, of Clerkenwell-green. It was published by A. Radcliffe, of 15, St. James's-buildings, Rosoman-street.

Another plate, published by Askew and Company, of 5, Butcher Hall-lane, represents "Sir Stultus Valentine, Knt., Champion of St. James' Herriditaries." The champion herein depicted was Valentine Knight, and the Herriditaries were a party in Clerkenwell who took their name from the mispronunciation, by one of their body, of the word hereditary. The knight is mounted on a roaring bull, which is wreathed round the neck with flowers, and is trampling furiously upon a paper inscribed "Reform Union." The bull represents John Scott, of whom some particulars will be found at pages 523, 524; and the "Reform Union" has reference to the "Clerkenwell Reform Union Society." The champion is charging with a telescope toasting fork, on which is a pennon with the motto "And fight with honest men to shield a knave," at an open book, on which is inscribed, "Report of Committee appointed in vestry 29th Septr., 1830. Poor Relieved. Infant Poor. Beer. £500 for school. Cock'd Hats. Contracts. Removal of Stones. Salaries & Fees. Extravaganee." Behind the book is a hand holding a mirror, from which shine rays and "Truth." The champion has a shield, the arms on which are nine pins, and the motto "Cherry ripe." His helmet is an inverted sugar basin or goblet, on which are piled six wine glasses, inscribed 18s. per dozen. On his back is a dinner plate, marked "4. 6. doz." The bull has a pall or cloth, on which is inscribed, "Account of Expenses, 65, 67, 75, 83, 93, 146, 163—£800. Saving a Lie." On the right side of the picture is a prostrate woman (intended to be Mrs. Launcelot, the matron of the workhouse), who is crying, "Oh! my poor rags," and clasping two bundles, one of which is inscribed, "2s. 6d. yard," and the other "For night caps." Close by is a beadle with a scroll, on which is "O yes! £800 missing." He is shouting, "Any person who can explain the saving of £800 shall be handsomely rewarded for their trouble." Beyond is an open doorway, inscribed, "Scottish Harem," and a man standing by the door is crying, "Bones and Fat." At the bottom of the plate are these lines:—

> Next view in State, proud prancing on his roan
> The golden crested haughty ——
> Now forging scrolls, now foremost in the fight,
> Not quite a felon, yet but half a Knt.
> The gibbet on the field prepared to grace
> A mighty mixture of the great and base.

Another sheet is called Clerkenwell Scrap Book. It contains four separate humorous plates, and depicts in caricature Robert Fair, bootmaker, of Aylesbury-street; Charley Murphy, attorney's clerk; Webb, builder, of St. John's-lane; William Fish, assistant tax collector; Thomas Key, baker, Coldbath-square; Gregory, of Claremont-square, and others.

Another sheet, bearing the same title, and numbered 2, contains seven illustrations, and displays in burlesque Dr. Mortimer, of St. Mark's Church; John Scott, James Pascall, Robert Fair, Valentine Knight, Webb, Dismore, Selby the lawyer, Bugg, Thomas Key, Gregory, Hewitt, Penny the parish clerk, and others. Both plates were published by Radcliffe.

PAGE 536.—In a newspaper of 1789 we read:—

"The Anniversary Feast of the Friendly Society of Cockneys, will be held at the White Conduit House, Clerkenwell, on Monday next, the 27th of July, 1789, when a collection will be made for educating, clothing, and apprenticing poor children. James Wildman, Esq., President. Stewards: Mr. Akenhead, Mr. Allett, Mr. G. Brayne, Mr. Bunyer, Mr. Burwash, Mr. Danford, Mr. Edmonds, Mr. Gibbard, Mr Graham, Mr. Skidmore, Mr. Smith, F. J. P. De Valangin, M.D. Tickets 5s. Dinner at three precisely. N.B.—The Anniversary Sermon will be preached at St. John's Church, Clerkenwell, on Sunday next, the 26th of July, by the Rev. Mr. Harrison, rector of the said church, minister of Brompton Chapel, &c., &c. Before and after the sermon an anthem will be performed by Mr. Gray, Mr. Page, and Mr. Turner. Prayers will begin at a quarter after eleven."

PAGE 557.—We read in a newspaper dated in 1769:—

"The same Night a Gentleman was stopped and robbed of a Guinea and Half, and some Silver, by two Footpads, in the road between the Small Pox Hospital and Bagnigge Wells, who behaved very civilly, and when they had done, wished him a good Night."

PAGE 569.—In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for 1793, under date 28th August in that year, we find the following obituary notice of John Davis:—"Mr. Davis, many years the proprietor of Bagnigge Wells."

We read in a newspaper of February, 1841, the following account of the last entertainments at Bagnigge Wells:—

"The poor of Clerkenwell.—In an inclement season like the present it may be easily imagined that there are a great number of persons in so populous a parish as Clerkenwell, who stand in need of relief, to whom the parish funds, however humanely administered, are not available. The clergyman and the parish authorities of Clerkenwell, with a feeling of benevolence which does them great credit, have raised a subscription to meet the cases alluded to. In furtherance of the same object several gentlemen have formed themselves into a committee, and availing themselves of the voluntary offer of Mr. Bolton, a guardian of the infant poor, and a gentleman of extraordinary histrionic talents, have given an entertainment in the large assembly room of the Bagnigge Wells Tavern, the proceeds of which were considerable. They have been distributed amongst persons in very distressed circumstances, but not common paupers. Still, however, the distress occasioned by want of employment arising from the state of the weather, prevails to a very great extent, and the committee have announced another entertainment next Thursday evening, at the same place, in which entertainment Mr. Bolton will give recitations in character from the tragedies of Richard the Third, Macbeth, and Norval. He will have the gratuitous assistance of Mr. Sutton, who will give representations of the most celebrated antique statues. In this species of performing Mr. Sutton is very clever, and at the entertainment for the benefit of the poor spoken of above, elicited the loudest plaudits of an overflowing audience, as did the vocal talents of his wife, who looks as prettily as she sings. But the great attraction of that evening was Mr. Bolton, whose acting, if applause is any proof of talent (and who can doubt the fact?) is of the very highest order, for never was performer more vehemently or more enthusiastically greeted, from the time of Garrick to the present day. It should be borne in mind that this entertainment is given solely for the benefit of the poor. All is gratuitous on the part of the performers, and the landlord of the house, Mr. Hamilton, charges nothing for the use of the assembly room. There is a circumstance independent of its benevolent object, which gives to this entertainment extraordinary interest. The ruthless hand of improvement is about to level Bagnigge Wells with the ground, for the purpose of building houses upon its site. The work of devastation was to have commenced this day, but Mr. Gardiner, the ale brewer, and proprietor of Bagnigge Wells, has with a feeling which is highly creditable to him, deferred it till after the entertainment on Thursday next. It is not generally known that it was in the assembly room of Bagnigge Wells that the great Braham made his first appearance in public."

PAGE 577.—We read in a newspaper dated in March, 1770, as follows:—

"The late Mr. Sharp, of Tottenham High Cross, has, by his Will, left to the School and Workhouse of Clerkenwell the sum of £200; to the London, St. Luke's, the Small Pox, and the Foundling Hospitals, £500 each. He has also given the sum of £100 to the Quakers' Meeting in Devonshire Square, and the like sum to the Meeting at Tottenham, and ordered £600 to be laid out in purchasing of Ground at Tottenham, for erecting Six Alms Houses there. His estates at Sholgate and Rettenham he bequeaths to his Executors in Trust, to be sold by public Auction, and the money arising from them to be employed for the Endowment of the above Alms Houses, together with all the Residue of his Estate. These Alms Houses are for the Use of six Quakers belonging to the Meeting House in Devonshire Square, who must be upwards of 50 Years of Age, and are to be chosen by the Executors and four Trustees appointed by them."

Page 603.—A portrait of Sir Richard Fanshawe, British Minister in Spain, who died in 1666, aged sixty, is prefixed to his "Funeral Sermon," folio; engraver, Fairthorne. The latter impressions were used for his "Letters," 1702, 8vo. A portrait of Sir Richard Fanshaw appears in Harding's "Biograph. Mirrour," 1792, by Lely; engraver, E. Harding.

Page 621.—Bromley says a portrait of Richard Kingston, M.A., preacher at St. James's, Clerkenwell, is prefixed to his "Sermon preached at St. Paul's, in the midst of the late severe visitation," 1665.

A portrait of William Hendley is prefixed to his "Tryal and conviction, at Rochester, for preaching a charity sermon at Chiselhurst," 1719; engraver, S. Nichols.

Page 623.—The following notice appeared in a newspaper of 1768:—

"On Saturday last (July 24th) ended the poll for a minister of St. James, Clerkenwell, when there was a majority of three hundred and thirteen for Mr. Sellon, on which he was declared duly elected. By a resolution of the Vestry previous to this election it was determined that the right of voting was in the inhabitants only paying the poor's rates agreeable to the method of election observed from the year 1691. But after this present election had been some time carried on the friends of Mr. Nicols opened books, at which they polled every one that paid 40s. per annum, by which means there has been a double return."

The Rev. Dr. Dillon was buried in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, in which is his raised oblong tomb, surmounted by a draped urn. The inscription on one of the sides is as follows:—"The Revd. Robert Crawford Dillon, Doctor in Divinity, died November 8th, 1847, aged 52 years. In memory of whom this monument is erected by his affectionate friends."

Dr. Dillon's death was tragically sudden. He was stricken with apoplexy as he was finishing the preparation of a sermon in the vestry of the church in White's-row, Spitalfields, on a Sunday, and while the congregation were assembling, and the organ was pealing preparatory to the service.

Page 631.—A portrait of Everard Maynwaring, M.D., aged thirty-eight, 1668, with a plain band, is prefixed to his "Treatise on the Scurvy," quarto; engraver, R. White.

Page 650.—The following appeared in a newspaper of 1763, under date Friday, 19th August:—

"The ceremony of consecrating an additional cemetery to the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, situated near the lower end of Great Warner-street, Coldbath-fields, was performed in the following manner, by the Right Rev. Richard Lord Bishop of London. About eleven o'clock his lordship, attended by the chancellor, his chaplain, &c., came to the Church of St. James, Clerkenwell, where he was received by the Rev. Mr. Doughty, minister of the parish; the organ in the meanwhile playing a voluntary. After the Bishop had put on the episcopal robes, morning service was read by the Rev. Mr. Sellon, morning preacher of the church, in which the 39th and 90th Psalms were introduced, instead of the usual psalms for the day, and the lessons were Gen. xxiii., and John xix., ver. 38-42. When divine service was ended, the bishop, attended as before, returned to the vestry-room, where a petition, in writing, was presented to him by the minister of the church, signed by himself, the churchwardens, and several of the inhabitants of the parish, which was received by his lordship, and read by the register. His lordship then declared his consent to consecrate the ground. The bishop, minister, and congregation then left the church, and proceeded to the ground, where a tent was previously fixed for the purpose. The deeds of the purchase of the ground were then presented to the bishop by the minister of the church. The chancellor, turning towards the audience, then read the sentence of consecration, which was afterwards signed by the bishop, and ordered to be registered, together with the deeds of purchase, among the rest of the muniments of the office. The ceremony being ended, the bishop, after reading a prayer, dismissed the congregation with the blessing."

In a newspaper of April 19th, 1728, we read:—

"On Tuesday last, dyd Mrs. Brerewood, of St. James's, Clerkenwell: of whom it is to be remarked that she expir'd on her Birth Day, being then just an hundred years old, and enjoying to the last her sense and reason."

In a newspaper of July 8th, 1731, was the following:—

"Yesterday in the afternoon, Wm. Hayton, Esq., Clerk of the Peace for the County of Bucks, set out from his father's house at Clerkenwell, with a handsome equipage, for Sion Hill; and this day he is to be married at Ickenham to Mrs. Elizabeth Crosse, eldest daughter of Henry Crosse, Esq., of Bledlow, in the county of Bucks—a young lady of singular accomplishments, an agreeable person, and plentiful fortune. As soon as the Ceremony is performed, the new married couple proceed to Mr. Crosse's seat at Bledlow."

We read in a newspaper of 1764, that—

"Yesterday Morning (October 21st) at Six o'clock, died much lamented by all the Parish of Clerkenwell, the Rev. Stephen Roe, Ordinary Chaplain of Newgate. The Living is in the Gift of Tom Turlis, the Hangman. It is said many bushels of onions will be wanted on the solemn occasion of the Funeral."

In 1795 was published, in 12mo., the "Frugal Housewife," by Susannah Carter, of Clerkenwell, with curious woodcuts.

CORRECTIONS.

PAGE 21, third line. Dele final "e" in "Magdalene."

PAGE 37. *Vide* page 599 for corrections to be made on this page.

PAGE 38. *Vide* page 600 for corrections to be made on this page.

PAGE 59, note. Read "Malcolm's" for "Malcome's."

PAGE 71, twelfth line. Dele final "e" in "Magdalene."

PAGE 77, tenth line of contents. For "Thomas Weever" read "John Weever."

PAGE 90. For "Thomas Weever" read "John Weever."

PAGE 111. For a correction of the inscription of the token mentioned on this page *vide* page 635.

PAGE 162, twenty-eighth line. Dele inverted comma before "pity." Twenty-ninth line—insert inverted comma before "better."

PAGE 169. Dele words "Old Mulberry Tree Tavern, or" from inscription of the plate facing this page. *Vide* page 651.

PAGE 270. To the inscription of the plate on this page add the words "as restored."

PAGE 271, first line. Insert final "e" to "Hardwick."

PAGE 282. *Vide* page 682 for a corrected list of the tokens named on page 282.

PAGE 297. *Vide* page 683 for corrections of the statement relative to the extinction of the Hicks's baronetcy.

PAGE 342. *Vide* page 696 for a corrected list of the tokens named on page 342.

PAGE 394, nineteeth line of contents. Dele first "n" in "Pantagonian."

PAGE 396, thirteenth line. For "fifty-eighth" read "fifty-sixth;" for "1851" read "1850;" for "Madeley" read "Broseley." *Vide* page 705.

PAGE 452, fifteenth line. Insert "o" in "conduits."

PAGE 457, sixth line. Divide the words "main tien."

PAGE 463, nineteenth line. Insert "M" in "Matthewe."

PAGE 490, twenty-eighth line of contents. For "Huntingdon" read "Huntington."

PAGE 512, eighteenth line. For "Hæc" read "Hoc;" for "deponitur" read "deponetur."

PAGE 522, thirty-third line. Dele second "r" in "Barron."

PAGE 573, seventh line. For "Armitage" read "E. B. Lamb."

PAGE 578. In some copies of this History a foot note appears to this page. That portion of the note which purports to correct a date should be expunged.

PAGE 579, third line. For "1857," in some copies of this History, read "1847."

PAGE 636, eleventh line of contents. For "New" read "Ned."

PAGE 686, last line. Dele second "r" in "Barron."

PAGE 692, thirty-ninth line. Before "s" in "Gentlemans" insert apostrophe.

PAGE 710, last line. Insert second apostrophe after final word.

PAGE 711. Insert "7" before "11" in the number of this page.

PAGE 717, twentieth line. Insert "rs" to "others."

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POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing text, index, &c., went to press, the Editor has been favoured by Messrs. C. H. and Thompson Cooper, of Cambridge, with several notes on the "History of Clerkenwell," which *inter alia* are given below.

Page 24.—The general election of members of Parliament in 1865 caused a sharp and exciting contest in the Borough of Finsbury. There were five Liberal candidates, namely, Messrs. Mc Cullagh Torrens, Alderman Lusk, William Cox, William Phillips, and P. W. Perfitt. The polling day was July 12th, 1865, when the result of the poll was as follows:—Mr. Torrens, 8480; Mr. Lusk, 7959; Mr. Cox, 5100; Mr. Phillips, 866; Mr. Perfitt, 316. The two first named gentlemen were declared to have been duly elected.

Pages 93, 631.—A memoir of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who died in 1565, is given in "Athenæ Cantabrigienses," vol. i., pp. 235, 554.

Pages 176, 653.—A memoir of Thomas Seckford is given in the same valuable work, vol. ii., p. 18.

Page 229.—The statement that the Rev. E. W. Whitaker died in 1788 is incorrect. On giving up the rectory of St. John, Clerkenwell, he became rector of St. Mildred and All Saints, Canterbury, and died October 14th, 1818, aged sixty-eight. He was founder of the Refuge for the Destitute, and author of theological and historical works. *Vide* a notice of him in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. lxxxviii., (2), page 474, and as to his works *vide* Watts's "Bibl. Brit.," Lowndes's "Bibl. Man.," ed. Bohn, and Darling's "Cycl. Bibl."

Page 576, 6th line.—For Sir Nash "Grove," read Sir Nash "Grose."

Page 632, 40th line.—For Rev. William "Wester," read Rev. William "Webster."

Page 633.—Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, poet, historical writer, and critic, resided on Clerkenwell-green, from 1588 to 1606, and probably up to the time of his death, which is supposed to have occurred in or about November, 1608. *Vide* a Memoir of him by C. H. and Thompson Cooper, in the "Gentleman's Magazine," for July, 1865.

There is a letter from Thynne to Lord Burghley, dated Clerkenwell, November 15th, 1588, "wherein he attributes to the froward influences of the heavenly bodies the overthwart proceedings of the two first triplicities or progressions of his life, then almost ended. He laments not having been appointed to an office in the Heralds' College; the office of Norroy was gone before he came, the place of Chester was granted before he sued. He sued, but the door was locked; he knocked too late, and so slept with the five foolish virgins. He adds, that he will not anatomize every man's default, lest he be counted one of the foolish sons of Martin Marprelate, and enumerates the characteristic qualities of every officer of the Heralds' College."

Thynne wrote numerous works. Amongst them are "A Discourse of Arms," dedicated to William Lord Burghley, dated Clerkenwell-green, January 5th, 1593-4: "The History, Lives, Descents, and Succession of the House and Barons of Cobham," dedication dated Clerkenwell-green, December 20th, 1598; "Animaduersions vppon the Annotacions and Corrections of some imperfections of impressiones of Chaucer's Workes," dated Clerkenwell-green, December 16th, 1599; "Emblemes and Epigrames," dated from the author's house in Clerkenwell-green, December 20th, 1600; "The Plea between the

Advocate and the Ant'advocate, concerning the Bathe and Bachelor Knightes, wherein are shewed manye Antiquityes towchinge Knighthood," MS. copy presented to James I., signed by the author at his house in Clerkenwell-green, April 2nd, 1605; and "A Discourse of the Dutye and Office of an Heraulde of Arms, written the third daye of Marche, anno. 1605-6," in the form of a letter to some lord, whose name does not appear, and was written at Clerkenwell-green.

A new ecclesiastical district, called St. Paul's, has lately been established in Clerkenwell. The following order relating thereto appears in the "London Gazette," of June 30th, 1865:—

"At the Court at Windsor, the 29th day of June, 1865. Present, the Queen's most excellent Majesty in Council. Whereas the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England have, in pursuance of the act of the third and fourth years of her Majesty, chapter one hundred and thirteen; of the act of the sixth and seventh years of her Majesty, chapter thirty-seven; of the act of the seventh and eighth years of her Majesty, chapter ninety-four; and of the act of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of her Majesty, chapter one hundred and twenty-four, duly prepared and laid before her Majesty in Council a scheme, bearing date the eleventh day of May, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, in the words following; that is to say:—

'We, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, in pursuance of the act of the third and fourth years of your Majesty, chapter one hundred and thirteen; of the act of the sixth and seventh years of your Majesty, chapter thirty-seven; of the act of the seventh and eighth years of your Majesty, chapter ninety-four; and of the act of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of your Majesty, chapter one hundred and twenty-four; have prepared and now humbly lay before your Majesty in Council the following scheme for constituting a separate district, for spiritual purposes, out of the parish of Saint Luke, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex, and in the diocese of London, out of the new parish of Saint Barnabas, King-square, in the same county and diocese, out of the parish of Saint James, Clerkenwell, in the same county and diocese, and out of the parish of Saint John, Clerkenwell, in the same county and diocese. Whereas it has been made to appear to us that it would promote the interests of religion that the particular portions of the said parish of Saint Luke, Old-street, of the said new parish of Saint Barnabas, King-square, of the said parish of Saint James, Clerkenwell, and of the said parish of Saint John, Clerkenwell, hereinafter mentioned and described (such portions not at present containing within their limits any consecrated church or chapel in use for the purposes of divine worship), should be constituted a separate district in the manner hereinafter set forth. And whereas certain hereditaments and premises situate within the said parish of Saint Luke, Old-street, have become vested in us under the provisions of and for the purposes of the herein mentioned acts. Now, therefore, with the consent of the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Archibald Campbell, Bishop of the said diocese of London (in testimony whereof he has signed and sealed this scheme), we humbly recommend and propose that all those portions of the said parish of Saint Luke, Old-street, of the said new parish of Saint Barnabas, King-square, of the said parish of Saint James, Clerkenwell, and of the said parish of Saint John, Clerkenwell, which are respectively mentioned and described in the schedule hereunder written, and which are delineated and set forth on the map or plan hereunto annexed, shall, upon and from the day of the date of the publication in the "London Gazette" of any order of your Majesty in Council ratifying this scheme, become and be constituted a separate district for spiritual purposes, and that the same shall be named the District of Saint Paul, Clerkenwell. And we further recommend and propose, that there shall be paid by us in each and every year to the minister for the time being of the district so recommended to be constituted, when duly licensed according to the provisions of the herein secondly mentioned Act, the sum of two hundred pounds, and that so soon as a church shall have been erected within such district, and shall have been approved by us, and consecrated as the church of such district, and for the use and service of the minister and inhabitants thereof, and such district shall have thereupon become, according to the provisions of the said last-mentioned act, a new parish for ecclesiastical purposes, there shall be paid by us in each and every year, to the perpetual curate for the time being, of such new parish the further sum of one hundred pounds, making in the whole the sum of three hundred pounds, and that the said sums of two hundred pounds or three hundred pounds, as the case may be, shall be paid by equal half-yearly payments on the first day of May and the first day of November in each and every year, and that the first such payment, or a proportionate part thereof, shall be made on the first day of May or of November next, after the day of the date of the license of such minister, or of the consecration of such church as aforesaid, as the case may be; and that in case a vacancy in the ministry or perpetual curacy of such district or new parish shall happen on any other day than the first day of May or the first day of November, the amount then next thereafter payable shall be duly apportioned between and paid to the minister or perpetual curate making the vacancy, or his personal representative or representatives, and the minister or the perpetual curate succeeding to such district or new parish; provided always, that if it shall appear to us to be expedient at any future time that, instead of the annual sum then in course of payment by us to the minister or perpetual curate of the said district or new parish, or instead of any part of such annual sum, any land, tithe, or other hereditament, should be conveyed or secured to such minister or perpetual curate and his successors, nothing herein or in any other scheme contained shall prevent us from recommending and

proposing such a substitution. And we further recommend and propose, that nothing herein contained shall prevent us from recommending and proposing any other measures relating to the matters aforesaid, or any of them in accordance with the provisions of the said Acts, or of either of them, or of any other Act of Parliament.'

"The Schedule to which the foregoing scheme has reference,

'The district of Saint Paul, Clerkenwell, being:

'All those several portions of the parish of Saint Luke, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex and in the diocese of London, of the new parish of Saint Barnabas, King-square, in the same county and diocese, of the parish of Saint James, Clerkenwell, in the same county and diocese, and of the parish of Saint John, Clerkenwell, in the same county and diocese, which are comprised within and are bounded by an imaginary line commencing at the point in the middle of Goswell-street, opposite to the middle of the Western end of Old-street, where the boundary dividing the parish of Saint Luke, Old-street, from the extra-parochial place commonly called "The Charterhouse," meets the boundary dividing the said parish of Saint Luke, Old-street, from the particular district of Saint Thomas, Charterhouse, in the same county and diocese; and extending thence north-eastward along the last-described boundary, following thereby the middle of Old-street aforesaid, to a point opposite to the middle of the south-eastern end of Central-street; and extending thence north-westward to and along the middle of the last-named street to the boundary dividing the said parish of Saint Luke, Old-street, from the new parish of Saint Barnabas, King-square, aforesaid; and continuing thence, still north-westward, along the last-described boundary, following thereby the middle of Central-street as aforesaid, as far as a point opposite to the middle of the north-eastern end of Seward-street; and extending thence south-westward to and along the middle of the last-named street to a point on the boundary in the middle of Goswell-street aforesaid, which divides the said new parish of Saint Barnabas, King-square, from the said parish of Saint James, Clerkenwell; and extending thence south-eastward along the last-described boundary as far as a point opposite to the middle of the north-eastern end of Compton-street; and extending thence south-westward to and along the middle of Compton-street to its junction with Saint John-street; and extending thence south-eastward along the middle of the last-named street, following thereby in part the boundary which divides the parish of Saint James, Clerkenwell, from the parish of Saint John, Clerkenwell, aforesaid, as far as a point opposite to the middle of the south-western end of Wilderness-row; and extending thence north-eastward to and along the middle of the said row to the boundary which divides the said parish of Saint John, Clerkenwell, from the extra-parochial place commonly called the Charterhouse aforesaid; and continuing thence still north-eastward along the last-described boundary, following thereby the middle of the said Wilderness-row, to a point on the boundary in the middle of Goswell-street aforesaid which divides the said parish of Saint Luke, Old-street, from the extra-parochial place commonly called the Charterhouse as first-mentioned; and extending thence south-eastward along the boundary last referred to, following thereby the middle of Goswell-street aforesaid, to the point opposite to the middle of the western end of Old-street as aforesaid where the said imaginary line commenced.

'And whereas a draft of the said scheme has, in accordance with the provisions of the hereinbefore secondly and thirdly mentioned acts, been transmitted to the incumbents and to the patrons of the several parishes and of the new parish respectively out of which it is proposed that the district recommended in the said scheme to be constituted shall be taken. And whereas certain observations or objections upon or to the said scheme have been offered or made by the incumbent of the said parish of St. Luke, Old-street, as such incumbent, and also as the patron, in right of such incumbency, of the said new parish of St. Barnabas, King-square; by the incumbent of the same new parish; by the incumbent of the said parish of St. John, Clerkenwell; and by the patrons or reputed patrons of the said parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, respectively; which said observations or objections have, together with such scheme, been laid before her Majesty in Council. And whereas the said scheme has, notwithstanding the said observations or objections, been approved by her Majesty in Council. Now, therefore, her Majesty, by and with the advice of her said Council, is pleased hereby to ratify the said scheme, and to order and direct that the same and every part thereof shall be effectual in law immediately from and after the time when this order shall have been duly published in the "London Gazette," pursuant to the said acts; and her Majesty, by and with the like advice, is pleased hereby to direct that this order be forthwith registered by the registrar of the said diocese of London.

'Arthur Helps.'"

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